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HISTORY  
OF THE PATRIARCHS  
OF THE COPTIC CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA

III  
AGATHON TO MICHAEL I (766)

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ARABIC TEXT EDITED, TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED

BY

B. EVETTS







بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد

الجزء الثانى من سير البيعة المقدسة

وهو ست سير واربعة عشر بطركياً السيرة الخامسة عشر

اغاثون<sup>1</sup> ولد بنيامين البطرك بالروح لا بالجسد

وهو من العدد التاسع والثلاثون

ولما عاد المجاهد العظيم<sup>2</sup> ضابط الامانة بالسيّد يسوع المسيح ومعلم الامانة الارثوذكسيّة ابنا بنيامين من النفى وجلس على الكرسي الانجيلي ببيعة الله جدّد ما كان قد هدمه هرقل والمجمع الطمث الخلقدونى وهو ابروطاريوس<sup>3</sup> عاد هذا الاب ابنا بنيامين بناءه ورتبه<sup>4</sup> بمعونة السيّد المسيح الراعى الصالح الذى بذل<sup>5</sup> نفسه عن خرافه كما قال فى انجيله

1 Mss. اغاثوا or اغاثوا so throughout. — 2. E om. to الارثوذكسيّة. — 3. Mss. — واكمل جهاده وانتقل الى الرب الذى احبه add. فمات بنيامين E om. to الابروياطروس — 4. F رزبند. — 5. Mss. ابدل.

## CHAPTER XV

AGATHON, THE THIRTY-NINTH PATRIARCH. A. D. 661-677.

In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the one God.

The second division of the histories of the holy Church, consisting of six chapters and the lives of fourteen patriarchs.

Agathon was the son of the patriarch Benjamin in the spirit, not in the flesh; and he is the thirty-ninth in the series of the patriarchs.

When the great champion and maintainer of the faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and teacher of the orthodox creed, Abba Benjamin, returned from banishment, and resumed his seat upon the evangelical throne in the Church of God, he restored that which had been overthrown by Heraclius, and by the impure Chalcedonian Council, in the person of Proterius. For this Father Abba Benjamin reconstructed all things, and set them in order with the help of the Lord Christ, the Good Shepherd, who gave his life for his

الطاهر ان الراعى الصالح يبذل نفسه عن خرافه فمشى بنيامين فى اثار سيّد وحمل صليبه وتبعه وصبر على البلايا والشور والتجارب العظيمة الى الموت من اجل الامانة المستقيمة ولم يتخل ولا رجع الى ورائه فى جهاده الى ان تسمه حتى اخذ النعمة مع القديسين ابائه الذين تقدموه كما قال داود النبى فى الزبور كريم امام الرب وفاة احفائه فمات الاب بنيامين وان الشعب المؤمن الخائف من الله بامر الرب اخذوا ذلك القس الخائف من الله اغاثون واجلسوه بطركاً كاتفاقاً اسمه مع فعله معا اذ هو صالح وعمله صالح مزين<sup>1</sup> بكل فعل جميل مملوء نعمة روح القدس والامانة الارثوذكسية وكانوا المسلمون يقاتلون الروم بغضب وكان لهم ملك اسمه طيباريوس<sup>2</sup> قد ملكوه وله عدة جنائر فاسروهم من بلادهم الى بلاد غريبة وكذلك صقلية وجميع اعمالها ملكوها واخربوها وجابوا سبيها الى مصر وكان هذا القديس البطرك اغاثون حزين القلب اذ يرى اعضاءه فى ايدى الامم وكانوا

1. E om. to هـ صالح. — 2. E كان فعله. — 3. E om. to جميل. — 4. A طياريوس.

sheep, according to his words in his pure Gospel<sup>1</sup> : « The Good Shepherd gives his life for his sheep ». So Benjamin walked in the footsteps of his Lord, and carried his cross and followed him, and endured trials and woes and great temptations till death for the right faith, but neither retreated nor turned backwards in his conflict, until he had finished it; so that he received his reward with the saints, his fathers, who preceded him. As David says<sup>2</sup> in the Psalms : « Precious before the Lord is the death of his pure ones ».

So the Father Benjamin died. And the faithful God-fearing people, by the command of the Lord, took that God-fearing priest Agathon, and enthroned him as patriarch, according to the agreement of his name with his actions; for he was good and his conduct was good, adorned with every noble deed, full of the grace of the Holy Ghost and of the orthodox faith.

Now the Muslims were fighting against the Romans furiously. And the Romans had a prince whose name was Tiberius, whom they had made their ruler, and who possessed many islands. So the Muslims took the Romans captive, and carried them away from their own country to a strange land. Thus with regard to Sicily and all its provinces, they took possession of that island, and ravaged it, and brought the people captives to Egypt. And this holy patriarch Agathon was sad at heart when he saw his fellow-Christians in the hands of the Gentiles; and as the conquerors had offered many souls of them for sale, he bought them and set them free. But they

1. S. John, x, 11. — 2. Ps. cxvi, 15 (Sept. cxv, 6).



الغزاة قد اباعوا منهم انفساً عدّة فيشترينهم ويعتقهم وكانوا<sup>1</sup> من<sup>2</sup> اصحاب الهارسييس الطمث<sup>3</sup> السعروفين بالغايانيين الذين لا يتقربون والبرسنوفية ولم يكن يدع قسمة الاساقفة في كل موضع ليردوا الضان<sup>4</sup> الذي قد اضلها الشيطان الى بيعة السيد المسيح ووقع به الشيطان تعباً عظيماً من اجل طهارة قلبه وفضيلته فتولى في تلك الايام امر الاسكندرية انسان اسمه تاوضوروس<sup>5</sup> وكان<sup>6</sup> رئيساً في جماعة من الخلقدونيين وكان مقاوم الارثوذكسين التاوضوسيين فمضى الى دمشق الى مقدم المسلمين واسمه يزيد بن معاوية اخذ منه سجلاً يتسلط به على<sup>7</sup> شعب<sup>\*</sup> الاسكندرية ومريوط وكلما يليها<sup>7</sup> ولا يكون لمتولى مصر عليه حكم لانه دفع<sup>8</sup> له<sup>8</sup> مالا جزيلًا وعاد وتسلط على الاب ابا اغاتون واقلقه وطلب منه المال الذي غرمه<sup>9</sup> واخذ منه ستة وثلاثين ديناراً جزية كل سنة عن تلاميذه وليس هذا فقط بل وكلما كان ينفقه على النواتية في الاسطول يخسره اياه وكلما يلحقه يلزمه اياه ولم تكن جماعة

1. ABDG وكان. — 2. ABDEFG om. — 3. E om. to والبرسنوفية. — 4. D الضال F الخرائ. — 5. A تاوضوروا B تاوضوسيا DEF تاوضوسيا G تاوضوسيس. — 6. E om. to الخلقدونيين. — 7. F om. to بل وكلما كان. — 8. BG لها. — 9. BEG اغرمه.

were followers of the impure and heretical sects, known as the Gaianites, who do not communicate with the orthodox, and as the Barsanuphians.

And Abba Agathon did not neglect to ordain bishops in every place, that they might bring back the sheep which Satan had led astray to the Church of the Lord Christ. Therefore Satan brought down upon him great trouble on account of his purity of heart and excellence of character.

In those days Alexandria was governed by a man whose name was Theodore<sup>1</sup>, who was a chief among a congregation of the Chalcedonians, and was an opponent of the orthodox Theodosians. This man went to Damascus to the leader of the Muslims, whose name was Yazid, son of Mu'âwiyah, and received from him a diploma giving him authority over the people of Alexandria and Maryût and all the neighbouring districts, and declaring that the governor of Egypt had no jurisdiction over him; for he had given Yazid much money. Then Theodore returned and tyrannised over the father, Abba Agathon, and troubled him; not only demanding of him the money which he was bound to pay, and taking from him thirty-six denarii as poll-tax every year, on account of his disciples, but that which he spent upon the sailors in the fleet he also exacted from him. And whenever he wanted funds he required the patriarch to supply them. But the community of the Chalcedonians would not associate with this man. The pa-

1. Some mss. have « Theodosius ».

الخلقدونيين يختلطون بهذا الرجل وكان<sup>1</sup> يحتاج الى سبعة الاف<sup>2</sup> دينار لتواضروس الخلقدونى خارجة عن خراج وسايه وما كان يمكنه يخرج من باب قلايته من قوة بغضته له لاجل الامانة الارثوذكسيّة حتى انه امر وقال من راي بابا<sup>3</sup> التواضوسيين يخرج ليلاً او نهاراً فيرجمه بالحجارة ويقتله وانا المجاوب عنه وكان الاب اغاثون مختفياً ايام ذلك الملك المنافق وهو داع له كوصية الانجيل حبّوا<sup>4</sup> اعداءكم باركوا على لاعنيكم وفي ايامه عمّرت البيعة التى على اسم ابي مقار وكثرت الاخوة حتى انهم بنوا القلالي قريب البهاس<sup>5</sup> وكانوا ينموا بنعمة السيّد المسيح وكانوا الاخوة المؤمنون يعينونهم وفي هذد الايام طهر انسان من الدير طاهر البدن نقى القلب عارف بالحكمستين البيعية والعالمية اسمه يوحنا من اهل سممود<sup>6</sup> كان معتفياً في البرية اعتل علة عظيمة ولم يعتقد احد من<sup>7</sup> الشيوخ انه يبرأ<sup>8</sup> فرأى ليلة من الليالى مناما كان انسان مضىء عظيم المجد جالس على كرسى السارافيم ومعه جماعة نزل<sup>9</sup> قريباً من باب قلايته ونظر جماعة من الشيوخ الالباء القديسين

1. E om. to وسايه. — 2. ABF ألف. — 3. ABDEG البابا التواضروس. — 4. E om. to لاعنيكم. — 5. AB البهاس. — 6. E سممود. — 7. D om. with foll. word. — 8. ABDC يبرأ. — 9. EG تنزل.

triarch needed seven thousand denarii to satisfy the demands of Theodore the Chalcedonian, besides the taxes upon his property, and was prevented from leaving his cell by the governor's cruel hostility on account of his orthodox faith, for he even issued a command, saying : « Whoever shall see the pope of the Theodosians going out by night or by day, may stone him to death, and I will be responsible for him ». So the Father Agathon lay hid during the days of that impious official, praying for him according to the injunction of the Gospel<sup>1</sup> : « Love your enemies, bless those that curse you ».

In the days of Abba Agathon was built the church which was dedicated in the name of the Father Macarius. And the brethren multiplied so that they built the cells near the Marsh; and they increased by the grace of the Lord Christ, and the believing brethren assisted them. In those days there appeared at the monastery a man, pure in body and clean of heart, learned in the two kinds of wisdom, the ecclesiastical and the secular, whose name was John, a native of Samannud. While he was making a pilgrimage to the desert he was attacked by a sore sickness, and none of the seniors believed that he would be healed. Then one night he saw a dream as if one in human form giving forth light and in great glory, sitting on the throne of the Seraphim and surrounded by a multitude,

1. S. Matth., v. 44; S. Luke, vi. 27, 28.



الدى<sup>1</sup> فى البرية وتقدموا لياخذوا البركة من الجالس على الكرسي فقال فى فكره لو ان لى انسانا يسكننى<sup>2</sup> انا ايضا لاتقدم الى هذا الملك السماوى العظيم وآخذ بركته فليعلمنى كنت استريح من هذه العلة والوجع فعند ذلك تقدم اليه واحد ممن كان حول الكرسي والجالس عليه وهو لابس لباس البطارقة الرسل وعلى صدره كتاب يشبه انجيل فقال تختار<sup>3</sup> ان اقدمك لسيدينا لينعم عليك بالعافية فسجد<sup>4</sup> له بدموع وطلب اليه قائلاً ارحمنى يا سيدي وامض بى اليه لاتنى فى تعب عظيم فاجاب ذلك القديس وقال له يا يوحنا لانه كان كاهناً قل<sup>5</sup> لى انك اذا عوفيت من الرب<sup>6</sup> تكون لى ولداً وانا امضى بك اليه فعاهده فى الرويا بان يكون له ولداً الى يوم وفاته فامسك بيده وقدمه الى مخلص العالم فخرّ يوحنا ساجداً على رجليه<sup>7</sup> فقال له المخلص يا يوحنا لما ذا تحبون الباطل يا بنى البشر وترفضون الحق وتطلبون الكذب اذ<sup>8</sup> ظننت<sup>9</sup> انك جئت الى هاهنا تبني لك

1. E الذين. — 2. D يسك يدي F يسك يدي. — 3. E تريد. — 4. E om. to. — 5. A لك. — 6. ABC add. اريد ذلك يا سيدي. — 7. E قدريد. — 8. ABFG او. — 9. E om. with foll. word.

alighted near the door of his cell. And he beheld a band of seniors, the holy fathers who live in the desert, going forward to receive the blessing of him that sat on the throne. And he said in his own mind : « If I had some one who would take me, I also would go forward to this great heavenly king, and receive his blessing, and then perchance I should recover from this sickness and pain ». At that moment there approached him one of those who had been standing around the throne and him that sat upon it, a man clothed in the raiment of the patriarchs and apostles, and holding upon his breast a book like the gospel; and he said : « Wilt thou that I bring thee to our Lord that he may grant thee the grace of healing? » Then John prostrated himself before that man with tears and prayed him saying : « Have pity on me, O my Lord, and take me to him, for I am in great trouble ». So that holy one answered and said to him, for he was a priest : « O John, tell me that, if thou shalt be healed by the Lord, thou wilt be a son to me, and I will take thee to him ». And he promised him in the vision that he would be a son to him until the day of his death; and that man took his hand and brought him to the Saviour of the world. Thereupon John fell prostrate at his feet, and the Saviour said to him : « O John, why love ye vanity, ye sons of men, and neglect the truth, and seek lies? Behold, didst thou intend in coming hither to build for thyself a cell of clay which will quickly disappear, or to lay up for thyself treasures in heaven,

قلاية طين وهى تضمحل عن قليل او تكتنز لك كنوزا في السماء وتبنى لك في اورشليم  
 السماوية المدينة \* الجديدة بيتا<sup>1</sup> لا يضمحل فوقع على رجليه وطلب<sup>2</sup> منه العفو فاقامه الرب \* P. 106  
 وقال له الآن قد انعمت عليك بالعافية لاجل<sup>3</sup> مرقس الانجيلي فامض فكلما يامرك به  
 فافعله وصعد الرب الى السماء بسجد وكرامة فاستيقظ من الرويا وهو معافي وفكر قائلا ما  
 هذا الفعل الآن فنزل عليه التسلي من ذلك اليوم وصار الى دير من اعمال النجوم ومعه  
 تلميذاه واختفى<sup>4</sup> هناك<sup>5</sup> فظهر<sup>6</sup> للاب انبا اغاثون من قال له انفذ الى<sup>7</sup> يوحنا القس الذي<sup>8</sup> من  
 سمينود ليعينك ويساعدك وهو الذي يجلس بعدك على الكرسي فانفذ كهنة<sup>9</sup> الى اسقف  
 النجوم انبا مينا وكتب اليه بان ينفذ له القس يوحنا وكان ذلك الاسقف يحبه ويربح من  
 كلامه فما<sup>10</sup> قدر ان يخالف الاب البطرك فبعث الرسل اليه فيحملوه في مركب وانفذ الى  
 اسكندرية فلما رآه البطرك فرح<sup>11</sup> به لان كان حكيما جدا فلم له بيعته وجعل له  
 الساطن عليها وعلى المدينة وكان بعض الناس يسألوه ان يتقسمه اسقفيا على الصعيد

1. B بنيايا. — 2. E om. with foll. word. add. يا سيدي. — 3. ABC لاجل. — 4. ABEG  
 واختفى. — 5. ABE om. — 6. B فظهر الاب. — 7. DF احضر. — 8. E السميردي.  
 — 9. E om. to البطرك add. عنده. — 10. F فلم يمكنه. — 11. E وفرح.

and erect for thyself in the heavenly Jerusalem, the new city, a mansion which will not perish? » So he fell at his feet and prayed to be forgiven. And the Lord raised him up and said to him : « Now I grant thee the healing of thy sickness for the sake of Mark the Evangelist : therefore depart, and do all that he bids thee ». Then the Lord ascended to heaven with glory and majesty.

After that John awoke from his dream, healed of his sickness. And he meditated, saying : « What is this that has now been done? » Then consolation descended upon him from that day. And he went to a monastery in the province of the Faiyûm, accompanied by his two disciples; and he concealed himself there.

Subsequently there appeared to Abba Agathon one who said to him : « Send to John the priest, who is of Samannûd, that he may help thee and assist thee; for it is he that shall sit after thee upon the throne ». Accordingly the patriarch despatched some of the clergy to the bishop of the Faiyûm, Abba Mennas, and wrote bidding him send to him the priest John. Now that bishop loved John, and profited by his discourse, but he could not contradict the Father Patriarch. So he sent the messengers to John, and they brought him in a boat, and the bishop despatched him to Alexandria.

When the patriarch saw John he rejoiced over him, because he was very wise; and therefore he delivered to him his church, and gave him au-



واخرون لبعض الكراسى والله يحفظه لدعته<sup>1</sup> مثل داود حتى يتم له ما هو موعود به في<sup>2</sup> الرويا بوادي حبيب وكان الاب الحثاني اغاثون مهتما في جميع ايامه بتسمة الكهنة المستحقين<sup>3</sup> للشرطونية الخائفين من الله والناس<sup>4</sup> يشكرون الله على افعاله وكان<sup>5</sup> في ايامه الاسقف المنبوط اغريغوريوس اسقف القيس وسرياني<sup>6</sup> اسمه يوسف وفي ايامه ظهر هارسيس<sup>7</sup> فيماناخوس النجسة وكان امير من المسلمين اسمه مسلمة جمع سبعة اساقفة وانفذهم الى سخا بسبب قوم على انهم كانوا يحرقون بالنار من القوم المستخدمين ليكشفوا<sup>8</sup> عن جريرتهم فوصلوا واجتمعوا بانسان ارخن بسخا اسمه اسحق وسددوا<sup>9</sup> حالهم واعفوا من الحريق واجتمع اسحق المذكور مع والى سخا وظفيرا<sup>10</sup> على تاوذوروس<sup>11</sup> الخلقدونى الذى فى الاسكندرية وكان هذا اسحق قد تولى جميع الكورة لاجله لاجل ما فعله مع البطرك من السوء ثم انه اكمل كل ايامه بشيخوخة

1. E om. to داود. — 2. E om. to حبيب. — 3. E om. with foll. wd. — 4. E om. to النجسة. — 5. So F; other Mss. om. with 2 foll. wds. — 6. Mss. om. و. — 7. Mss. الهارسيس. — 8. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 9. E وسدد احوالهم. — 10. F om. other Mss. طافرا. — 11. A تاودرس BG تاوذوروس DF تادرس E تاوذوروس and so below.

thority over it and over the city. And some of the people prayed him to ordain John bishop over Upper Egypt, and others suggested some other see. But God was reserving him for his gentleness like David, that he might accomplish for him what had been promised in the vision in Wadi Habib.

And that true father, Agathon, was occupied all his days in providing for the ordination of priests who were worthy of the laying on of hands and were full of the fear of God; while men thanked God for his deeds. In his time lived the blessed bishop Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais, and a Syrian, whose name was Joseph. In his days also appeared the foul heresy of the Monk.

There was a commander among the Muslims, whose name was Maslamah, and he called together seven bishops, and sent them to Sakha on business connected with some people there, who were alleged to have burnt with fire some of the clerks employed there. The bishops were directed to try the accused; and, when they arrived at Sakha, they acted in concert with a man who was a magistrate there, named Isaac, and they corrected the state of affairs; and those men were healed from the burning. And the said Isaac came to an agreement with the governor of Sakha, and together they prevailed over Theodore the Chaldeonian who was at Alexandria. For this Isaac had received authority over the whole province on his account, because of the harm that he had done to the patriarch.

حسنة واعتل واقام سبع<sup>١</sup> عشرة سنة على كرسيه وتنيح في سانس عشر بابة وجعل جسده كما في سيرة ابي مقار مع الاب بنيامين وهو حافظ<sup>٢</sup> الامة الارثوذكسية لابس اكليل البر مع جميع القديسين في كورة الاحياء الى ابد الابد امين

يوحنا من المل سنود

وهو الاربعون من عدد الابهاء البطاركة

ولما تنيح الاب القديس ابنا اغاثون وضع تافزوروس الخلقدونى يده على الكل حتى انهم لم يجدوا خبزاً ياكلونه في يوم وفاته لانه ختم على جميع ما عندهم الى ان انتقم منه الرب<sup>٣</sup> بضربة صعبة في احشائه وهى علة الاستسقاء وصار<sup>٤</sup> ياكل كل يوم<sup>٥</sup> اثني عشر رطلاً خبزاً واربعة وعشرين رطلاً لحماً وقرطلين تينا ويشرب زقاً واحداً نيذاً من مريوط ولا يشبع ولا يروى ولا يستلئ بطنه ومات بموتة سوء وولوا ولد عوضه وصار لابينا ابنا يوحنا كالولد وكان له امانة فيه ومحبة وكان الاب البطريرك يهديه

1. Mss. تسعة. — 2. ABCDEG om. — 3. ABDG حافظاً للامة E om. to الابدن add. — 4. E om. to بطنه. — 5. E om. to نكرن معنا.

Then the patriarch Agathon finished his days in a good old age, and at the end he fell sick after remaining seventeen years upon his throne, and went to his rest on the 16th of Bābah. And his body was placed, as it is written in the history of Saint Macarius, with the Father Benjamin. He died keeping the orthodox faith, and is now wearing the crown of righteousness with all the saints in the land of the living for ever and ever. Amen.

JOHN III. OF SAMANNUD, THE FORTIETH PATRIARCH, A. D. 677-686.

When the holy father, Abba Agathon, went to his rest, Theodore the Chalcedonian laid his hand on everything, so that they did not find even bread to eat on the day of the patriarch's death; for he set his seal on all that belonged to Agathon, and on all that they had. But at last the Lord took vengeance on Theodore by a sore plague in his vitals, namely the disease of the dropsy; and he began to eat every day twelve pounds of bread and twenty-four pounds of meat and two baskets of figs, and to drink daily one skin of wine of Maryut; and yet neither his hunger nor his thirst was satisfied, nor was his belly filled. Thus he died an evil death.

And his son was appointed governor instead of him, and became like a son to our father Abba John, for he had confidence in him and love for him. Thus the Father Patriarch led him like a son. At the beginning of his oc-



كالولد وكان في بداية جلوسه على الكرسي<sup>1</sup> قتل طياريوس الملك على بزنطية واخذ ولده الملك واسمه اوغسطس ولما ملك هذا جعل اجتهد السواحل التي اخذوها المسلمون فاستعادها<sup>2</sup> فاخذ جزائرًا كثيرًا<sup>3</sup> مما كانوا المسلمون ملكوها وكذلك حقلية عمرها وفي ذلك الزمان قام غير راهب في مدينة القسطنطينية اسمه مكسيموس وحرك اضطرابًا وقلقًا في كورته وقال ان كنتم على امانة خلدونية حقًا فاعترفوا بقول المجمع بطبعين وشخصين واقتومين وارادتين ومشيتين فتبعه جمع كثير فوقع بينهم خصومة عظيمة وغضب عليهم اوغسطس الملك وانفذ هذا الغير راهب الى النفي ومضى هذا الملك الى حقلية بعد زمان فقتل هناك ذبحًا بيد استاذ له من<sup>4</sup> استاذيه وولى الملك بعده ولده يوستينانوس<sup>5</sup> عوضه وكان ملكًا جريئًا فوقع خوفه في قلوب المسلمين مثل اسد يثب على الذئب وفي هذه الايام بعد موت يزيد بن معاوية قام من كورة المسلمين ملك اسمه مروان ثار مثل الاسد اذا<sup>6</sup> خرج من الغابة جائعًا ياكل ويدوس الباقي برجليه هذا ملك الشرق وفسطاط

1. ABDG F على الملك. — 2. ABDEG F add. استعادها. — 3. BG منهم. — 4. E om. with foll. wd. — 5. A استينانوس BG استينانوس. — 6. E om. to برجليه.

cupation of the see took place the slaying of Tiberius who was prince of Byzantium; and his son took the empire, and his name was Augustus. And when this man began to reign, he made war upon the coasts which the Muslims had taken, and recovered them. And he took many islands of which the Muslims had gained possession, and so likewise he restored Sicily.

At that time there arose one who was no true monk in the city of Constantinople, whose name was Maximus; and he stirred up disturbance and trouble in his country. For he said : « If you truly believe in the faith of Chalcedon, then confess the doctrine of two Natures and two Persons and two Hypostases and two Wills and two Velleities, which the council taught. » So many people followed him; and there arose a great dispute between the two parties. And Augustus the prince was angry with them, and sent this man who was no true monk into exile. And this prince went to Sicily after a time, and was \* killed there like a slaughtered victim by one of his two attendants.

After him his son Justinian ruled the empire instead of him, and he was a bold prince; and the fear of him fell upon the hearts of the Muslims as when a lion leaps out upon a pack of wolves.

But in those days, after the death of Yazîd, the son of Mu'âwiyah, there arose from the land of the Muslims a prince, whose name was Marwân, who rushed forth like a lion when he comes out of his den hungry, and

مصر وولى اولاده كل الكور الكبير منهم اسمه عبد الملك دفع له دمشق والثانى عبد العزيز دفع له مصر وكان خوف عظيم بين مروان وبين المصريين لانهم كانوا يترجون وصول انسان اخر اسمه ابن الزبير<sup>1</sup> فوصل وغلب مروان وجعل له كاتبان مأموران ارثدكسيان جعلهما على جميع كورة مصر ومريوط ومراقبة<sup>2</sup> ودبلوا وهى لوبية اسم احدهما اتاسيوس وكان له ثلثة اولاد وهو من اهل الرها من اعمال سوربة والاخر اسمه اسحق هو<sup>3</sup> وولده من اهل شبرا تى قوم<sup>4</sup> اخيار ارثدكسيون ولما تولى<sup>5</sup> عبد العزيز مصر كتب الاب البطريك من اسكندرية الى مصر الى الكاتبين اللذين توليا ديوانه يعرفهما حال الختم الذى كان على الاماكن وما هو فيه من الضرر مع الخلق دونيين الكفرة عند ذلك انقذا الكاتبان المذكوران رسلاً الى الاسكندرية بان يفك الخاتم عن الاماكن وتسليم جميع ما للبيعة الى الاب البطرك وكان هذا الاب قديساً عليه نعمة الله ظاهرة فى وجهه مثل موسى النبي حتى ان كل احد لا يتمكن من النظر الى وجهه ولا يقدر

\* P. 108

1. ABCDEFG تفسير E. — 2. E om. to لوبية. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 5. ABDEFG ولى.

devours the rest or tramples them under foot. He took possession of the East and of Fustât Miṣr. And he made his sons governors over all the provinces. To the eldest of them, whose name was Abd al-Malik, he gave Damascus; and to the second, Abd al-Aziz, he gave Egypt.

And there was great enmity between Marwân and the Egyptians, because they had set their hopes on the arrival of another man, whose name was Ibn az-Zubair. But when he arrived, Marwân defeated him. And there were appointed for Abd al-Aziz two secretaries, trustworthy and orthodox, whom he set over the whole of the land of Egypt and Maryût and Marâkiyah and Pentapolis which is Libya. One of them was named Athanasius, and he had three sons, and was a native of Edessa in the land of Syria; while the other's name was Isaac, and he and his two sons were natives of Shubrâ Tanî, of a good and orthodox family.

And when Abd al-Aziz became governor of Egypt, the Father Patriarch wrote from Alexandria to Miṣr to the two scribes who presided over his divan, to make known to them what had been done concerning the seal, which was set upon all the places, and the trouble with the misbelieving Chalcedonians from which he was suffering. Thereupon the said scribes sent messengers to Alexandria with instructions that the seal should be broken in the places named, and that all the property of the Church should be delivered to the Father Patriarch.

Now this father was a saint, and the grace of God appeared in his face



يسيزه ولا<sup>1</sup> محاجر عينيه من كثرة النور الذي عليه وكان الرب يشفى كثيراً من المرضى بدعائه وكان يتول النفس والجسد وكان مسالماً لكل احد من الناس وظهرت افعاله وعجائبه حتى بلغت الى الملك والى جميع من فى قصره حتى انهم انفذوا اليه هدايا من القسطنطينية وفى اول سنة تولى عبد العزيز مضى الى الاسكندرية كعادة من يتولى لياخذ خراجها وكان ذلك فى كل يوم الف دينار عيناً فيحمل الى ملك الروم مال كثير وكانت<sup>2</sup> مهادنة<sup>3</sup> عشر سنين بغير حرب فلما وصل الى المدينة ولم يكن وصوله ظاهراً بل مستوراً لم يخرج البطريرك ليلتقاه لانه لم يعلم بوصوله فحينئذ سعوا به اقوام كثير كفرّة ومخالفون وكان مقدمهم رجلاً<sup>4</sup> يسمى تاوفانيس وهو زوج اخت تاوضوروس الخلقدونى وقالوا<sup>5</sup> انه ما خرج ولا تلقاك لكثرة تجبره وكبريائه وكثرة ماله فانفذ بغضب احضر الطوبانى ابنا يوحنا الى الايوان فوقفه بين يديه وقال له<sup>6</sup> ما سبب غلظ رقبتك وتأخيرك عن الخروج للقاءى دون هذه المدينة فاجاب الطوبانى وقال له قد علم الله انى لم افعل هذا لغلظ رقبة

1. DEF om. with 2 foll. wds. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. ADF مهادنة B وهداية G وهدايا. —

4. E om. to وهو. — 5. E add. للملك. — 6. E om. to لكن add. للملك عدم خروجى.

as in Moses the prophet, so that none could look upon his face, nor discern its features nor the sockets of his eyes on account of the great light which was upon it. And the Lord healed many of the sick through his prayers; and he was a virgin in soul and body; and he lived in peace with all men. And his deeds and wonders were manifested, so that even the prince and all in his palace heard of them, and sent gifts to him from Constantinople.

And in the first year that Abd al-Azîz became governor, he went to Alexandria, according to the custom of those who were appointed governors, to receive its taxes, which were every day a thousand denarii in cash. Then much money was sent to the prince of the Romans; and there was a truce for ten years without war. When the governor arrived at the city, since his entry was not public but private, the patriarch did not go forth to meet him, because he did not know of his coming. Thereupon he was denounced by many people, misbelievers and heretics, whose leader was a man named Theophanes, the husband of the sister of Theodore the Chaldeonian; for they said that he did not go forth nor meet him on account of the greatness of his pride and haughtiness, and his great wealth. Then Abd al-Aziz sent in anger and summoned the blessed Abba John to the palace, and made him stand before him, and said to him : « What is the cause of thy stiffnecked pride and of thy delay in coming forth to meet me outside this city? » The blessed one answered and said to him : « God knows that I did not



لكن لضعفى ولائى لا امكن فى كل وقت من الخروج من المدينة الى موضع اخر  
 فحينئذ غضب الامير وسلمه لمترسمين<sup>1</sup> الى ان يقوم بمائة الف دينار فتسلمه صاحب برج  
 اسمه سمد رجل<sup>2</sup> ليس فيه رحمة قاسى القلب مملوء سوءاً فتسلمه اول يوم من جمعة  
 الفصح الكبيرة فاخذه ومضى به الى منزله ليعذبه حتى يقوم بالمال فلما اوقفه قدّامه وكان  
 معه رجلان من اولاد الاخيار وهما ارأس القس الامين على مال البيعة رجل ذو سلامة  
 مزين بكل فضيلة معروف بالدة عند اهل كل المدينة والشماس<sup>3</sup> كاتبه رجل حكيم  
 محب للناس عارف بالكتب فاضل فلما اوقف ذلك الرجل السوء ابانا البطريرك قدّامه قال  
 له اريد منك مائة الف دينار التى<sup>4</sup> امر الامير ان تقوم بها فاجاب وقال له بسكينة  
 وهدوء تطلب منى مائة الف دينار وما معى منها مائة الف درهم ولكن الاهى لم يجعل  
 فى شريعته ان اترك معى شيئاً ولا اقتنى مالا قط لانه اصل كل شر فما شئت ان تفعل  
 فافعل جسدى بيدك ونفسى وجسدى معا بيد سيدى يسوع المسيح فلما سمع الكافر

ليترى بمائة الف دينار add. فتسلمه الى رجل. — 2. E om. to فتسلمه. — 3. F add. اسحق. — 4. D om. to دينار. — وذلك.

do this on account of stiffness of neck, but on account of my weakness, and because I cannot always go forth from the city to another place ». Then the Amir was angry and delivered him to certain officers until he should pay a hundred thousand denarii; and he was received into custody by the governor of a castle, who was named Samad, a man without mercy, hard of heart and full of evil. This man received the patriarch on the first day of the Great Week before Easter; and took him and brought him to his dwelling, to torment him until he should pay the money. Afterwards he made him stand before him; and there were with the patriarch two men of good families, namely Aräs the priest, steward of the property of the Church, a man of peace, adorned with every excellence, famous for his gentleness among the inhabitants of the whole city, and the deacon, his secretary, a wise man, loving his fellows, learned in the Scriptures, and virtuous. So when that evil man made our father, the patriarch, stand before him, he said to him : « I require of thee one hundred thousand denarii, which the Amir commands thee to pay ». So he answered and said to him calmly and quietly : « Thou demandest of me one hundred thousand denarii, and I have not out of that sum one hundred thousand drachmae. But my God has not put in his law a command that I should save anything for myself, or gain money at all, for it is the root of all evil. Do therefore whatever it pleases thee to do. My body is in thy hands, but my soul and body are both in the hands of my Lord Jesus Christ ». When the misbeliever heard this,

ذلك غضب جداً وصر اسنانه على القديس وامر ان يحضر له قصرية نحاس ملا<sup>1</sup> جمر نار وتجعل رجلا فيهما حتى يقول انه يقوم بالمال والله مدبر عبيده انزل في تلك الليلة على زوجة الامير عبد العزيز امراً صعباً حتى انها قلقت وانفذت استاذها الى سمد وقالت<sup>2</sup> له احذر ان تفعل سوءاً برجل الله البطرك الذي سلموه لك لان قد اصابني بسببه بلايا عظيمة في هذه الليلة فخلاله بغير اختياره هو وولديه الاخيار الصالحين الى غد ليفكر فيما يفعل به فلما كان في وقت صياح الديك مضى سمد الى الامير واجتمع به وعرفه الخبر وانه لم يعاقبه فقال له الامير اياك ان تمس جسده لاجل ما نالنا في هذه الليلة بسببه لكن مهما قدرت عليه خذ منه بلطف والا فلا تقربه بسوء لان الله قد اظهر لي انه عبده فعاد سمد الى بيته وكان<sup>3</sup> هذا يوم الثلا من الجمعة الكبيرة فاحضر يوحنا البطرك القديس قدامه وكلمه بكلام كثير وهدده تهديداً عظيماً وجاب له ثياب يهودى وحلف انه ان لم يحمل ما يقرر عليه اولاً باول والا البسه<sup>3</sup> اياها ولطخ وجهه

1. BEG ملانة DF عمارة. — 2. E om. to الكبيرة. — 3. E البسد اياهم ويطاخ other mss. البسها له.

he was greatly indignant, and he gnashed with his teeth at the saint, and commanded that a brazen vessel full of coals of fire should be brought, and his feet placed in it until he should say that he would pay the money. But God, the ruler of his servants, sent down that night upon the wife of the Amir Abd al-Azîz a sore sickness, so that she was troubled and sent her eunuch to Samad, to say to him : « Take heed that thou do no harm to that man of God, the patriarch, whom they have delivered to thee; for great trials have befallen me on account of him this night ». So Samad against his will released the patriarch, as well as his two good and excellent sons, until the morrow, that he might take thought as to what he should do with him.

Then at the time of cock-crow Samad went to the Amir and had an interview with him, and made known to him what had happened, and that he had not put the patriarch to the torture. So the Amir said to him : « Beware of touching his body, because of what has befallen us this night on his account. But whatever thou canst obtain from him, take it from him by gentle means, and if that be impossible, yet do no harm to him, for God has revealed to me that he is his servant ».

So Samad returned to his house. And it was now Tuesday in the Great Week. So he summoned John, the holy patriarch, before him, and threatened him with many threats, and brought him the garments of a Jew, and swore that if he would not pay the sum of money that he had first

برماد وطاف<sup>1</sup> به حول المدينة كلها فلم يخاف بالجملة بل كان يقول له بقوة قلب ان لم يخلصني الرب الالهى من يديك والا فما لك قدرة ان تفعل فتى شيئا الا بامرہ فقال له سمد الكافر انا اترك لك خمسين الف دينار وتقوم بخمسين الف دينار وانما اطلقك تتسبب<sup>2</sup> فى حالك وتحصلها اجاب القديس البطرك وقال له الذى اقدر عليه ثيابى التى على جسدى ولم يزل ينازله الى ان بلغ عشرة الاف دينار فقال له البطرك ما اقول ما لا اقدر عليه فلما اتصل الخبر بالكتاب المستصرفين بالاسكندرية ان الحال انتهت الى عشرة الاف دينار انفذوا اليه وقالوا له اقبل بالعشرة الاف دينار ونحن نقسطها على الاساقفة والكتاب والدواوين التى نحن مستخدمون فيها لتلا يجرى على البيعة شىء ثم مضوا الى عبد العزيز وسألوه احضار البطرك ليسمع<sup>3</sup> منه قوله وكان يوم الخميس الكبير فلما احضره ورفع نظره اليه رآه كأنه شبه ملاك الله فامرا<sup>4</sup> للوقت ان يحضر له بمخدة

1. ABG ريطرف DF ريدور. — 2. E om. with 3 foll. wds. — 3. ABCDEG ريسمع.  
— 4. E om. to عليها add. فامرہ بالحلوس.

required of him, he would clothe him with those garments, and defile his face with ashes, and lead him round the whole city. But John was not at all afraid, but kept saying to him with a brave heart : « Even if the Lord my God does not save me from thy hand, yet thou hast no power to do aught to me except by his command ». Then Samad the misbeliever said to him : « I will yield to thee fifty thousand denarii; and thou shalt pay fifty thousand denarii; and I will release thee to negotiate as thou canst, and raise that sum for me ». The saintly patriarch answered and said to him : « The only things that I can dispose of are my garments which are upon my body ». After that Samad did not cease to lower his demands until he reached ten thousand denarii. So the patriarch said to him : « I will not promise what I cannot perform ». Then when the news came to the secretaries who administered the affairs of Alexandria that the sum demanded had come down to ten thousand denarii, they sent to Abba John and said to him : « Undertake to pay the ten thousand denarii, and we will divide the debt among the bishops and the secretaries and the divans in which we serve, so that nothing may happen to the Church ».

Then they went to Abd al-Azîz, and prayed him to summon the patriarch, and hear from him what he had to say. And that day was the Great Thursday. So when the governor had sent for him, and raised his eyes to him, he saw him as if he were in the similitude of an angel of God. Then he commanded at once that an ample cushion should be brought for Abba John; and when it was laid down, he sat upon it. And Abd al-Aziz said to him :



كبيرة فرميت له فجلس عليها وقال له ما تعلم ان السلطان لا يقاوم فاجاب القديس وقال له السلطان يسمع منه امره فيما يجب ويخالف امره فيما يغضب الله فقد قال ربنا في الانجيل لا تخافوا ممن يقتل الجسد وليس له سلطان على النفس ولكن<sup>1</sup> خافوا ممن يقدر ان يهلك النفس والجسد جميعاً<sup>2</sup> يعنى الله القادر على ذلك وحدد فقال له الامير الهك يحب الصدق والحق فقال له البطرك الهى حق كله وليس فيه كذب بل يهلك كل من ينطق بالكذب فاجاب الامير وقال له انت عندى صادق فمهما كانوا النصارى قد دفعوه لك<sup>3</sup> بسبب مطالبتي لك ادفعه لى وما اريد منك غيره فقالوا الكتاب للبطرك افعل هذا فقبل البطرك ذلك واطلقه الامير بمجد وفرح وسرور وبهجة<sup>4</sup> نالت الارثوذكسيين وغم وخزى نال اعداء البيعة وخرج البطرك المغبوط من دار الامارة راكباً والشعب حافون<sup>5</sup> به وبين يديه وهو راكب دابته بالقراءة والترتيل<sup>6</sup> حتى دخل الى البيعة وحلّى

1. E om. to ذلك. — 2. DF om. add. فى نار جهنم. — 3. E om. to دفعوه لك. — 4. F محيطين E om. to بالقراءة. — 5. E بالترتيل. — 6. F بالترتيل. — 7. E بالترتيل.

« Knowest thou not that the governor may not be thwarted? » The saint answered and said to him : « The governor's command is obeyed in what is right, but his orders are disobeyed when they are displeasing to God. For our Lord says in the Gospel<sup>1</sup> : Fear not those that kill the body, and have no power over the soul, but fear him who can destroy the soul and the body together : that is to say God, who alone can do this » Then the Amir said to him : « Thy God loves honesty and truth ». The patriarch replied : « My God is all truth, and there is no lie in him; but he destroys all those that speak lies ». The Amir answered and said to him : « Thou art honest with me. Therefore whatever the Christians shall give to thee, \* because I \* P. 110 demanded it of thee, give it to me, and I will require no more of thee ». So the secretaries said to the patriarch : « Do this ». Accordingly the patriarch accepted that proposal, and the Amir released him with honour and joy, while gladness and rejoicing were spread among the orthodox, but sorrow and shame among the enemies of the Church.

And the blessed patriarch rode forth from the governor's palace, amid the acclamations of the people, who walked before him, while he was mounted on his horse, with chanting and singing, until he entered the church. There he blessed the basin of water, and washed the feet of the people; and afterwards he celebrated the Liturgy, and carried the Holy Mysteries, and communica-

1. S. Matth., x, 28: S. Luke, xii, 4, 5.

على القصرية وغسل ارجل الشعب ثم قدّس وحمل السرائر المقدسة وقرب الشعب وعاد الى قلايته برحمة الله ومعونته ونال المخالفين من ذلك خزي<sup>1</sup> وغم كثير<sup>2</sup> واكثر من الكل الذين سعوا به ولا سيّما تاوفانس الرئيس على مريوط وفي تلك الايام قبض الامير عليه بسرعة وسلّمه الى الكاتب فانقذه الى السجن ثم قتله بعد عذاب شديد ومضى الى الجحيم والله صانع العجائب وحده رزق الاب البطرك قبولاً ونعمة عند الامير فامر في جميع المدينة ان لا يخاطب احد البطرك الا بالخطاب الحسن ولا يذكر فيه كلمة سوء ولا يعترض له احد فيما يريد ولا في خروج ولا في دخول في المدينة حينئذ وجدوا الزمان وساعدوه الاراحنة والكتّاب المؤمنون وجميع الشعب الارثوذكسى حتى اوفى الامير ما قرّر له ومن بعد ذلك ساعدوه<sup>3</sup> ايضا في بيان<sup>4</sup> بيعة الشهيد الجليل الانجيلي ماري مرقس وكملها في ثلث سنين بكل زينة واشترى لها رباعا بمصر وفي مريوط والاسكندرية وبني<sup>5</sup> طاحون كعك ومعصرة زيت حار ودورا كثيرة جعلها لبيعة<sup>6</sup> القديس ماري مرقس

1. F حزين. — 2. E om. to مريوط. — 3. ABDG ساعدوه. — 4. F عبارة. — 5. E om. to عرقس. — 6. F البيعة.

ted the people. Then he returned to his Cell, by the mercy and help of God.

Much shame and sorrow came to the heretics from this, and more to those who had accused him than to any other, and especially to Theophanes the governor of Maryût. For in those days the Amir arrested him suddenly, and delivered him to the secretary, who sent him to prison, and afterwards put him to death after severe torments. And he went to Hell.

God, the only worker of miracles, vouchsafed to the Father Patriarch acceptance and favour with the Amir, who commanded throughout the city that none should address the patriarch except with good words nor say any evil of him, and that none should hinder him in what he desired, nor in going out of the city nor coming into it. Then the magistrates and believing scribes and all the orthodox people found their opportunity, and assisted Abba John, until he had paid the Amir the sum that he had finally demanded of him. And after that they assisted him also in the rebuilding of the church of the glorious martyr and evangelist Saint Mark; and he completed it in three years with every kind of decoration, and bought for it house-property in Miṣr and in Maryût and in Alexandria. And he built a mill to grind wheat into flour for making biscuit, and a press for linseed oil, and many houses which he settled upon the church of the holy Saint Mark. And the Lord blessed him in every way in his deeds and words. In his days also the orthodox received into their community the people of Agharwah and the people



وباركه الرب من<sup>1</sup> كل وجه في اعماله وكلامه وفي ايامه اشتركوا الارثوذكسيون مع<sup>2</sup> اهل اغروة<sup>3</sup> واهل سخيطة لانهم كانوا خلقدونيين وكانت نعمة المسيح تعينه وتقويه وسأل الرب ان يظهر له من يصلح لان يجلس بعده على الكرسي فلما علم عن اخ عالم فضيل مشتمل بكل فضيلة متعبّد في دير القديس ابي مقار بوادي هيب اسمه اسحق كان<sup>4</sup> هذ قد صار ولدًا روحانيًا لاسقف اسمه زخرياء مملوء من نعمة روح القدس في<sup>5</sup> هيئته ووقاره واتضاعه وحسن اعماله فكتب القديس يوحنا البطريرك فاحضره اليه وكان يحفظه مثل حدقة العين وكان الاخ اسحق مجتهدًا في اعمال الله وفي<sup>6</sup> الكتابة والنسخ وكان قد امره<sup>7</sup> البطريرك مع ذلك بمشاركته له في الاعمال البيعية فحدث غلاء في ايام القديس يوحنا البطريرك المذكور اقام ثلث سنين واعان الله هذا الاب على<sup>8</sup> القيام بحال ضعفاء المدينة ثلث<sup>9</sup> سنين والا كانوا هالكين من الغلاء وكان يدفع لهم قوتهم دفعتين في كل

1. E om. to وتقويه add. وقراه. — 2. So F, other mss. om. — 3. ABD اغروة G. — 4. E om. to البطريرك. — 5. F ذو هيئة ووقار النخ. — 6. E om. to البيعية. — 7. So F; ABDG have كان امر البطريرك مع ذلك الاخ زمان بطريركته مشاركي (مشاركًا BG) له في. — 8. So DF; ABEG بالقيام. — 9. E om. to الصدقة add. هذه المرة.

of the Noite nome, who had been Chalcedonians. Thus the grace of Christ helped and strengthened him.

And he prayed the Lord to reveal to him who was fit to sit after him upon the throne. So when he heard of a brother, named Isaac, learned, excellent, clothed with every virtue, who was serving God in the monastery of the holy Saint Macarius in Wadi Habib, and had been spiritual son to a bishop, named Zacharias, full of the grace of the Holy Ghost in his venerable character and dignity and humility and good deeds, then the holy patriarch John wrote and summoned that brother to himself, and guarded him like the pupil of his eye. And the brother Isaac was engaged in the works of God, and in writing and copying books; but the patriarch notwithstanding that commanded him to become his partner in administering the affairs of the Church.

Then there came a dearth in the days of the holy John, the said patriarch, which lasted three years; but God assisted this father in supporting the poor of the city during three years; for, if he had not done so, they would have perished in the famine. He gave them their food twice every week, and also gave them money; and the mill for biscuit did not cease working night or day, but continued to grind for those that were destitute.



جمعة ويدفع ايضا لهم دراهم وكانت طاحونة<sup>1</sup> الكعك لا تبطل لا ليلاً ولا نهارة بل تعمل للمنقطعين<sup>2</sup> وكانت عينه ملاءى وكان كثير الصدقة وكان يدفع صدقات كثيرة مثل<sup>3</sup> البحر وما<sup>4</sup> كان يعجز عن شيء في<sup>5</sup> اعماله السرنية لله كما فعل يوحنا الانجيلي فاحقه وجع في رجليه من النقرس وتعذب في ذلك كثيراً<sup>6</sup> جداً حتى ان اطباء كانوا يعالجونه بشورة امله واخوته الحائطين به ثم سار عبد العزيز الى مصر فخرج صحبته الى ان وصل الى مصر فاحقه نخس<sup>7</sup> في جنبه فاخبروا الامير بذلك فحزن عليه وانفذ الكتاب ليفتقدود<sup>8</sup> واعدوا له مركباً لينحدر الى الاسكندرية وكان<sup>9</sup> كاتب هذه السيرة معه لانه ولد فلما وصل الى مدينة الاسكندرية وصل الخبر الى جماعة الاساقفة<sup>10</sup> انه<sup>11</sup> متوعل فدخلوا اليه وكان<sup>12</sup> صحبتهم اغريغوريس اسقف القيس وابا<sup>13</sup> يوحنا اسقف نقيوس وابا يعقوب اسقف ارواط<sup>14</sup> وابا يوحنا اسقف سخا وابا ثيدر اسقف ملبس وجماعة من الشعب وكانوا كلهم حزاناً

وبعد ذلك add. فلحقه 1. Mss. طاحون. — 2. E om. with foll. wd. — 3. E om. to فاحقه add. لاحتق. — 4. E om. to به. — 5. Mss. نخس. — 6. So E; other mss. افتقدود E add. لاحتق. — 7. E om. to ولد. — 8. D الاسكندرية. — 9. E om. with foll. wd. — 10. E om. to اراد. — 11. DF om. ابا in each case to افعاله add. وكانوا كلهم حزاناً. — 12. DF ارواط. — 13. B ابا. — 14. DF ارواط.

\* P. 111. And the patriarch's eye was full of affection, and he was great in charity, and used to give alms as abundant as the sea; and he neglected nothing in his works which could please God, like John the Evangelist. At last he was attacked by a disease in his feet, arising from the gout, and he was greatly tormented by it, until the physicians treated him by the advice of his family and of the brethren who surrounded him.

At that time Abd al-Aziz journeyed to Miṣr, and Abba John travelled in company with him, until he arrived at the capital. There the patriarch suffered from a sharp pain in his side; and when the Amir was informed of it, he was sorry for him, and sent the secretaries to visit him; and they prepared a boat for him, that he might return down the river to Alexandria. And the writer of this history was with him, for he was his spiritual son.

When he arrived at the city of Alexandria, the news was brought to the assembly of the bishops that he was prostrate with fever. So they entered to him. And there were in company with them Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais, and Abba John, bishop of Nicin, and Abba James, bishop of Arwât, and Abba John, bishop of Sakhâ, and Abba Theodore, bishop of Metelites, and a body of the laity; and they were all sad because they saw their shepherd called from earth to heaven. For indeed none remained in their generation

لما راوا راعيهم يدعى من الارض الى السماء وانه لم يتم في جيلهم من يشبه افعاله ولما وصل الى بيعة القديس ماري مرقس الانجيلي التي بناها باحكام الله الغير مدروكة حملوه ودخلوا به الى المذبح الكبير فوقف بقوة الروح وقال صلاة الشكر على كمالها<sup>1</sup> فغاب حسه فحملوه ودخلوا به مخدعه فاسلم الروح في يد السيّد المسيح بمجد وكرامة وكانت مدّة مقامه على الكرسي تسع سنين وتنتح في اول يوم من كيهك وجعل جسده في المكان الذي بناه لنفسه قبل نياحته في كنيسة ماري مرقس الرسول<sup>2</sup> بقراءة وتسابيح صاعدة الى الله الذي له المجد والوقار والتسبيح والعظمة والقدرة الى ابد الابدن امين

السيرة السادسة عشرة من سير البيعة المقدسة

اسحق البطرك وهو في العدد الحادي والاربعون

هذا<sup>3</sup> الاب ابا<sup>4</sup> اسحق الذي ظهر للاب ابا<sup>5</sup> يوحنا انه يجلس بعده بسؤاله ورغبته على

وقبلته 3. E om. to. — 4. BG انبا DF om. — 5. BG انبا DF om. — 1. F اخراجا. — 2. E om. to add. الابدن معنا.

like him in his deeds. And when he came to the church of the holy Saint Mark the Evangelist, which he had rebuilt by the incomprehensible decrees of God, they carried him and brought him into the great altar. Thereupon he stood up by the power of the Spirit, and said the whole of the prayer of thanksgiving; and then he lost consciousness. After that they carried him and brought him into his chamber; and so he gave up his spirit into the hand of the Lord Christ in glory and honour.

The period during which he remained on the throne was nine years; and he went to his rest on the first day of Kihak. And his body was laid in the place which he had built for himself before his death, in the church of Saint Mark the Apostle, with chanting and praises ascending to God. To whom belong glory and honour and praise and majesty and power for ever and ever. Amen.

## CHAPTER XVI

ISAAC, THE FORTY-FIRST PATRIARCH. A. D. 686-689<sup>1</sup>.

This is the father, Abba Isaac, of whom it was revealed to the father, Abba John, that he should sit after him, by his prayers and wishes, accor-

1. Cf. Amélineau, *Histoire du patriarche copte Isaac*, étude critique, texte copte et

ما تقدم ذكره لان الكتاب يقول ان الرب يفتقد اصفياه وقال ايضا لا ياخذ احد كرامة من نفسه الا ان يعطاها من عند الرب من السماء وقال في المزمور طوبى لمن اصطفيته وقبلته اليك<sup>1</sup> لما ان<sup>2</sup> مضى<sup>3</sup> ابا<sup>4</sup> يوحنا الى<sup>5</sup> الرب بالتذكار الجيد اجتمعوا الاساقفة وكان<sup>6</sup> مقدمهم اسقف القيس اغريغوريس ويعقوب اسقف ارواط ويوحنا اسقف تقيوس وجماعة من الاساقفة والشعب المسيحي تشاوروا مع كهنة الاسكندرية فاشركوا<sup>7</sup> معهم الكتاب المتولى وانفقوا في ان يقدموا الشماس جرجة الذي من سخا بطركنا من غير<sup>8</sup> مشاورة الامير<sup>9</sup> عبد العزيز وقالوا ان هو وجد علينا اولا<sup>10</sup> تقدم بطرك تقدم<sup>10</sup> الينا ان يكون هذا يجلس مكانه من بعد وفاته واخذ علينا عهدا وايمانا بذلك فلم يمكننا مخالفته ثم اخذوا الشماس جرجة واقسموه<sup>11</sup> قسا والبسوه اسكيم الرهبنة ثم نادوا في البيعة ان في غد يقسم البطرك وسهوا<sup>12</sup> عن قول الكتاب الرب يغدر آراء الامم ويبطل افكار الشعوب ويوقف

1. DF add. يسكن في ديارك. — 2. E om. — 3. E نسيح. — 4. BE ابا DF om. — 5. E om. to الكاتب المتولى. — 6. E om. to الاساقفة add. الجيد. — 7. E om. to وانفقوا. — 8. E om. with foll. wd. — 9. BE ابرنا DF ابرنا. — 10. E om. to مخالفت add. امونا بتقدمت. — 11. BEG قسيمه F واوسمه. — 12. E om. to الماركت.

ding to what has been related before. For the Scripture says<sup>1</sup> that the Lord visits his chosen ones. And it says also<sup>2</sup> : « None shall take an honour by himself unless it be given him by the Lord from heaven ». And it says in the Psalm<sup>3</sup> : « Blessed is he whom thou choolest and receivest unto thee ». For when Abba John departed to the Lord in good remembrance, the bishops assembled together under the presidency of Gregory, the bishop of Al-Kais; and James, bishop of Arwât, and John, bishop of Niciu, and a body of bishops and of the Christian laity took counsel with the clergy of Alexandria, and associated with themselves the secretary who was commissioner for the city; and they agreed that they should promote the deacon George, who was a native of Sakhâ, to the dignity of patriarch, without<sup>4</sup> consulting the Amir Abd al-Aziz. For they said : « If he is angry with us or murmurs, we will tell him that Abba John, the patriarch, commanded us that this man should sit in his place after his death, and made us promise and swear to this, and so we could not oppose him ». Then they took the deacon George, and ordained him priest, and clothed him with the monastic

traduction. in *Bulletin de correspondance africaine*, Paris. 1890, and *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, n° 6 (année 1885). Le Caire, 1886.

1. Gen., i, 24; Exod. xiii. 19. — 2. Hebr., v. 4. — 3. Ps. lxxv. 5 (Sept. lxxiv).



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امور الملوك ولما كان بالغداة البسود ثوب البطركية واعدوا حوائجهم واخرجوه بتعظيم وكانوا مجتهدين في اصلاحه واجتمعوا بارشيدياقن المدينة وكان اسمه مرقس وكان رجلاً فهماً فاضلاً مميّزاً في المدينة فمنعهم وقال ان لم تجيئوا<sup>1</sup> يوم الاحد على ما جرت به العادة في القوانين ويجمع جميع اهل المدينة والا فما<sup>2</sup> اوسمه وهذا امر من الله ليقدم من اصطفاه اولاً وهو ابا اسحق الراهب من اهل شبرا فلما كان بالغداة وصل قوم من اصحاب الامير وقالوا اين الذي اوسموه بطركاً واين الاساقفة والكهنة الذين اوسموه<sup>3</sup> نمضى بهم الى مصر موكلين<sup>4</sup> بهم فاخذوهم وساروا فلما كشفوا الامر وجدوا الكتب تشهد انه ليس الذي قال عنه ابا يوحنا البطرك في حياته فغضب الامير عبد العزيز وبطل

بريدوا يوسموه 3. E om. with foll. wd. add. فلا يتم ذلك. — 1. F تنفعلوا هذا. — 2. E om. with foll. wd. add. — 4. E om. with foll. wd.

habit; and they proclaimed in the church that on the morrow the patriarch would be consecrated, forgetting the words of the Scripture<sup>1</sup>: « The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought, and maketh the thoughts of the people to be of no effect, and hindereth the commands of princes ». And when the morrow came, they clothed the deacon George with the vestment of the patriarchal office, and prepared what they needed, and brought him forth in pomp. But while they were intent upon his consecration, they met the archdeacon of the city, whose name was Mark, and who was a man of understanding, virtuous, and of high reputation in the city; and he forbid them, saying: « If you will not come to the church on Sunday, according to the custom prescribed by the canons, when all the people of the city shall be assembled, I will not assist in the ordination of this man ». Now this was God's command, that he might promote that man whom he had chosen at first, namely Abba Isaac, the monk, who was a native of Shubra.

For when the morrow came, some of the attendants of the Amir arrived and said: « Where is he whom they have appointed patriarch, and where are the bishops and the priests who appointed him, that we may take them to Misr under our charge? » So they took them and departed. Then, when they had enquired into the affair, they found that the documents bore witness that it was not George of whom Abba John had spoken during his lifetime. So the Amir Abd al-Aziz was angry, and cancelled George's nomination, and commanded them to appoint Isaac. And the thing was

1. Ps. xxxiii. 10 (Sept. xxxii).

امر جرجة وامر بتقديم اسحق وكان الامر من الله فمضوا به الاساقفة واوسمود وجلس على الكرسي ثلاث سنين وكان الرب معه يعينه حتى اقام البيعة الكبيرة التي<sup>1</sup> للقديس مرقس لما مالت حيطانها والابستقويين<sup>2</sup> وعلى يديه تجددت قدايس<sup>3</sup> بيع<sup>4</sup> الارثوذكسيين التي لم يتمكنوا من ان يفعلوها اولاً وبني بيعة بجلوان لان في ذلك الموضع كان يمضي الى الامير عبد العزيز وكان قد امر اراخنة الصعيد وسائر الكور ان يبني كل واحد منهم لنفسه مسكناً بجلوان المدينة وفي تلك الايام كتب البطرك الى ملك الحبش وملك النوبة ان يصطاحا ولا يكون بينهما سجنس وذلك اخاف كان بينهما فسعى قوم من اهل المكر الى عبد العزيز فغضب جداً وانفذ من يحضره ليقتله فكتبوا الكتاب كتباً غير الكتب ودفعوها الى الرسل الذين اتقدهم<sup>5</sup> الى الحبشة واخذوا تلك الكتب منهم خوفاً على البطرك وانما فعلوا هذا الامر لئلا يلحق البيعة ضرر ومن قبل ان يصل البطرك<sup>7</sup> الى الامير عرفود ان

1. ABG om. — 2. E om. — 3. Mss. قدايس. — 4. Mss. البيع. — 5. E ارسلهم F om. 2 foll. wds. add. البطرك. — 6. E om. to الامير. — 7. BG الملك.

from God. So the bishops took him, and ordained him, and he sat upon the patriarchal throne for three years.

And the Lord was with Abba Isaac helping him, so that he repaired the Great Church of the Holy Mark, when its walls were sloping in, and also renewed the episcopal residence. And by his means the liturgies in the churches of the orthodox, where they could not be performed before, were restored. And he built a church at Hūlwān, because at that place he used to go to visit the Amir Abd al-Aziz, who had commanded the magistrates of Upper Egypt and all the provinces to build, each one of them for himself, a residence at the town of Hūlwān.

In those days the patriarch addressed letters to the king of the Abyssinians and the king of the Nubians, bidding them make peace together and praying that there might be no ill will between them; and he wrote this on account of a dispute which there was between the two. Thereupon certain intriguers seized the opportunity of slandering Abba Isaac before Abd al-Aziz, who was greatly incensed, and sent his officers to bring him that he might put him to death. But the secretaries wrote letters different from the patriarch's letters, and gave them to the messengers whom he had sent to the Abyssinians, and took those first letters from them, in fear for the patriarch. This they only did lest evil should befall the Church. And before the patriarch was brought before the Amir, they informed him that the messengers were there, and the letters with them. So he sent



الرسول شامنا ومعهم الكتب فانفذ سرعة طالبهم واخذ الكتب فلما وقف عليها لم يجد شيئا مما ذكر له فسكن غضبه وانفذ للموقت واعاد البطرك الى الاسكندرية ولم يدعه بعد هذا يصعد الى القبة حينئذ امر بكسر جميع الصلبان التي في كورة مصر حتى ا صلبان الذهب والفضة فاضطربوا نصارى ارض مصر ثم كتب عدّة رقاع وجعلها على ابواب البيع بمصر والريف ويقول فيها محمد<sup>2</sup> الرسول الكبير<sup>3</sup> الذي لله وعيسى ايضا<sup>4</sup> رسول الله وان الله لم يلد ولم يولد ثم ان الطوباني تبيح ومضى الى الرب بسلام وهو<sup>5</sup> حافظ الامانة الارثوذكسيّة لابس اكليل البرّ مع جميع القديسين وبعد نياحته جعل جسده في المكان الذي انشأه في بيعة ماري مرقس بقراءة وتسييح وكان الشعب والكهنة مهتمين في من يقدمونه بعده على كرسي البطركية ووقع بين كهنة ماري مرقس الانجيلي وكهنة بيعة الانجيليون في المدينة خصام<sup>6</sup> قوم يقولون لاجل يوحنا الاغومنس<sup>7</sup> بدير الزجاج ويسمى<sup>8</sup>

1. E om. to مصر. — 2. E مباديس. — 3. D الكريم. — 4. D الله BEG om. — 5. E om. to نياحه add. من هتور. — 6. F add. قويا. — 7. E الايغومنس. — 8. E om. to كاتب.

in haste to seek them, and took the letters; and when he had perused them, he found nothing in them of what had been told him. Thus his anger was pacified, and he sent at once, and bade the patriarch return to Alexandria, and did not cause him again after this to come up southwards.

Then he commanded to destroy all the crosses which were in the land of Egypt, even the crosses of gold and silver. So the Christians in the land of Egypt were troubled. Moreover he wrote certain inscriptions, and placed them on the doors of the churches at Miṣr and in the Delta, saying in them : « Muhammad is the great Apostle of God, and Jesus also is the Apostle of God. But verily God is not begotten and does not beget. »

Then the blessed one went to his rest and departed to the Lord in peace, keeping the orthodox faith, and wearing the crown of righteousness with all the Saints; and after his decease, his body was put in the place which he had prepared in the church of Saint Mark, with chanting and hymns. And the people and the priests took care as to whom they should promote after him upon the throne of the patriarchate. And a dispute took place between the clergy of Saint Mark the Evangelist and the clergy of the church of the Angelion in the city. For some said with regard to John, the Hegumen in the Monastery of Az-Zajāj, which is called in Greek To Enaton, that he was worthy of this office, because he was a learned man and a writer,



بالرومية<sup>1</sup> طو هنادون<sup>2</sup> انه مستحق لهذا لانه رجل عالم كاتب وكان اشبين الكاتب المتولى واخرون يقولون عن انسان اسمه بقطر اغومنس دير تفسر وكان ايضا رجلاً فاضلاً ثم عرّفوا اهل بيعة الانجيليون لاجل يوحنا فقرحوا<sup>3</sup> وساعدهم الكاتب لانها البيعة الكبيرة وفيها مائة واربعون كاهناً فكتب لهم تاودرس ارخن مدينة الاسكندرية الى الامير عبد العزيز يذكر له يوحنا اغومنس دير الزجاج هو الذي وقع اختيار الجمع عليه ان يصير بطركاً ومدة مقام ايننا البطرك ابنا اسحق على الكرسي الرسولي سنتان وتسعة شهور وتيسح<sup>4</sup> في اليوم<sup>5</sup> الثاني من هاتور ومضى الى السيد المسيح حافظاً امانته خابطاً رعيته وقد ذكر لي في نسخة اخرى انه اقام في البطركية ثلاث سنين الرب يرحمنا بصلاته وصلاة من ارضاه باعماله امين

1. DF om. — 2. A طو هنادون BDG طو دابرون F طو تايرون — 3. Mss. فقرح. — 4. E om. to end, add. وفي نسخة اخرى ثلثة سنين الرب يرحمنا بصلاته امين. — 5. AB الثاني يوم.

and he was also godfather to the government-secretary; but others spoke of a man, whose name was Victor, Hegumen of the Monastery of Taposiris, who was also an excellent person. When the people of the church of the Angelion were informed of John, they rejoiced, and the secretary supported them, because it was the Great Church, and there were one hundred and forty ecclesiastics attached to it. So Theodore, the magistrate of the city of Alexandria, wrote for them to the Amir Abd al-Aziz, to inform him of John, the Hegumen of the Monastery of Az-Zajāj; saying that the choice of the community had fallen upon him, that he should be patriarch.

Now the period, during which our father, the patriarch Abba Isaac, remained on the apostolic throne, was two years and nine months. And he went to his rest on the second day of Hatūr, and departed to the Lord Christ, keeping the faith, and ruling his flock. According to another copy, however, he is said to have remained in the patriarchal office three years. May the Lord have mercy upon us by his prayers, and the prayers of all whose works he approves! Amen.

سيمون<sup>١</sup> البطرك

وهو من العدد الثانى والاربعون

وكان معه فى الدير رجل قديس خائف من الله فاضل عالم اكثر من جماعة فى جيل  
اسمه سيمون من اهل المشرق جابه ابواه الى الاسكندرية منذ صباه ودفعاه قربان  
للبيعه مثل صمويل لاجل جسد القديس مارى سويرس لانه فى تابوت فى ذلك الدير  
وكانوا السريان يجيبون له قرايين وندوراً ثم ان تادرس المذكور اخذ سيمون اولاً من  
ايام ابنا اغاتون ومضى به الى ابا يوحنا لما كان شماساً ليعلمه قوة<sup>٢</sup> الكتابة وفصول  
الكتب وبنعمة السيد المسيح الذى معه تعلم العتيقة<sup>٣</sup> وشيئاً كثيراً من الحديثه فى زمان  
يسير لان<sup>٤</sup> ابا يوحنا كان فاضلاً فلما رآه ابنا اغاتون جيداً فى افعاله اوسمه قساً وهو كان

والعلوم البيعية. — 1. AD سيمان F سيماون. — 2. E om. — 3. E om. with foll. wd. add. — 4. E om. to الحديثه add. F ذلك. — 5. E om. to فاضلاً.

## SIMON I, THE FORTY-SECOND PATRIARCH. A. D. 689-701.

There was with Abba John in the monastery a holy man fearing God, excellent, learned more than many in his generation, whose name was Simon, of the people of the East, whose parents had brought him to Alexandria in his youth, and given him as an offering to the Church like Samuel, for the sake of the body of the holy Saint Severus; for it lies in a shrine in that monastery, and the Syrians used to bring to it gifts and votive offerings. Then the aforesaid Theodore took Simon, who was then a deacon, at the beginning of the days of Abba Agathon, and brought him to Abba John, that he might teach him the art of writing, and the sections of the Scriptures. And by the grace of the Lord Christ who was with him he learnt the Old Testament and much of the New in a short time, for Abba John was excellent as a teacher. So, when Abba Agathon saw that Simon was good in his conduct, he ordained him priest, so that he was the second in rank in the monastery, after his spiritual father John. Then, in consequence of what has been related, the Amir wrote a letter, and sent to summon John, whose spiritual son Simon travelled with him, besides some of the clergy of Alexandria, and Theodore the magistrate in their company. When they arrived, they gave the Amir their letter, containing the name of John; and

الثاني بعد ابيه يوحنا في طقس الدير فكتب الامير وانفذ يحضر يوحنا فصار ولده معه وقوم من كهنة الاسكندرية والارخن تادرس صاحبهم فلما وصلوا دفعوا الكتاب للامير وفيه اسم يوحنا فاراد ان ينظره فلما رآه طاب قلبه عليه لان كان شخصا حسنا بهي المنظر ثم سأل الكهنة والاساقفة عنه فقالوا نعم هو يصلح وجري في ذلك اليوم امر عجيب مثل امر فارص وزارج او مثل ادونيا وسليمان ولدى داود وهو ان بعد ان استشر تدمية يوحنا اقام الله واحداً من الاساقفة مثل دانيال في ذلك الزمان بغير موافقة ولا مشاورة مع احد وقال هذا لا يكون لنا نحن بطركنا فعند ذلك نزل على جميع الناس سكوت وبهية<sup>1</sup> حتى انه لم يجاوبه احد بحرف واحد فقال الامير فسن يصلح تقول<sup>2</sup> انت لهذا الامر فقال الاسقف بمحضرة<sup>3</sup> الجمع ان سيسون مستحق<sup>4</sup> لهذه الرتبة فالمر الامير باحضار قدامه فلما نظره سألهم وقال<sup>5</sup> هذا من اى موضع هو قليل له هو سرياني من اهل الشرق فلما علم قال للاساقفة فما تقدررون انتم ان تقيموا واحداً من بلادكم فاجابوه وقالوا له ان

1. Mss. وبهية. — 2. ABC F تقول انت يصلح. — 3. ABDEFG add. لمن. — 4. BEG يستحق. — 5. F add. حضر.

so the Amir wished to see him. And when the Amir saw John, his heart inclined towards him, because he was a handsome person, beautiful in countenance. Then he asked the priests and bishops concerning him, and they answered : « Yea, he is fit ».

But there happened on that day a wonderful thing, like the matter of Phares and Zara, or like Adonias and Solomon, the sons of David. And this was that, after the appointment of John had been confirmed, God raised up one of the bishops like Daniel at that time, without collusion or consultation with anyone, and he said : « This man shall not be our patriarch ». Thereupon silence and wonder fell upon all the people, so that none answered him a syllable. So the Amir enquired : « Then who is fit, sayest thou? »

Then the bishop said in the presence of the assembly : « Simon is worthy of this degree ». So the Amir commanded that Simon should be brought before him. And when he saw him, he asked them and said : « Whence comes this man? » So it was told him : « He is a Syrian of the people of the East ». When he learnt this, he said to the bishops : « Then can you not appoint one of your own country? » And they answered him and said to him : « Verily the man whom we chose we brought before thee; but the matter belongs to God, and in the second place to thee ». Then he turned to the blessed Simon, and asked him whether he approved this



الذى قد اخترناه قد احضرناه الى بين يديك والامر لله ثم لك ثم التفت الى المغبوط  
سيمون وقال<sup>1</sup> له تستصوب ان يكون هذا الشيخ يوحنا بطركا فاجابه وقال له ما يوجد  
في كورة مصر ولا في المشرق من يستحق مثل هذا وهو ابي الروحاني ورباني  
من صغرى وسيرته كثيرة السلاكة فلما سمع الامير هذا تعجب جدا وكان جمع كثير  
مجتمعا<sup>2</sup> فخرج صوت من الاراحة والاساقفة والكتّاب قائلين<sup>3</sup> الله يحيى<sup>4</sup> الامير لسنة  
سنتين<sup>5</sup> كثيرا سلم<sup>6</sup> الكرسي لسيمون فهو مستحق البطركية مثل انبا بنيامين كذلك<sup>7</sup>  
سيمون وان البيعة مساعدة<sup>8</sup> لهما فلما نظر<sup>9</sup> الامير اليهم وسمع كلامهم لاجل انسان غريب  
لا يعرفونه بالجملة الا منذ يومين فامرهم بمعونة الله ان يسضوا به ويوسموا<sup>10</sup> بطركا  
وتقدم<sup>11</sup> الى اكثر الاساقفة بالمسير صحبتهم فمضوا<sup>12</sup> به<sup>13</sup> الى الاسكندرية وقدموا<sup>14</sup> على  
الكرسي الرسولي في البيعة العظماء المعروفة بالانجيليون<sup>15</sup> وكان فرح عظيم للشعب  
الارثوذكسي وسلامة واتحاد في البيعة والامور تنمو كل يوم ثم انه اقام اباد يوحنا على

1. ABG om. with foll. wd. — 2. ABDG add. جدا. — 3. E قالوا. — 4. E يحيى. —  
5. D سنين. — 6. B ويسلم. — 7. E om. to لهما. — 8. F راضية بد. — 9. ABG سمع فلما. —  
10. ABD om. و. — 11. E om. to صحبتهم. — 12. ABDG om. to. — 13. F om. with 2 foll. wds. — 14. BG ويقدموا. — 15. E add. لان كان. —  
فيها مائة واربعون كاهن.

venerable John as patriarch. And Simon gave his assent and said to him :  
« There is not found in the land of Egypt nor in the East one who is as  
worthy as this man, and he is my spiritual father, and my master from my  
youth; and his life is as the life of the angels ». So when the Amir heard  
this, he marvelled greatly. And there was a great multitude assembled;  
and a shout was raised among the magistrates and bishops and clergy, who  
cried : « May God prolong the life of the Amir for us many years! Deliver  
the see to Simon, for he is worthy to be patriarch. As was Abba Ben-  
jamin, so is Simon. Verily the Church supports them ». When the Amir  
looked at them, and heard their words with regard to a foreigner whom they  
had not known at all for more than two days, then he bade them with  
God's help take him and ordain him patriarch. And he commanded the  
greater part of the bishops to travel in his company. Accordingly they  
brought him to Alexandria, and enthroned him upon the apostolic throne in  
the Great Church, called the Angelion. Thus the orthodox people had great  
joy and peace and unity in the Church, and her affairs grew in prosperity  
day by day.

Then Abba Simon set his spiritual father John over the affairs of the

امور البيعة وكان هو يقرأ في الكتب المقدسة وفي طول حياة يوحنا لم يلتفت الاب بطرك لشئ من امور البيعة بل سلم جميع ذلك الى يوحنا ابيه كما كان معه في الدير وكان مطيعاً له ويدعوه ابي ثم انه كتب سنوديقا الى يوليانوس بطرك انطاكية تعجب منها وانفذها مع اساقفة يذكر<sup>1</sup> له فيها الاتحاد وان هذه الامانة الواحدة والاتحاد بين الكرسيين الاسكندرية وانطاكية فلما وقف عليها وجدها مسلوذة من حكمة الله والكتب الروحانية ففرح جداً وخطب في بيعته باسم الاب ابا سيمون وكتب له جوابها واعاد رسله بكرامات جزيلات الى مصر فلما اقام ثلث<sup>2</sup> سنين تيسح ابوه يوحنا بسلام واستحق ان يجعل السغبوط سيمون البطرك يده على عينيه حتى انه كفنه بيده واخذ بركة ابيه وحمله الى الدير ودفنه وقام عنده اربعين يوماً حتى بنى له قبراً وجعل جسده فيه ووسعه لنفسه اذا مات ليدفن معه فيه ثم نزل به تجربة من الله الذي يسبك اصفياه وينقيهم<sup>3</sup> مثل الذي ينقى

1. E om. to رانطاكية. — 2. ABDE ثلثين سنة. — 3. E om. to النقى.

Church, while he devoted himself to the study of the holy Scriptures. And as long as John lived, the Father Patriarch did not occupy himself with any of the affairs of the Church, but gave all that up to John his father, in the same way that he used to do with him in the monastery, obeying him and calling him « My Father ».

Then Abba Simon wrote a synodical epistle to Julian, patriarch of Antioch, at which the latter marvelled; and Simon sent it by certain bishops, and in it he reminded Julian of unity, and that this one faith and unity were between the two sees, Alexandria and Antioch. Then, when Julian studied it, he found it full of the wisdom of God and of the spiritual books, and he rejoiced greatly; and he preached in his church in the name of the father Abba Simon. He also wrote him an answer to his synodical letter, and sent back his envoys with rich gifts to Egypt.

When Simon had continued three years, his father John went to his rest in peace, and was counted worthy that the blessed Simon the Patriarch should lay his hand upon his eyes, and even shroud him with his own hand. Thus he received his father's blessing and carried him to the monastery, and buried him, and remained beside him forty days, until he had built a tomb for him. And he laid his body in it, and made it large enough to contain his own body, when he should die, that he might be buried with him therein.

Then there came to Abba Simon a trial from God, who proves his elect and purifies them one like who purifies pure silver from dross, so that they



الفضة الخالصة من الغش فيصيرون مثل الذهب النقي وبنعمة السيّد المسيح صبر حتى نال الأكليل لأنه كان انساناً مملحاً<sup>1</sup> مثل الملح الانجيلي ليس عنده مراياة ولا<sup>2</sup> بخل لأجل راحة أو اكل أو شرب بل كان زمانه كله غداؤه خبزاً وملحاً مدقوقاً بكسّون وبقل وما يشبه ذلك ليضعف قوّة شهوات الجسد ويجعله عبداً للروح ولم يكن يحضر مع الاساقفة ولا الكهنة لأنّه كان يطلب الانفراد لملازمة اوقات الصلوات ولأجل هذا صار مبعوضاً من اهل الاسكندرية فمضى قوم من الكهنة الى قوم سحرة ودفعوا لهم ذهباً حتى عملوا لهم سموماً بسحرهم للموت وجعلوها في الاناء الذي كان يشرب فيه وجأؤوا بها الى الاب سيمون البطرك ليستعمل منه وكان قد تناول من السرائر المقدسة قبل ان يشرب منه فلما شربه لم يضّرّه ثم فعلوا ذلك دفعة ثانية هؤلاء القتلة للاباء فلم يضّرّه ولا ناله سوء فلما نظروا ذلك السحرة بهتوا من امر هذا القديس ثم انهم اخذوا تيناً حسناً في غير اوانه وجعلوا فيه سمّاً قاتلاً واوصوا<sup>4</sup> الكهنة وقالوا لهم اطعموه هذا وهو على الريق صائم بغير

1. E om. to الانجيلي add. طاهر. — 2. E om. to شرب. — 3. E om. to الروح. — 4. ABDG ووصوا.

become like pure gold; and by the grace of the Lord Christ he endured until he obtained the crown. For he was a man salted with salt, like the salt of the Gospel, having no hypocrisy nor greediness of comfort or of meat or drink, but during his whole life his breakfast was bread and crushed salt with cummin and purslain or such like herbs, that he might weaken the force of his bodily appetites, and make the flesh the servant of the spirit. He used not to associate with the bishops or clergy, because he used to seek solitude so as to observe the times of prayer; and for this reason he was hated by the people of Alexandria. Therefore some of the clergy went to certain magicians, and gave them gold so that they made for them by their magic art a deadly poison, which they put in the vessel in which the Father Simon, the patriarch, used to drink, and brought it to him that he might take some of it. But he had communicated of the Holy Mysteries before he drank of it, and therefore, when he swallowed it, it did not injure him. Then those parricides did the same thing a second time, but it did not hurt him nor do him injury. So when the magicians saw this, they were amazed at what had happened to this saint. Then indeed they took fair figs out of season, and put deadly poison in them, and charged the priests, and said to them: « Give him these to eat, while he is fasting without food, and has not made his communion, and then he will burst asunder in the midst ». So they brought him the fruit with cunning and



قربان فأنه ينشئت من وسطه فاتوا اليه بذلك بمكر ومراياة وسألوه وتضرعوا له ان ياكل منه وكانوا قوم يدلون عليه ولقموه من الثين المسموم فتحركت عليه احشاؤه في تلك الليلة واقام اربعين يوماً في كرب عظيم حتى ان كل احد حتم عليه الموت فاقامه الرب المحيي واظهر فيه اعجوبة فظهر له في الرويا قائل يقول له لاى سبب صبرت على هذه البلايا فلما وصل الامير الى المدينة نظر اليه وقد تغير منظره مما جرى عليه فسأل عن سبب ذلك ف قيل له من الكتاب ان اربعة من الكهنة سقوه سمّا فامر الامير ان يحرقوا احياءً والساحر معهم خارج المدينة من<sup>1</sup> بحريها في موضع يسمى الفاروس فعند ما ارادوا ان يحرقوهم ركع<sup>2</sup> الاب<sup>3</sup> على<sup>4</sup> وجهه بدموع غزيرة قدام الامير وسأله فيهم<sup>5</sup> وقال له ان نالهم شيء من اجلى وجب على القطع ولا يصح لى ان اكون بعد ذلك بطركا فتعجب الامير من حسن افعاله وامر باطلاقهم وان يحرقوا السحرة احياء لاجل عمل تقدم

1. E om. to يحرقوهم. — 2. E فسجد F سجد. — 3. ABDEFG om. — 4. E om. to بدموع غزيرة ان يعنى عنهم. — 5. E om. add. غزيرة.

hypocrisy, and begged him and entreated him to eat of them; and there were some who pointed them out to him, and induced him to swallow of the poisoned figs. Accordingly his bowels were moved that night, and he remained forty days in great anguish, so that every one thought his death inevitable. But the Lord who gives life raised him up, and showed forth a miracle in him. And there appeared to him in a vision one who said to him : « For what cause dost thou endure these trials? »

So when the Amir came to the city, he looked upon Abba Simon, and his appearance was changed through that which had happened to him; and when the Amir asked the reason of this change, he was told by the scribes that four of the priests had given the patriarch poison to drink. Thereupon the Amir commanded that they should be burnt alive, and the magician with them, outside the city, on the north side of it, in a place called Pharos. But when they were about to burn them, the patriarch fell upon his face with many tears before the Amir, and interceded with him for them, saying to him : « If anything happens to them on my account, I must be suspended from my office, for it is not right that I should be patriarch after that ». Then the Amir marvelled at the goodness of his acts, and commanded that the ecclesiastics should be released, but that the magicians should be burnt alive on account of their former deeds. So they were burnt in the fire.

After this, Abba Simon committed to Abba John, bishop of Niciu, the management of the affairs of the monasteries, because he was conversant

لهم<sup>١</sup> فاحرقوا بالنار ثم انه سام لآبا يوحنا اسقف ققيوس تدبير حال الديارات لانه كان خبيراً بتقلب<sup>٢</sup> الرهبان وقوانينهم واعطاه سلطانا عليهم وكانوا يعسرون القلاى بغير فتور والاراحة يقومون باحوالهم ثم<sup>٣</sup> ان قوما من السحجين الشهوات<sup>٤</sup> اخرجوا<sup>٥</sup> عذراء<sup>٦</sup> من ديرها ودخلوا بها وادى هيب<sup>٧</sup> ووقعوا بها الفعل سرّاً فلما ظهر ذلك بين الرهبان كان بينهم قلق عظيم ما لم يسمع بمثله فى ذلك الموضع فاخذ الاسباقف الراهب الذى عمل الخطيئة وضربه ضرباً موجعاً وبعد عشرة ايام من تأديبه مات الراهب فلما شاء الخبر اجتمعوا جميع الاساقفة بكورة مصر سرّاً وسألوا الاسقف عن قضية الراهب فاخبرهم بها واعترف انه الذى ضربه فاجبوا عليه القطع لكونه تعدى حد الواجب من ادبه فقطعود<sup>٨</sup> فوقف فى وقت قطعهم<sup>٩</sup> اياه<sup>١٠</sup> وكانوا قالوا له ما انت فى حل ان تدنو الى شىء من<sup>١١</sup> آلات الهيكل من الآن بل تاخذ السرائر كراهب فنادى<sup>١٢</sup> وقال للشعب<sup>١٣</sup> كما قطعتمونى ظلماً الرب الاله الذى اعرف اسمه يجعل جميعكم يا اساقفة غرباء عن كراسيكم

وان واحد راهب فعل. add. سرا — 3. E om. بتدبير F بتكريز D. — 2. غير هذا. F add. — 1. F add. واخرجوها. — 6. F. — 5. الرديّة افسدوا راهبة. — 4. F add. خطية مع واحدة راهبة عذريّة. — 10. ABDG om. — 9. ان قطعه ABDG. — 8. E om. اباد. — 7. F add. خفية. — 11. F add. اعمال الكهنوت ولا تمس شياء. — 12. E. — 13. E. للاساقفة.

with the life of the monks, and knew their rules; and he gave him authority over them. At this time the monks were industriously rebuilding the cells, while the officials took charge of their maintenance. Then, however, some of those who were given up to their appetites took a virgin out of her monastery, and conveyed her to Wadi Habib and committed sin with her secretly. When this was made known among the monks, there was great distress among them, the like of which had not been heard of in that place. So the bishop took the monk who had committed the sin, and inflicted a painful beating upon him; and ten days after his punishment that monk died. Then when the affair became known, all the bishops in the land of Egypt assembled in secret and enquired of the bishop what had happened to the monk, so he informed them concerning the event, and confessed that it was he who had beaten him; and therefore they condemned him to be deposed, because he had transgressed the limit of what humanity required in him. So they deposed him, and he was silent while they did so; and they had said to him : « It is unlawful for thee henceforth to approach any of the vessels of the sanctuary, but thou shalt receive the Mysteries like a mere monk ». Then he cried and said to the people : « Since you have deposed me unjustly, the Lord, the God whose name I know, shall make you





وتأودرس<sup>1</sup> كان<sup>2</sup> من اصحاب اوطاخى الغايانيين ومن اصحاب برسنوفة جرجة وجماعة  
 \*P. 117 اخر يستون اساقفة وكانوا ايضا قد اجتمعوا \* فلما كان يوم احد وصات اخبار الى الامير  
 ان عسكر الروم قام على يوستينانوس الملك وخلصوه وولوا عوضه لاوتتيوس<sup>3</sup> فامر الملك  
 للوقت ان يجتمع اراخنة كل كورة واهل الاسكندرية والاساقفة والمسلمون ليعلمهم بهلاك  
 الروم فاجتمع<sup>4</sup> حينئذ جمع عظيم قالوا قد جرت عادة الروم في كل وقت ان يخلع ملك  
 ويجلس آخر ثم انه امر في ذلك اليوم بان تمنع قداسات النصارى وقالوا انهم ضالون  
 يجعلون لله زوجة وولدا ويقولون مقالات كثيرات في دينهم وشتم قلة اتفاقهم على كلام  
 الدين ثم التفت الى تأودرس الاسقف رئيس الغايانيين وقال له من<sup>5</sup> هو من هؤلاء الثلاثة  
 اساقفة اقرب<sup>6</sup> اليك وتقبله نفسك فقال ابا سيمون ثم التفت الى ثاوفيلسطس<sup>7</sup> الاسقف صاحب  
 الملكية وقال له من اقرب اليك وتؤثر دينه فقال دين ابا سيمون ثم قال لجرجس البرسنوفى

1. Mss. put after تأودرس after الغايانيين. — 2. Mss. وكان. — 3. ABDEG لاوتسيوس. — 4. F  
 om. to قالوا add. جميع الناس وقال بعض الناس. — 5. ABEG om. with foll. wd. —  
 6. BG الاقرب. — 7. E om.; B التاوفيليطس DF التاوفيليطس.

\* Then when it was Sunday, news came to the Amir that the army of the \*P. 117  
 Romans had risen against the prince Justinian, and deposed him, and had  
 appointed Leontius instead of him. So the governor at once commanded  
 that the magistrates of every province should be gathered together, and the  
 people of Alexandria and the bishops and the Muslims, that he might make  
 known to them the disaster of the Romans. So a great multitude was  
 then gathered together, and they said : « It has always been the custom of  
 the Romans that one prince is deposed and another takes his seat ». Then  
 the Amir commanded on that day that the Liturgies of the Christians should  
 be forbidden. For the Muslims said that the Christians were in error,  
 giving God a wife and a son, and uttering many falsehoods in their religion:  
 and the Amir rebuked their want of agreement in the doctrines of religion.

Then he turned to Theodore the bishop, chief of the Gaianites, and said  
 to him : « Of these three bishops, which is nearest to thee, and whom does  
 thy soul receive? » He answered : « Abba Simon ». Then the Amir turned  
 to Theophylact, the bishop, leader of the Melkites, and said to him :  
 « Which is nearest to thee, and whose religion preferrest thou? » So he  
 said : « I prefer the religion of Abba Simon. » Then Abd al-Azîz said to  
 George, the Barsanuphian : « Which is the nearest to thee of these bishops,  
 and whom does thy soul receive? » He replied : « My religion and the  
 religion of Abba Simon are one, and it is he whom my soul loves ». Then

من اقرب اليك من هذه الاساقفة ومن تقبله نفسك فقال ديني ودين ابا سيمون واحد وهو الذي تحبّه نفسي ثم التفت اخيرا الى الاب ابا سيمون منادى الحق وقال من هو من هؤلاء اقرب اليك وتحبّه نفسك فاجاب وقال في المجمع بصوت عال وقال ما من هؤلاء احد يقرب اليّ ولا احب احدا منهم وانا احرمهم بالكتاب والكلام ومقاتلتهم المردولة وشركتهم<sup>1</sup> ومن يساعدهم ومن يتقرب منهم انا اردلهم مثل اليهود حينئذ صاح الناس بصوت عظيم وقالوا ابا سيمون معترف بالحق بغير زلل وغش<sup>2</sup> هؤلاءك<sup>3</sup> فضيحة<sup>4</sup> وبعد ذلك وصل قس من اهل الهند الى ابا سيمون يطلب منه ان يقسم له اسقفا للهند ولم يكونوا اهل الهند مطيعين للمسلمين فقال له<sup>5</sup> ما اقدر ان اقسم لكم اسقفا بغير امر الامير المتولى على كورة مصر امض اليه واعلمه<sup>6</sup> بحاجتك فان امرنى فعلت لك ما<sup>7</sup> طلبته ومضيت مصحوبا بالسلامة الى بلادك فيخرج من عنده ليمضى الى الامير فاجتمع به قوم من الغايانيين ومضوا به الى تادرس<sup>8</sup> رئيس<sup>9</sup> اصحاب فنتاسياس وعرفوه السبب الذي اوصله

1. E om. to اليهود. — 2. F om. to فضيحة. — 3. BG ايلانك DF حولا. — 4. BG فضيحة. — 5. E om. with foll. wd. add. عرفد. — 6. E om. to فضيحة عظيمة F الفضيحة. — 7. E om. to بلادك add. ذلك. — 8. DF om. — 9. E om. to فنتاسياس add. اسقفيهم.

he turned lastly to the father, Abba Simon, the preacher of the truth, and said : « Which of these is the nearest to thee, and the one whom thy soul loves? » So he answered and proclaimed in the assembly in a loud voice, saying : « Not one of these is near to me, nor do I love one of them, but I excommunicate by writing and by word of mouth them and their vile doctrine and their fellowship; and those who favour them and those who communicate with them I condemn as Jews ». Then the people cried with a great voice, saying : « Abba Simon confesses the truth without error ». Thereupon those men were overwhelmed with shame.

After this there came a priest from the people of the Indians to Abba Simon, to ask of him that he would ordain for him a bishop for the Indians. Now the people of the Indians were not subjects of the Muslims. So the patriarch said to the Indian priest : « I cannot ordain a bishop for you without the command of the Amir, who is governor of the land of Egypt. Go to him, and make thy need known to him. Then, if he bids me, I will do for thee what thou requirest, and thou shalt return in peace to thy country with companions ». So the priest went from the patriarch's house to go to the Amir. Then some of the Gaianites met him, and took him to Theodore, the chief of the Phantasiasts, and told Theodore the cause which had



من كورته فقال له انا اقضى لك حاجتك ثم اخذ انسانا من مريوط اوسمه له اسقف  
واوسم له كالغنين وانفذهم سرا الى الهند وبعد ان مشوا عشرين يوما قبضوهم حفظا  
الطريق الذين من قبل<sup>1</sup> المسلمين وانفذوهم الى الامير الكبير وكان اسمه عبد الملك  
فهرب القس الهندي وعاد الى مصر ومضوا<sup>2</sup> بالثثة الى عند<sup>3</sup> عبد الملك مريوطين فلم  
علم<sup>4</sup> انهم من كورة مصر ومريوط<sup>5</sup> وهم سائرون الى كورة غربية قطع ايديهم وارجلهم  
وانفذهم الى مصر الى عبد العزيز وكتب اليه يستعجزه ويقول له كأنك ما تعرف ما  
يجرى في بلادك ان بطرك النصارى المقيم بالاسكندرية قد انفذ اخبار مصر الى الهند  
ويجب<sup>6</sup> عند وقوفك على هذه الكتب ان تضربه مائتى سوط وتأخذ منه مائة الف دينار  
وتحملها<sup>7</sup> الينا سرعة مع<sup>8</sup> الرسل الواصلين اليك من غير تأخير وكان البطرك ابا سيمون  
يومئذ بحلولان ومعه اسقف فوصلت الكتب الى الامير من<sup>9</sup> عند اخيه في ثانی ساعة من

وان الامير عبد. وارجلهم add. — 1. F جهة E om. with 2 prec. wds. — 2. E om. to — 3. ABDG om. with 2 foll. wds, add. مصر. — 4. E om. to انك add. ان. — 5. E om. to الليل. — 6. BDEF عسجة. — 7. E om. to وترسله ABDG. — 8. E om. to وترسله ABDG. — 9. E om. to وترسله ABDG.

brought the priest from his country. Therefore Theodore said to him :  
« I will do what thou needest for thee ». Then Theodore took a man of  
Maryût, and ordained him bishop for him, and ordained two priests for him,  
and sent them away secretly to India. But after they had travelled twenty  
days, the guardians of the roads, who were employed by the Muslims,  
seized them, and sent them to the caliph, whose name was Abd al-Malik.  
The Indian priest, however, escaped, and returned to Egypt; but they brought  
the three others bound to Abd al-Malik. And when the caliph knew that  
they were of the land of Egypt, and from Maryût, and were travelling to a  
foreign country, he cut off their hands and feet, which he sent to Egypt, to  
Abd al-Aziz, to whom he wrote, reproaching him with incapacity, and  
saying : « It seems that thou knowest not what takes place in thine own  
country, namely that the patriarch of the Christians, who lives at Alexan-  
dria, has sent information of the affairs of Egypt to India. Now, when thou  
readest this letter, thou must inflict upon him two hundred stripes, and  
take from him one hundred thousand dinars, and send the money to us forth-  
with by the envoys who come to thee, without delay ».

Now the patriarch, Abba Simon, was at that time at Hulwân, accompa-  
nied by a bishop. When the letters came to the Amir from his brother at  
the second hour of the night, he sent some Slavonians and summoned the  
holy Abba Simon, and his two spiritual sons, that is to say, his scribes. And



الليل فانفذ صقالبة<sup>1</sup> واحضر القديس ابا سيمون وولديه<sup>2</sup> الروحانيين كاتبيه فقال له الامير خف من الله واحفظ نفسك ولا يخرج من فمك كذب فيما اسألك عنه فاجاب البطريرك الالهى انا اخاف منه ونفسي انا مدبرها فى العمل لخلاصها بان تكون عاملة الصلاح فى كل حين واما الكذب فليس اليوم فقط لكن جميع زمانى ارضه لانه من الشيطان عدو البشر وانا مستعد للسوت او للحياة فيما اعرفه من الصدق فاننى اقوله امام الله وساطنك فيحمد ناره وغضبه وقال له حقاً وليت احدا استغفية المهند فاجاب وقال له وصل الى قس من هناك والتمس منى هذا الامر ورددته وقلت له ان لم تجئنى بامر الامير فما اقدر ان افعل هذا ثم<sup>3</sup> كتبت له الى الكتاب ليطلعوك على امره وخرج من عندى لسا<sup>4</sup> كنت بالاسكندرية ولم يعد الى الآن فلما سمع الامير هذا القول ظن<sup>5</sup> ان السغبوط خاف من القتل فاخفى الحق فقال له الويل لك هو ذا ايدى وارجل اصحابك قد انقذهن

— 1. E om. — 2. E om. to وقال له حقاً add. الى حل النج. — 3. E om. to امره. — 4. E om. to يعد add. ولم اعرد انظره. — 5. ABDG تحقق.

the Amir said to him : « Fear God, and take heed of thyself, and let no lie come forth from thy mouth with regard to that on which I shall question thee ». So the patriarch answered : « I fear my God, and govern my soul in my conduct so that it may be saved by doing good at all times; and as for lies, not only to-day, but during my whole life I have despised them, for they come from Satan, the enemy of mankind. Thus I am ready either for death or life. With regard to the truth as far as I know it, I will tell it before God and thy authority ». Then the governor's anger blazed less furiously, and he said to him : « Didst thou indeed appoint a man to the bishopric of the Indians ? » So he answered and said to him : « There came to me a priest from their country, and requested this thing of me, but I sent him away, telling him that, unless he would bring me an order from the Amir, I could not do this thing. Then I wrote for him to the secretaries, that they might inform thee of his business; and he left my house, when I was at Alexandria, and has not returned up to now ». When the Amir heard these words, he imagined that the blessed one was afraid of death, and for that reason concealed the truth; so he said to him : « Woe to thee! Behold the hands and feet of thy friends, which the caliph has sent to me. And he commands also that I take from thee one hundred thousand dinars, after inflicting upon thee five hundred stripes. Thou hast concealed the truth, therefore I will destroy thee, and kill the bishops with the sword,

الملك الى وقد امر<sup>١</sup> ايضا ان آخذ منك مائة الف دينار بعد ان اضربك خمس مائة  
سوط وقد اخفيت الحق وانا اهلكك واقتل الاساقفة بالسيف واهدم جميع البيع والآن  
فهذا امانى ان صدقتى وزنت<sup>٢</sup> عنك المال من عندى ولم ينلك منى سوء فاعلمنى الحق  
وكان ذلك ليلاً حينئذ اجاب القديس بغير خوف وقال له كرامة الملك ان يحب العدل  
وشفاة متقلبة دغلة تكون مردولة والآن<sup>٣</sup> على ما ارى لو نزل صوت من السماء يأمرنى  
بالاحادة عن الحق ما قلت سواه وانت فلا تصدقنى لاجل ما بينى وبينك من وصول  
الكتب اليك بقضية القوم المقطوعين الاعضاء والناس الذين قطعت منهم والآن فهم والكتب  
التى معهم تشهد لى وتظهر الحق فان وجدت امامك نعمة فاكتب<sup>٤</sup> لينفذوا الناس اليك  
P. 119 \* لتعرف حقيقة الامر منهم ومن الكتب \* الصادرة على ايديهم ويقولوا لك من انفذهم فان  
ظهر شيء يخالف قولى افعل ما تريد فاجاب الامير وقال له كيف يأتون بقوم قد  
قطعت ايديهم وارجلهم الى هاهنا اترى بطركاً آخر للنصارى بمدينة الاسكندرية غيرك  
لما ذا تحتاججنى فاجاب القديس سيمون وقال له قد ضقت فى كل جهة الحق ما تقبله

1. E واصلنى. — 2. F وازن E om. to فاعلمنى add. — 3. E om. to فهم add.  
فانفذ احضرهم بيان لك صحة قولى add. ما تريد E om. to. — 4. E om. to ولكن القوم المقطوعين

and pull down all the churches. Yet now this is my sure promise to thee. If thou wilt tell me the truth, I will pay the money instead of thee from my own treasury, and no harm shall befall thee from me. Now be honest with me ».

Now this was at night. Then the holy man answered without fear and said to him : « It is the glory of the prince that he love justice, and the lips that are moved in hatred shall be despised. And now, as I think, if a voice came from heaven, bidding me deviate from the truth, I would say no otherwise. But thou wilt not believe me because of what is between us with regard to the coming of the letters to thee, concerning the people whose limbs were cut off, and the men by whom they were cut. Yet now they and the letters will bear witness to me and show the truth. So if I find grace before thee, write that the men may be sent to thee, that the truth of the matter may be known from them and from the letters ' which were found in their hands, and that they may tell you who sent them. Then if anything appears which contradicts my words, do what thou wilt ». But the Amir answered and said to him : « How shall they bring hither men whose hands and feet are cut off? Dost thou think that there is any other patriarch of the Christians in the city of Alexandria besides thee? Why dost thou

منى وانت تلزمنى ان اقول ما لم افعل لكن بموضع الله من قلبك امهلنى سبعة ايام وكلما جرى فانت تقف عليه على حقيقته فقال له لعلك تريد ان تهرب او تقتل نفسك لكن هذا الراهب ايش هو منك فقال له هو ولى فقال له الامير انت<sup>1</sup> تستوثق منه فقال له نعم هو مثل روحى فقال له الامير كما فعل اخى بالماخوذيين السانريين الى الهند كذلك افعل بك ان لم تصدقنى فاجاب القديس وقال له هو ذا نحن بين يديك مع الله فمهما اردت فافعل فالذى عندى قد قلته لك فسكت الامير ساعة وقال انا امهلك ثلاثة ايام فامض وانظر ما تفعل ولعل الله<sup>2</sup> يعلمنى<sup>3</sup> الحق فيخرج من عنده ودعا الله<sup>4</sup> بخصوع ودموع وسأله ان يظهر للامير براءته مما ذكر عنه فى هذه القضية وعند مغيب الشمس فى<sup>5</sup> اليوم الثانى نظر ولده الراهب الروحاني الى شاطئ البحر فرأى ذاك القس الراهب الاسود الهندي الذى كان قد جاء اليه وسأله ان يصاح له استقفا ماشيا ولم يكن

دع ولدت هذا عندى وامهلك add. نعلمنى الحق E om. to انت نسوتك ABD 1. — 2. ABDC om. — 3. AD اعلمنى — 4. ABEG لله. — 5. E om. to كان دلميذ الاب واقف بشاطئ add. شاطئ.

dispute with me? » Then the holy man Simon answered and said to him : « I am pressed on every side. Thou dost not accept the truth from me, but thou desirest to force me to accuse myself of that which I have not done. Yet by the love of God in thy heart grant me a delay of seven days, and thou shalt know all that took place according to the truth ». So he said to him : « Perchance thou desirest to flee or to kill thyself. But this monk, what is he in relation to thee? » The patriarch replied : « He is my son ». The Amir enquired : « Hast thou confidence in him? » He answered : « Yea he is as my own life ». So the Amir said to him : « As my brother did to the men who were taken while they were travelling to India, so I will do to thee if thou dost not tell me the truth ». The holy man answered and said : « Behold, we are before thee with God, therefore do whatever thou wilt. For I have told thee already what took place with me ». Then the Amir was silent for a time, and at length said : « I will grant thee a delay of three days. Therefore depart, and beware what thou doest, and perchance God will let know me the truth ».

So he went out from his presence and prayed to God humbly with tears, and begged him to show the Amir his innocence of the charge which he laid against him in this matter. And at sunset on the second day his spiritual son, the monk, looked towards the river bank, and saw walking there that black Indian priest and monk, who had come to Abba Simon and asked



يعلم بشيء مما جرى لانه كان هارباً فمضى اليه وقبضه ومضى به الى القديس البطرك وقال له يا ابي قد قبل الله صلاتك ايها الاب وكشف ظلامتنا<sup>1</sup> واعلمه انه مسك<sup>2</sup> القس الهندي فاحضره معه الى البطرك فحدثه بالخبر وكيف اقسم له تاودرس الغاياني<sup>3</sup> استقفا وكهنة فلما كان غداة اليوم الثالث مضى به الى الامير وهو محتفظ به وكان مهتما كيف يخاضه ويخاص تاودرس من السوت فلما نظره الامير قال له لعلك تقول الحق بغير كذب فاجابه القديس<sup>4</sup> سيمون بعد ان سجد لله على وجهه وقال سلطان<sup>5</sup> الناس من سلطان الله ويجب لمن تولى سلطاناً في الدنيا ان يكون طويل الروح ممهلاً مثل الله تعالى وفي الصفح<sup>6</sup> واريد<sup>6</sup> ان تعطيني عهد الله لي ولمن حضر معي في هذه القضية ان لا تفعل بهم سوءاً ولكن تغفو عنهم لوجه الله ويظهر لسلطانك الحق فاعطاه يده انه لا يناله منه سوء فاحضر اليه القس الهندي فاعلمه بكلماته جرى وان سيمون برئ من هذه القضية فلما علم

— 1. E om. to وكهنة add. له. — 2. F ملك. — 3. Mss. الغاياني. — 4. E om. to وجهه add. الاب. — 5. E om. to الصفح. — 6. E اريد.

him to ordain a bishop for him, and who did not know anything of what had happened since then, because he had been a fugitive. So he went to that Indian, and grasped him and brought him to the holy patriarch, and said to him : « O my father, God has accepted thy prayer, and exposed the unjust treatment that we suffered ». And he made known to the patriarch that he had taken the Indian priest, and he brought him in. And the Indian told Abba Simon what had taken place, and how Theodore the Gaianite had ordained for him a bishop and priests. So when the morning of the third day came, he took him to the Amir, guarding him and taking thought how to save him, and to save Theodore also from death. When the Amir saw him, he said to him : « Perchance thou wilt now tell the truth without lies ». So the holy Simon answered him, after adoring God upon his face, and said : « The authority of men comes from the authority of God, and he who exercises authority in this world must be long-suffering, and willing like God most high to grant respites with generosity. Now I desire that thou give the promise of God to me and to those present with me in regard to this occurrence, that thou wilt do them no harm, but wilt pardon them for God's sake; and then the truth shall be made known to thy lordship ». So he gave him his hand that he would do him no evil. Accordingly he brought before Abd al-Aziz the Indian priest, who made known to him all that had hap-

الامير انفذ المهندي الى السجن وامر ان يؤخذ تادرس يصاب وشكر القديس سيمون  
البطرك وفرح به وعرف صدقه وكتب الى عبد الملك اخيه يعلمه بما جرى وان ليس  
البطرك النصارى بمدينة الاسكندرية في هذه القضية شيء وانه برئ منها ومدحه عنده  
وذكر له صلاحه وسداده وعفافه ووفى له بما عاهد عليه انه يهب له تادرس والقس<sup>2</sup> المهندي  
وعلم ان ليس عنده غش وبعد ثلث سنين اطلق الاساقفة الى كراسيهم وامر لهم ان  
يبنوا بيعتين في حلوان وكانوا<sup>3</sup> الاساقفة ينفقون من عندهم على عمارتهما ووكل الوالي  
بعمارتهما اغريغوريوس اسقف القيس وكان الامير محبا للعمارة وبني حلوان واعمر فيها  
فساقي وكذلك مصر بني فيها دورا وقياصر وحمامات وفي كل مكان على البحر من مصر  
الى اسكندرية وامر بحفر بحر الاسكندرية من بحريها عند ترعة نقيطا وان تبني عليه  
اميال<sup>4</sup> الى مدينة الاسكندرية وكذلك المدينة اقام شوارعها بعد ان سقطوا وكان يستعمل

1. E om. to غش add. بذلك. — 2. ABG om. ر. — 3. E om. to للعمارة. — 4. ABEG  
اميال. — 5. ABEG om.

pened, and that Simon was innocent of this occurrence. When the Amir  
learnt this, he sent the Indian to prison, and commanded that Theodore should  
be taken and crucified. And he thanked the holy man, Simon the patriarch,  
and rejoiced over him, and acknowledged his honesty. He wrote also to  
\* P. 120 Abd al-Malik, his brother, to inform him of what had happened and that the  
patriarch of the Christians in the city of Alexandria had nothing to do  
with this matter, but was innocent of it; and he praised him to the caliph,  
and recounted his goodness and uprightness and chastity. And Abd al-Aziz  
performed for Abba Simon what he had promised, by sparing for his sake  
Theodore and the Indian priest; for he had learnt that there was no deceit  
in him.

And after three years Abd al-Aziz dismissed the bishops to their sees,  
and commanded them to build two churches at Hulwân. And the bishops  
spent of their own means upon the building of them; and the governor  
deputed Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais, to superintend the building of them.  
Now the Amir loved building, and therefore he built Hulwan, and con-  
structed reservoirs there; likewise at Miṣr he built houses and market-places  
and baths; and so he did in every town on the river from Miṣr to Alexandria.  
He commanded also to dig the canal of Alexandria on the north of the city  
near the pool of Nicetas; and he ordered that milestones should be set up  
along it as far as Alexandria. So also he did in the city itself, for he  
restored her streets after they were ruined. For he made use of men as



الناس مثل فرعون في زمانه واشياء كثيرة فعلها تضيق السيرة عن شرحها خوفاً من التطويل وكان هذا القديس سيمون مجتهداً طول عمره ان لا يكون له عشرة بين النصارى والمسلمين ولا يخسر احد من اجله وكان الرب يظهر عجائبه على يديه وكان له اقنوم قد<sup>1</sup> ولاء الديكونية وهو قس وتحت يده كلما للبيعة وكان يوصيه في كل وقت ويقول<sup>2</sup> له يا قس مينا انظر لا ترفض بالبيعة في كتاب ولا شيء لها تدعه في منزلك فينزل عليك البلاء فلم يطب قلبه بهذا وكان الرب لم يعطه ولداً كما ضرب ابكار مصر في ذلك الزمان وكان يضمم التوبة ولا يرتدع ثم ان الله انزل عليه سرعة علّة التصق لسانه بحنكه وزال عقله وكان يعضغ لسانه وهو نائم على فراشه وثلاثة رجال يمسونه مما كان يفعله بنفسه فحملوه الى بيته وكان الاب سيمون البطرك مهموماً لاجله ولاجل مال البيعة لانه تحت يده ولا يعرفه غيره فسهر وسأل السيد يسوع المسيح ان يقيمه من هذه العلة

ان لا add. الزمان 2. E om. to —. الدكونية BFG قد ولاء الديكونية AD وهو 1. E om. to يخفى شيء من انية البيعة وكان هذا القس ليس له ولد.

Pharao did in his time; and there are many things which he did, but which this biography has no room to relate, for fear of making it too long.

Meanwhile this holy man Simon was striving all his life to prevent difficulties between the Christians and the Muslims, so that none might suffer loss through him. And through him the Lord used to show his wonders. He had an oeconomus whom he entrusted with the care of the diaconicon, and who was a priest, and in his charge was all that belonged to the church. And the patriarch used to exhort him at all times and say to him : « O priest Mennas, see that thou be not careless with regard to the church, in leaving in thy house a book or anything that belongs to it, for otherwise trouble will come upon thee ». But Mennas was not pleased with these warnings. And the Lord gave this priest no child, as he smote the firstborn of Egypt in ancient times; yet though he thought of repentance he was not converted. Then God sent down upon him suddenly a disease through which his tongue clove to his palate, and his reason left him, and he used to bite his tongue while he was sleeping upon his bed. And three men took him on account of what he did to himself, and carried him to his house. And the Father Simon, the patriarch, was troubled about him and about the property of the church, because it was in his charge, and no one besides him knew the amount of it. So he remained awake, and prayed the Lord Jesus Christ to raise Mennas up from this sickness for the sake of the church. Then when midnight came, news was brought to the Father Patriarch that



لأجل البيعة فلما كان النصف من الليل وصل الخبر إلى الأب البطريك بأن القس مينا قد قارب الموت فاتفق ولدا<sup>1</sup> له وتقدم إليه بأن يسأل زوجته إن كان قال لها شيئا عن مال الكنيسة ومن قبل أن يصل رسول البطرك إلى البيت خرج صوت صارخ بأن القس قد مات ولما توفي البسود ثياب الكهنة واضجعوه على مرقده كعادة أهل الإسكندرية وهو لابس ثياب قداسه فلما وصل ولد البطرك إلى البيت الذي كان فيه مضطجعا وحوله جمع كثير من الكهنة لأجل كهنوته وطقسه يطنى<sup>2</sup> من عليه الأخ ليقبله فوثب جالسا وعلق يديه في رقبته وقال<sup>3</sup> الله الواحد \* الإله الأب الطوباني أبنا سيمون فلما نظروه الجموع الذين \* P. 121 حوله هربوا خوفاً من ذلك الأخ الذي مسكه فقال له ثق وتقف وتصبر يا قس مينا فاجاب وقال له بصلوات سيدي الأب البطرك أبنا سيمون وهب الله لي الحياة دفعة<sup>4</sup> أخرى فاستدعى الأخ الكهنة وبقية من كان في البلد وعرفهم أن القس مينا تكلم فقال لهم القس

اليد تلميذ ليسأل زوجته إن يكون عرفها بمال البيعة ومن قبل البسود add. E om. 1. طائن E فطائن BG طائن ADF. — 2. وصول التلميذ مات القس المذكور والبسود add. 3. E طائن. — 4. E om. to سيمنون add. بصلوات. — 5. E om. to مسعجون add. فسالوه عن امره فقال لهم

the priest Mennas was near death. So he sent his son to him, and bade him ask his wife if he had said anything to her about the property of the church; but before the patriarch's messenger arrived at the house, there was heard the voice of one crying that the priest was dead. And when he expired, they dressed him in the priestly garments, and laid him on his bed, according to the custom of the Alexandrians, vested in his liturgical vestments. Therefore when the patriarch's son came to the house in which Mennas was laid out, with a great number of the clergy around him, because of his priestly office and his rank, the brother bent over him to kiss him. And the priest sat up and clasped his hands round his neck, and said : « God \* P. 121 is the One, ' the God of the blessed Abba Simon ». So when all those who were around him saw him, they fled in fear from that brother whom he had embraced. Thereupon he said to him : « Be confident and of good courage, and be patient, O priest Mennas ». Then he answered and said to him : « Through the prayers of my Lord, the Father Patriarch Abba Simon, God has given me life a second time ». Then the brother called the clergy and the rest of those who were in the town, and made known to them that the priest Mennas had spoken; and the priest Mennas said to them as they stood astonished and amazed : « Verily I died like all men who die,

مينا وهم مبهوتون متعجبون انى مت مثل كل الناس الذين يسوتون ومضى بى رجلان منيران  
فاقاما بى قدام منبر المسيح الملك العظيم الكبير فنظرت الالباء البطارقة من الاب اسحق  
الاول الى البشير مارى مرقس فى طقوسهم ووبخونى قائلين لما ذا اخفيت مال البيعة  
وكلمنا لها عن خليفتنا ابا سيمون ثم اوقفت امام المسيح الملك فقال امضوا به الى  
الظلمة البرانية وفيما هم يجذبونى سجدوا القديسون البطارقة الى السيد المسيح قائلين  
بسؤال ترآف على ولدنا هذا العبد ان تطلقه هذه الدفعة لانه لم يظهر مال البيعة وهذا  
اخونا سيمون يدعو بسببه فامر باعادتى دفعة اخرى وقال لى هكذا تموت وتستحق  
الموت ولكن لاجل مصطفى وخليفتى سيمون انا اطلقك هذه الدفعة واذا انت لم  
تتمسك بالتوبة ولم تشفق على نفسك والا فانت تعود الى هاهنا ولا اقبل فيك سؤالاً ثم  
قام ونهض وقد عوفى ثم اخرج جميع مال البيعة وسلمه للاب القديس ابا سيمون وسلمه  
الاب البطرك الى ولده الروحانى ومكث عنده الى حين نياحته بخوف الله ومجد جميع

1. E om. to رسالته فى اقامتى add. دفعة اخرى.

and two shining men led me before the throne of Christ, the great and mighty King: and I saw the fathers and patriarchs in their ranks, beginning with the Father Isaac back to the Evangelist Saint Mark. And they reproved me saying : Why didst thou hide the property of the church and all that belongs to it from our successor Abba Simon? Then I was placed before Christ the King, and he said : Take him into outer darkness. And while they were dragging me away, the holy patriarchs prostrated themselves before the Lord Christ, saying with supplications : Have pity on our son, this servant, and release him this time, because he has not given an account of the property of the Church, and this our brother Simon is praying for him. Therefore Christ commanded that I should be brought back a second time, and he said to me : Thus thou diest and art worthy of death, but for the sake of our chosen one and vicar, Simon, I release thee this time. Yet if thou repentest not and takest not heed to thyself, thou shalt return hither, and I will accept no prayers on thy behalf ». Then Mennas arose and stood upright, and he had recovered from his sickness. Afterwards he brought forth all the property of the church, and delivered it to the holy Father Abba Simon; and the Father Patriarch delivered it to his spiritual son. And Mennas remained with him to the time of his death in the fear of God. And all the people glorified God, the doer of wonders among his saints, on account of this great miracle.

Then the Father Patriarch, Abba Simon, chose spiritual men, brilliant

الشعب الله صانع العجائب في قديسيه على هذه الاعجوبة العظيمة ثم ان الاب البطريك  
ابا سيمون اختار قوماً روحانيين مضيئين في افعالهم متبحرين في الكتب والحكمة والعلوم  
فاوسمهم اساقفة على كل مكان واول<sup>1</sup> اولاده الاب ابا زخارياس اسقف مدينة سخا وابا  
طلموس الاخ الروحاني اخوه في الرهبنة جعله اسقفًا على كرسي منوف العليا وكثير  
يسهون هؤلاء اوسمهم وفرقهم على الكراسي يرعون الخراف الناطقة واتام تسع سنين  
ونصفًا بطرکًا ثم اعتل في<sup>2</sup> يوم الخمسين وعلم انه وجع نياحة فقال لولده نمضي الى  
الوادي المقدس وادي هبيب آخذ بركة الالباء القديسين والرهبان فانسي ما ارجع اشاهدهم  
بعد هذه الدفعة في الجسد فانحدر من حلوان لانه كان قد توجه اليها من الاسكندرية  
بسبب الاساقفة حتى فرقهم في الكراسي وانحدر الى وادي هبيب واخذ بركة الالباء  
القديسين الرهبان \* وتوجه الى الاسكندرية فانتقل باحكام الله الغير مدروكة الى كورة<sup>3</sup> P. 122  
الاحياء في الرابع والعشرين من ايب الموافق<sup>4</sup> للثامن عشر من يوليوس<sup>4</sup> في شهر الروم

1. E om. to على الكراسي. — 2. E om. to الجسد. — 3. EC om. to الروم; other mss.  
ديكيانوس F دنكسانوس D دي كسانوس BG ديكسانوس A. المرافق للمحادي عشر.

in their deeds, deeply learned in the scriptures and in wisdom and sciences, and ordained them bishops over every place. And the first of these sons of his was the Father Abba Zacharias, bishop of the city of Sakhâ; and he made Abba Ptolemy, the spiritual brother who was his brother in the monastic life, bishop over the see of Upper Manûf. And there are many others whose names are forgotten. These he ordained and distributed the dioceses among them that they might feed the reasonable sheep. And he remained patriarch nine years and a half. Then he fell ill on the day of Pentecost, and recognised that it was a mortal sickness. So he said to his son : « Let us travel to the holy valley, Wadi Habib, that I may receive the blessing of the holy fathers and the monks; for I shall not see them again after this time in the body ». So he went down from Hlulwân, for he had gone thither from Alexandria for the sake of the bishops, until he had dismissed them to their dioceses. And he went down to Wadi Habîb, and received<sup>4</sup> P. 122 the blessing of the holy fathers, the monks; \* and then he went on to Alexandria. And he was removed by the incomprehensible decrees of God to the land of the living on the 24th of Abîb, which corresponds to the 18th of July according to the Roman months, in the year 416 of Diocletian, the unbelieving prince, the slayer of the Martyrs. And he had his sons lay his body in the Monastery of Az-Zajâj, in the place where the body of his



سنة اربع مائة وست عشرة لديقلاديانوس<sup>1</sup> الملك الكافر قاتل الشهداء وتقدم لاولاده ان يجعلوا جسده في دير الزجاج موضعاً جعل فيه جسد ابيه يوحنا واجتمع رهبان الديارات بهاناطون<sup>2</sup> حتى كملوا عليه الصلوات ونزل<sup>3</sup> جسده الى قبره بتمجيد وتهليل السيد المسيح الذي ينبغي له المجد والكرامة مع الاب والروح القدس المحيي<sup>4</sup> الى الابد والدهر امين تمت السيرة السادسة عشرة انتهت سير الآباء رزقنا الله بركة صلواتهم الى سيرة ابا سيمون وهو الثاني والاربعون بطركاً سوى ما نقلناه من دير ابي مقار وهي سير عشرة بطاركة من خيال الاخير الى سانوتيوس الاول سوى ما نقلناه<sup>5</sup> هاهنا تسعة بطاركة وذلك في سنة سبع<sup>6</sup> مائة وست وتسعين للشهداء من<sup>7</sup> بقيرة<sup>8</sup> الشماس ومن<sup>9</sup> ميخائيل ابن بدير الدمنهوري بفضل الله بوجودنا السير<sup>10</sup> في دير ابي مقار بالاخ تادرس الامين ابن بولس في يوم الاحد

للشهداء وجعلوا جسده مع جسد ابيد يوحنا في الموضع الذي بناه 1. E om. to end. add. — 2. BDEFG بيهاناطون. — 3. BDEFG وخلق الكرسی بعده ثلثة سنين وشهوراً صلاته تكبرن معنا امين. — 4. F add. المساوى. — 5. Mss. نقلناها. — 6. Mss. اربع. — 7. F om. to end. add. الاظهار رزقنا الله قبل طلباتهم والشكر لله دائماً ابدياً امين. — 8. AG بقمرة B. — 9. Mss. om. و. — 10. ABG prefix في.

father John was laid. Accordingly the monks of the monasteries assembled together at Henaton, until they had finished the prayers over him. And his body was lowered into his tomb with hymns of worship and praise to the Lord Christ, to whom glory and honour are due, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Giver of life, for ever and ever. Amen.

Here<sup>1</sup> ends the sixteenth chapter wherein the History of the Fathers is completed, as far as the life of Abba Simon, the forty-second patriarch. May God grant us the blessing of their prayers! Hereafter will follow that which we have translated from the documents in the Monastery of Saint Macarius, namely the history of ten patriarchs, from Michael<sup>2</sup> the Last to Sinuthius the First. We also translated in this monastery the lives of nine other patriarchs, in the year 796 of the Martyrs. This is written by Apacyrus, the deacon, and Michael, son of Apater, of Damanhūr. Through the grace of God, which enabled us to find the histories in the Monastery of Saint Macarius, with the help of the brother Theodore, the steward, son of Paul, on Sunday the 6th of Ba'ūnah, in the year 797 of the Righteous Martyrs. We have compared the manuscripts with one another, and found them cor-

1. This note was apparently added in the time of Mauhub, son of Mansur, one of the compilers of the history. — 2. Michael III, A. D. 881-913.

سادس بؤونة سنة سبع<sup>1</sup> مائة سبع وتسعين للشهداء الابرار وقابلنا بعضها مع بعض فوجدناها موافقة لما نسخناه فتحققنا صحتها

### السيرة السابعة عشرة من سير البيعة المقدسة

الواجب<sup>2</sup> ان نذكر ما قد كان من بعد وفاة الاب الجليل الكريم الطوباني الراعى الصالح ابا سيمون الذى سمع من السيد يسوع المسيح القول ايها العبد الامين امينا كنت<sup>3</sup> على القليل انا اقيمك على الكثير ادخل الى فرح سيدك فاعلموا الامير عبد العزيز والكتّاب بمصر بوفاته فلاحقهم عليه وجع قلب وحزن لان جميع النصارى فقدوا<sup>4</sup> راعيهم فى وقت صعب وبلايا من الولاة ولم يزل السيد المسيح يدبّر البيعة وكان اتاسيوس المؤمن متولى الديوان وكان<sup>5</sup> مراعى الامر البيع ثم انه هو والكتّاب تقدموا الى الامير برأى موفق وقالوا له ان امر<sup>6</sup> البيعة بالاسكندرية يلزمها خراجا عظيما ونحن نسألك ان

1. Mss. اربع. — 2. E om. to فرح سيدك add. — 3. F وجدت. — 4. E om. to وقالوا له add. — 5. DEF om. — 6. F وجدت.

responding to what we copied; and so we assured ourselves of their authenticity.

## CHAPTER XVII

ALEXANDER II, THE FORTY-THIRD PATRIARCH. A. D. 705-730.

We must now record the events which took place after the death of the glorious, venerable, and blessed father, the good shepherd Abba Simon, who heard from the Lord Jesus Christ the words : «<sup>1</sup> O thou faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over little, I will set thee over much. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord ». When his death was made known to the Amir Abd ' al-Aziz and to the scribes at Miṣr, these latter were afflicted with grief and sadness because all the Christians had lost their shepherd, at a time of difficulty and trials, caused by the civil governors. But the Lord Christ did not cease to govern the Church. And Athanasius, the believer, was president of the Divân; and he protected the interests of the churches. On this occasion he and the scribes went to the Amir with one consent, and said to him : « The property of the Church at Alexandria obliges her to pay

1. S. Matth., xxv, 21, 23; cf. S. Luke, xix, 17.

تتخذ اغريغوريوس الاسقف<sup>1</sup> الى الاسكندرية ليحتاط<sup>2</sup> على مال البيعة وكلما يتعلق بها فالتة  
بعد في عمرك ايها الامير فاجابه عبد العزيز الى ما سألته وانفذ اغريغوريوس اسقف<sup>3</sup>  
القيس الى الاسكندرية وجعل<sup>4</sup> له الامر في مال البيع وابسقوية<sup>5</sup> البطرك وتديره برأيه  
فكتب له بذلك سجلاً واخذه وسار وكانوا مهتمين بمن يقدمونه بطركاً موافقاً<sup>6</sup> لغرضهم  
ممن يعرف بالحكمة والعلم فاقاموا ثلث سنين هكذا الى ان اراد الرب وطاب قلب الولاة  
على ذلك بعد سؤال عظيم وبارادة<sup>7</sup> الله السيد يسوع المسيح العارف بمن يختار من  
الطاهرين النقيين القلوب قدموا القس الاكسندروس<sup>8</sup> من دير الزجاج وكان راهباً  
بتواً وديعاً لم يكن فيه عيب عالماً بالكتب من صغره واحضرود<sup>9</sup> الى الامير فنظر النعمة  
في وجهه فاطلق لهم بارادة<sup>10</sup> الله ان يقدموا الاكسندروس

ليدير امر ذلك الله يطيل في ايادك. — 2. E om. to الامير add. اسقف القيس. — 3. F om. with foll. wd. — 4. E om. to برأيه. — 5. F واسقوية. — 6. E om. to  
والعلم. — 7. E om. to قدموا add. تقدموا على. — 8. AD الاكسندروس. — 9. A  
بتقدمته add. فكرزوا الالب الاكسندروس. — 10. E om. to فاحضرود DF واحضر BG واحضره  
فاحضره.

a heavy tax. Therefore we pray thee to despatch the bishop Gregory to Alexandria, to watch over the possessions of the Church and everything connected with it. So may God lengthen thy life, O Amir! » Then Abd al-Azîz consented to what Athanasius asked for, and despatched Gregory, bishop of Al-Kais, to Alexandria, and gave him authority over the property of the churches and the establishment of the patriarch, with free power of administration; and accordingly he wrote a decree for him to that effect. So Gregory took the decree and departed. And they began to take thought as to whom they should promote to be patriarch, in accordance with their desire for a man known for wisdom and learning. So they waited three years in this state, until it was the Lord's will; and at length the heart of the civil governors was well disposed in this matter, after much supplication. Then by the will of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, who knows whom he will choose from among the pure and chaste and clean of heart, they brought forward the priest Alexander from the Monastery of Az-Zajāj. He was a monk, a virgin, humble, without defect, learned in the Scriptures from his youth. And they brought Alexander to the Amir, who saw the grace in his face, and so allowed them by the will of God to promote him to the patriarchal office.



\* P. 124

‘الأكسندروس البطرك وهو من العدد الثالث والاربعون

فاتفق الشعب الارثوذكسى بحضور جماعة من الاساقفة والكهنة وكتاب<sup>1</sup> الديوان فكرموا  
الاب الأكسندروس بطركاً فى يوم عيد القديس مارى مرقس الذى هو اخر برمودة سنة  
اربعمائة وعشرين لديقلاديانوس<sup>2</sup> ونال كورة مصر مسرة عظيمة وخاصة<sup>3</sup> الارثوذكسيين  
لكون البيعة كانت معطلة ثلث سنين وكانوا فيها كاليتامى وكان الرب مع الاب الأكسندروس  
يسهل جميع اموره لتواضعه<sup>4</sup> وعفته واتكاله على الرب وحدد<sup>5</sup> مدبره فلما مضت ايام يسيرة  
وهو مستريح اثار الشيطان شعثا على الاساقفة مما نذكره كان لعبد العزيز ملك مصر ولد<sup>6</sup>  
اكبر اولاده يسى الاصبح وكان يظن انه يجلس عوض ابيه اذا توفي<sup>7</sup> فولاد على جميع  
الكورة واليا ومستخرجا وكان<sup>8</sup> جميع الطقوس سامعين له بخوف لاجل انه ولد امير ولما  
دفع له من السلطان وكان مبغضا للنصارى سفاك<sup>9</sup> الدماء رجل سوء كالسبع<sup>10</sup> الضارى ثم

1. ABDG كتاب. — 2. E للشهدا. — 3. E om. to كاليتامى. — 4. E om. to  
— 5. DF om. — 6. F add. وهو. — 7. E مات. — 8. E om. to السلطان. — 9. E  
om. to الضارى. — 10. ABG الضارى.

So the orthodox laity agreed together, in the presence of an assemblage of bishops and priests and the secretaries of the divan. Then the Father Alexander was consecrated patriarch on the festival of the holy Saint Mark, namely the last day of Barnudah, in the year 420 of Diocletian. And the land of Egypt rejoiced greatly, and especially the orthodox, because the Church had been left in solitude three years, and they were therein like orphans. And the Lord was with the Father Alexander, making all his affairs easy, on account of his humility and chastity and trust in the Lord alone as his ruler. Then when a short time had passed, during which he remained in peace, Satan stirred up strife against the bishops, as we will relate.

Abd al-Aziz, the governor of Egypt, had a son, the eldest of his sons, called Al-Aṣḡagh, and he thought that he would sit in the seat of government in his father's room when he died. So he made him ruler over the whole country as wālī and receiver of the revenue, and all ranks obeyed him with fear, because he was the Amir's son, and because of the authority which he had given him. Now Al-Aṣḡagh was a hater of the Christians, a shedder of blood, a wicked man, like a fierce lion. At that time a deacon,

انطوى اليه شماس اسمه بنيامين فكان يعمل له وكان يحبّه اكثر من جماعة اصحابه ويظهر له  
اسرار النصارى بسعايته حتى انه فسر له الانجيل بالعربى وكتب<sup>1</sup> الكيمياء<sup>2</sup> وكان يبحث عن  
الكتب لتقرئ عليه وكذلك الارطستيكات<sup>3</sup> كان يقرؤها لينظر هل يشتمون فيها المسلمون ام  
لا ولم يكن يتخلى عن سوء عمله مع النصارى<sup>4</sup> وكان اصحاب<sup>5</sup> النار المخالفون يسعون عند  
بالرهبان النصارى<sup>6</sup> ويقولون امهم ياكلون ويشربون فانفذ صاحباً له اسمه يزيد متقناً يأمن<sup>7</sup> اليه  
ومعه آخر فاخصى جميع الرهبان فى كل الكور ووادى هبيب وجبل<sup>8</sup> جراد وسائر الاماكن  
وجعل عليهم جزية ديناراً واحداً على كل نسمة وامرهم ان لا يرهبوا احداً بعد من اخصاد  
وهذه اول جزية وزنوها الرهبان من الكافر الاصبع ثم ان اساقفة الكور الزمهم ان يقوموا  
بالفى دينار خارجاً عن خراج وسايامهم وكانوا يقومون بذلك فى كل سنة وكان يفعل افعالا  
عظيمة ويلزم الناس ان يصلوا صلاته وكان بنيامين الشماس الراهب اشترى على النصارى من

الارطكسات ABDG. — 3. Mss. القيامة. — 4. E om. to يقرأها add. وكتب كثير ليقراها. — 5. D om. with foll. wd. —  
F الارطيكسا. — 6. E add. رجل سرسفاك الدما. — 7. DF يشق. — 8. EF om. with foll. wd. —  
E om. to ويشربون والنصارى ADF.

named Benjamin, became attached to him and grew intimate with him; and Al-Aṣḡagh loved him more than all his companions. And he treacherously revealed to Al-Aṣḡagh the secrets of the Christians, and even expounded the Gospel to him in Arabic as well as the books of alchemy. For Al-Aṣḡagh sought out books that they might be read to him, and so for instance he read the Festal Epistles, in order that he might see whether the Muslims were insulted therein or not. And he did not shrink from any cruelty that he could inflict upon the Christians. For as the damned heretics were in the habit of calumniating the Christian monks and saying that they did nothing but eat and drink, he sent one of his trusted friends, named Yezîd, accompanied by another, and mutilated all the monks in all the provinces and in Wadî Ḥabîb and on Mount Jarâd and in other places. And he laid a poll-tax upon them of one dinar from each individual, and commanded that they should make no more monks after those whom he mutilated. Now this tax of the infidel Al-Aṣḡagh was the first poll-tax paid by the monks.

After this, Al-Aṣḡagh compelled the bishops of the provinces to furnish a sum of two thousand dinars besides the taxes on their lands, and this sum they paid every year. And he acted proudly, and compelled the people to pray as he bade them. And Benjamin, the monk and deacon, was a

كل احد ويهيّجه على كل بلاء واضطر جماعة الى ان اسلموا ومن جملةهم بطرس والى الصعيد واخوه تاودرا وولد تاوفانس مقدّم مريوط وجماعة كهنة وعلمانيين لا يحصون من كثرتهم فلم يمهله الرب يسوع المسيح وفي زمان يسير ازعجه من مسكنه لبغضه للشعب<sup>1</sup> P. 125 المسيحي وذلك انه لما كان يوم سبت النور دخل الى دير حلوان نظر الى الصور مزينة كما يجب وكانت صورة السيّدة الطاهرة مريم والسيّد المسيح في حضنها فلما نظر اليها وتأمّلها قال للاساقفة وجماعة معه من هذه الصورة فقالوا هذه مريم ام المسيح فافتري عليها وملاً<sup>2</sup> فمه بصاقاً وبصق في وجهها وقال ان وجدت زمانا فانا امحق النصارى من هذه الكورة ومن هو المسيح حتى تعبدوه لها ولما كان في تلك الليلة انزل<sup>3</sup> الله عليه انتقاماً<sup>4</sup> فاصبح جاء الى ابيه فوجده جالسا وعنده جماعة من المسلمين ومن النصارى وكان يوم احد الفصح المقدس فجلس وقال لوالده يا مولاي ان الشياطين عذبتني في هذه الليلة فقال له ابود كيف يا ولدي فقال نظرت وكان واحد جالسا على كرسي عظيم مخوفاً

1. From. with 2 foll. wds. — 2. From. with foll. wd., add. نزل. — 3. BEG انتقاماً.

worse enemy to the Christians than any other, and excited his friend to every kind of persecution. So he forced many persons to become Muslims, among them being Peter, governor of Upper Egypt, and his brother Theodore, and the son of Theophanes, governor of Maryût, and a body of priests and laymen not to be numbered on account of their multitude. But the Lord Jesus Christ did not long respite Al-Aṣḥagh, and in a short time hurried him out of the world, because he hated the Christian people. This took place as follows. On the Saturday of Light he entered into the Monastery of Hūlwan, and looked at the pictures being carried in procession according to the rule. And there was a picture of our Pure Lady Mary and of the Lord Christ in her lap; so when he looked at it and considered it, he said to the bishops and to several people who were with him : « Who is represented in this picture? » They answered : « This is Mary, the mother of Christ ». Then he was moved with hatred against her, and filled his mouth with saliva, and spat in her face, saying : « If I find an opportunity, I will root out the Christians from this land. Who is Christ that you worship him as a God? » And that night God sent down vengeance upon him. For in the morning he came to his father, and found him sitting, surrounded by a body of Muslims and Christians. And the day was Easter Sunday. So Al-Aṣḥagh sat down and said to his father : « O my Lord, the devils have chastised me this night ». His father said to him : « How,



مهاباً جداً ووجهه يشرق نوراً أكثر من شعاع الشمس وحواله الوف وربوات حاملين السلاح ولباسهم ايض كالثلج وانا وانت خلفه قياماً مربوطين بسلاسل حديد فسألت واحداً بصوت خفى من هذا الذى اخذ ملك ارض مصر من ابي فقال لى ما عرفت هذا الى الآن فقلت له فى المنام ومن هو هذا فاجاب وقال هذا يسوع المسيح ملك النصارى الذى هو اجل واعلى من جميع ملوك الارض هذا الذى هزئت به وبعثت فى وجهه اوراك ضعفت فى المنام انت البائس واباك واوراك مجده وجلالته وفيما هو يقول لى هذا واذا قد جاء الى واحد من حاملى السلاح وانا عريان فطعننى بحربة فى جنبى ولم يقلعها حتى اسلمت روحى اليهم وهم<sup>1</sup> الشياطين الذين سخرونى فلما سمع والده حزن جداً وحم<sup>2</sup> الصبى للوقت بحمى<sup>3</sup> عظيمة وحمل لوقته واضجعوه<sup>4</sup> على فراشه ولم يفتح فاه بعد ذلك ولا اكل ولا شرب فلما كان الساعة الثانية من الليل مات ودفن ولم يقدر احد ان يسلى

1. E om. to سخرونى. — 2. E om. F وانحم. — 3. E بحمة. — 4. E واضجع. — 5. E om. to عند add. الساعة الثانية. ومات فى تلك الليلة فى الساعة الثانية.

my son? » He replied : « I looked, and there was One sitting on a great throne, exceedingly awful and terrible; and his face shone with light brighter than the rays of the sun; and round him were thousands and tens of thousands bearing weapons, and their garments were white as snow; and I and thou stood behind him, bound with iron chains. And I asked one in a low voice : Who is this who has taken the government of the land of Egypt from my father? He said to me : I have never known him till now. So I asked him in the dream : And who is he? Then he answered and said : This is Jesus Christ, the King of the Christians, who is more glorious and higher than all the kings of the earth. This is he whom thou didst mock, and in whose face thou didst spit. He shows thee thy weakness in this dream, thou wretched one, together with thy father; and he shows thee his glory and majesty ». And while he was saying this to me, behold, one of those bearing weapons came to me, I being naked, and he struck me with a spear in my side, and did not take it out again until I had given up my spirit to them; and they were the devils who mocked me ». When his father heard this tale he was very sad. And the young man was immediately seized with a violent fever, and was carried away forthwith; and they laid him upon his bed, and he did not open his mouth after that, nor did he eat or drink. So at the second hour of the night he died. And he was buried: and none could comfort his father because of him. And

والده عنه وبعد اربعين يوما مات ابوه كما رأى ولده الكافر المنام فلما جرى ذلك مضى اتناسيوس المؤمن المحب للمسيح هو واولاده الى الامير الكبير عبد الملك الى دمشق فقبض على اتناسيوس هناك وحاسبه فاخذ منه كلما كسبه بمصر باخلاف عملها له ثم انفذ ولدًا له اسمه عبد الله يحتاط على كورة مصر فلما وصل الى كورة مصر فعل ايضاً افعال سوء وكان جميع الاراخنة خائفين منه لفعله الذي حسنه له الشيطان ومنع آلات يعذب بهن<sup>1</sup> الناس وكان كالوحش<sup>2</sup> الضارى حتى انه فى اكثر اوقاته اذا جلس على السائدة يقتلون الناس قدامه وربما طار دمهم فى الصحن الذى ياكل منه فيفرح بذلك وفى تلك الايام خرج<sup>3</sup> الطوباني الاكسندروس وسار الى مصر ليسلم عليه كالعادة<sup>4</sup> من البطارقة والولاة<sup>5</sup> فلما نظر اليه قال ايش هو هذا قالوا له هذا اب وبطرك جميع النصارى فاخذه وسلمه لواحد من حجابيه وقال له افعلى ما تريد من المهوان الى ان يقوم بثلاثة الاف دينار فاخذه واقام عنده ثلاثة ايام والنصارى مواسلون المسألة له ان يحط<sup>6</sup> شيئاً مما قاله فلم يفعل وكان

حضر الاب. add. وسار. — 3. E om. to. — 4. ADG كالوحش الضارية. — 5. Mss. بها. — 6. E يفرح. — الاكسندروس.

after forty days his father also died, according to the dream which his unbelieving son had seen.

When these things had happened, Athanasius, the believer and lover of Christ, went with his sons to the sovereign prince Abd al-Malik at Damascus. But Abd al-Malik arrested Athanasius there, and called him to account, and took from him all the gains that he had acquired in Egypt since the collection of the taxes had been left to him. Then the prince sent one of his sons, named Abd Allah, to govern the land of Egypt; and when he came to Egypt, he also did evil deeds: and all the officials feared him on account of the deeds to which Satan tempted him. For he made instruments with which to torture the people, and was like a fierce wild beast: so that often when he sat at table men were put to death in his presence, and perchance their blood spurted out into the dish from which he was eating, and he took pleasure in that. In those days the blessed Alexander went forth, and travelled to Misr to salute Abd Allah, according to the custom among patriarchs and governors. But when Abd Allah saw him, he said: « What is this man? » They replied: « This is the father and patriarch of all the Christians ». So he took him, and gave him over to one of his chamberlains, to whom he said: « Humiliate him in whatever way thou wilt, until he shall pay three thousand dinars ». So he took him, and he remained with him three days. And the Christians continued to petition



جميع من في الكور تحت قلق عظيم لذلك ووقع خوف عظيم على الاساقفة والرهبان  
 لاجل ما جعله على البطرك من المال فلما نظر ذلك جرجة الشماس التمرراوى انه ما  
 يفرج عن البطرك الا بعد ان يأخذ المال تقدم اليه وقال له يا سيدنا تطالب نفس البطرك  
 او مالا فقال له اريد المال فقال له الشماس جرجة ضمني اياد مدة شهرين انحدر به  
 الى بحرى اطالب له من الاراخنة والنصارى واقوم لك عند ثلثة الاف دينار فسلمه اليه  
 فطاف به المدن والقرى على المؤمنين بالمسيح حتى حصل المال وحمله<sup>1</sup> وكان يجمع له  
 الاساقفة والمقدمين والرهبان فيهنرا بهم يتجبر بكلام صعب ويقول لهم انتم عندي مثل  
 الروم ومن قتل منكم واحداً غفر الله له لانكم اعداء الله ولما استوفى الخراج من الناس  
 الذى جرت به عادتهم استثنى عليهم وجعل<sup>2</sup> على<sup>3</sup> كل من عليه دينار خراج دينار وثلثين حتى  
 ان بيعاً كثيرة خربت بهذا السبب وكان محباً للمال جداً ثم امر بان يجمع جميع بلاده من

1. E ردفعه له. — 2. E om. to وثلثين. — 3. ABDG om.

the governor that he would remit part of what he had said, but he would not. And all the people in the country were in great distress on this account; and great fear fell upon the bishops and monks on account of the money which he tried to extort from the patriarch. So when George the deacon, a native of Dimru, saw this, that Abd Allah would not set the patriarch free until he had received the money, he went to him and said to him : « O our Lord, dost thou desire the life of the patriarch or money? » He answered : « I wish for the money ». So the deacon George said to him : « Trust me with him for the space of two months, that I may go down with him to the North, to beg for him from the officials and Christians, and I will pay thee for him three thousand dinars ». So the governor gave the patriarch up to him, and he went round the cities and villages with him, and visited those who believed in Christ, until he had collected the money and brought it to Miṣr. And he used to assemble to himself the bishops and principal men and monks, and then mock them, and speak proudly with hard words, saying to them : « You are to me like the Romans, and if a man slays one of you, God will pardon him, because you are the enemies of God ». And when he received from the people the taxes which they were accustomed to pay, he demanded the double amount from them, requiring a dinar and two thirds from those who were bound to pay one dinar, so that many churches were ruined for that cause; for he loved money greatly.



ابن عشرين سنة الى ما دون ذلك فساروا وجمعوا وكان<sup>1</sup> الذين اقامهم لذلك من اصحابه رجلين وهما عاصم ويزيد<sup>2</sup> ومعهما جماعة من الاعوان وانزلوا على الناس بلايا عظيمة وقتل لاجل ذلك جماعة واوسموا الغرباء الذين وجدوهم على ايديهم وجباههم واتخذوهم الى مواضع لم يعرفوها وكان على الارض قلق واضطراب وامر ان لا يدفن ميت حتى<sup>3</sup> يقومون عنه بالجزية وولى انسانا اسمه محمد على ذلك حتى<sup>4</sup> ان المستورين الذين لا يقدرون على الخبز اذا ماتوا لا يدفنهم احد الا بامرده فما اعظم الحزن والشقا والتهد الذي كان بارض مصر والصعيد لافعالهم حتى انتقم الرب منه سرعة بعد ان اقام سنتين يفعل هذه الافعال فقبض الرب نفس عبد الملك ابيه وتولى موضعه ولده الاكبر وكان اسمه الوليد ولما جلس على كرسي الملك بدأ يعزل الولاة ويولى غيرهم من اصحابه فولى واحداً مصر اسمه قيرة ولم<sup>5</sup> يعرف ذلك الكافر عبد الله وبينما هو جالس في قصره وصل الوالى

1. E om. to وهما add. ركبوا المتوكلين بذلك. — 2. Mss. ريزيد. — 3. F ان. — 4. E om. to بامرده. — 5. E om. to بخيرته add. مريض عبد الله.

Then Abd Allah commanded that of the youths of his country all those should be gathered together that were twenty years old or under. So they went and assembled together; and the leaders whom he appointed were two men, friends of his, named Ašim and Yazid, and with them a body of officials; and they brought down great trials upon the people, and many were killed on this account. And they branded the strangers whom they found, on their hands and foreheads, and sent them to places which they did not know. Thus there was trouble and confusion in the land. The governor also gave orders that no dead man should be buried until they had paid the poll-tax for him; and he appointed a man named Muḥammad over this business, so that even the indigent, who could not buy bread, were not buried when they died, except by his command. How great then were the sadness and misery and sighing in the provinces of Lower and Upper Egypt on account of the deeds of these men, until the Lord took vengeance suddenly on Abd Allah, after he had continued for two years to do such deeds! For the Lord took away the life of his father, Abd al-Malik, whose eldest son, named Al-Walid, became ruler in his stead. When Al-Walid took his seat on the throne of the empire, he began to remove the provincial governors, and to nominate others from among his friends. So he appointed as governor of Egypt one named Kurrah. But that infidel Abd Allah did not know of this change; and while he was sitting in his

عوضه بغته وجلس موضعه فالحقه لذلك فضيحة عظيمة وخزى وانزل قرة بلايا عظيمة على اصحاب عبد الله والنصارى والمسلمون طرحهم في السجون<sup>1</sup> اقاموا فيها سنة وكان في ايامه انسان<sup>2</sup> ارثدكسى اسمه يونس من دميرة وكان ذا امر ونهى وفعل قرة بلايا بالبيع والرهبان حسب ما يأتى شرحه وكانت مملكة الروم مثل لعب الصبيان فلما خلعوا الروم يوستينانوس الملك ملكوا<sup>3</sup> لاون موضعه<sup>4</sup> وقتل لاون قبل ان يكمل له ثلث سنين في الملك ومالك بعده ايسماروس<sup>5</sup> وقتل<sup>6</sup> جماعة<sup>7</sup> من البطارقة في القسطنطينية وقتل البطرك ومالك واطلق سببا كثيرا من بلاده وعادوا الى بلادهم وزود كل واحد بثلة دنائير نفقة الطريق ومالك بعده فيلابكوس<sup>8</sup> وبعد سنتين ملك انسطاسيوس<sup>9</sup> الى الآن يعنى بقوله الى الآن الى زمان وضع السيرة وكان متولى ديوان الاسكندرية تلك الايام تاودرس وكان بينه وبين الاب البطرك

E اسماروس — 4. So D; ABFG. — 3. F عوضه. — 2. Mss. وملكوا. — 1. BF السجن. — 7. Mss. فيلوتاوس. — 6. ABDG الطريق. — 5. ABDG om. — 8. ABDEG. — 9. E وضع هذه السيرة. — 8. ABDEG. — 9. E وضع هذه السيرة.

official residence, the governor appointed to replace him arrived unexpectedly, and took his seat in his place. Thus great ignominy and shame came to him on this account.

And Kurrah brought down great trials upon the friends of Abd Allah, both Christians and Muslims, and cast them into prisons where they remained for a year. And there was in his days a man of the orthodox faith, named John, a native of Damirah, who had authority to command or forbid. But Kurrah caused trials among the churches and the monks, as shall be described.

Meanwhile the Roman monarchy was like a game for children. For when the Romans had deposed Justinian the prince, they made Leo their ruler in his place. But Leo was put to death before he had completed the third year of his reign; and after him reigned Apsimarus, who put many patricians to death at Constantinople; and he also killed the patriarch. When Apsimarus came to the throne, he released many captives from his country, and they returned to their own homes; and he provided each one with three dinars for the expenses of the journey. After him reigned Philippicus. Then after two years Anastasius was made prince of the Romans, and is still reigning. (N. B. By 'saying « still » the writer means at the time of composing the history.)

Now the president of the divan of Alexandria in those days was Theo-

1. This note is evidently added by the translator.

الأكسندروس معاداة عظيمة فلما وصل قيزة الى مصر مضى الاب البطرك كالعادة ليهنئه بالولاية ويستلم عليه فلما وصل اليه قبض عليه وقال له الذي قبضه منك عبد الله بن عبد الملك تحتاج ان<sup>1</sup> تقوم لى بمثله فقال له الاب البطرك شرعنا يأمرنا ان لا تكون لنا قنية ولا<sup>2</sup> نكسر ذهبًا ولا فضة بل نصرف حاجة يومًا فيومًا لما نحتاجه من الكفاف والفقراء<sup>3</sup> والمحتاجين وانما فعل بى عبد الله ما فعل بسعاية ناس السوء حتى ظلمنى والزمى<sup>4</sup> ثلاثة الاف دينار ولم يجد معى منها شيئًا حتى<sup>5</sup> اخرجنى الى البلاد كالمسكدي اتصدق حتى وفق الله ما طيب به نفسى وعلنى الى الان خمس مائة دينار فمن اين يكون معى شيء فقال الامير فتحاف لى ان<sup>6</sup> ليس معك ذهب فقال له قد امرنا الله ان لا نحاف البتة فصدقنى الآن ان خراج اواسى الذى لا بد من القيام به لا اقدر عليه والله اعلم ان ليس عندى ذهب فقال الامير هذا كلام ما ينفع ولو انك تبيع لحملك لا بد من ثلاثة<sup>6</sup> الاف دينار والا فما تخاص من

1. AD om. — 2. E om. to والمحتاجين. — 3. BG الفقراء. — 4. E om. to نكسى add. الثيام بالمباغ. — 5. A om. — 6. E om. with 2 foll wds, add. ونصدقت ذلكت من البلاد.

dore; and there was great hostility between him and the Father Patriarch, Alexander. For when Kurrah came to Miṣr, the Father Patriarch went according to the custom to congratulate him on becoming governor, and to salute him. But Kurrah arrested him on his arrival, and said to him : « Thou must pay me a sum equal to that which Abd Allah, son of Abd al-Malik, took from thee ». The Father Patriarch said to him : « Our Law bids us not to lay up treasure and not to multiply gold or silver, but that we spend something day by day on account of what we need for daily use and for the poor and the needy. Abd Allah acted as he did towards me only through the calumnies of evil men, because of which he treated me unjustly and exacted three thousand dinars from me. But he found none of that money in my possession, so that he sent me out into the country like a beggar asking alms, until God gave me what I needed; and even now I owe five hundred dinars. So whence shall I get anything? » Then the Amir said to him : « Wilt thou swear to me then that thou hast no gold? » The patriarch answered : « God has commanded us not to swear at all. Believe me therefore now that the taxes on my property which must be paid are beyond my means, and God knows that I have no gold ». Then the Amir said : « These words will not avail. If thou must sell thine own flesh, thou must pay me three thousand dinars, and if not, thou shalt not escape from my hand ». So when he saw that he could not escape from him, he begged him



يدى فلما رأى انه لا يخلص منه سأل ان يسير الى الصعيد ومعهما فتح الله من صدقات الناس ارسله<sup>1</sup> اليه فتركه قرية وطلع الى الصعيد يطوف المدن والقرى ويسأل فكان الرب يسوع المسيح يشفى اعلاء<sup>2</sup> كثيرا بصلواته وكان كل احد يفرح به ويقول ان من زمان الاب بنيامين ما رأينا بطركنا في الصعيد الا هذا الاب ولقى تعباً ومشقة وغربة حتى ان الشيطان مبعض الخير فعل هذا الامر وهو ان سائحاً كان اسمه فيتبسطس<sup>3</sup> وهو مقيم على صخرة ومعه راهبان ولداه فامرهما ابوهما السائح ان ينظفا له موضعاً خارجاً عن الصخرة وفيهما هما ينظفان ويحفران وجدا خمسة كيزان نحاس مملوءة مالا من سكة الروم فاحفوا احدهم واظهروا الاربعة للسائح فقال لهما الشيخ السائح بقلب طاهر هذا جميع ما وجدتماه قالا نعم<sup>4</sup> P. 128 فسر بذلك ثم قال لهما الرب قد وفق هذا المال للاب البطرك لانه مطلوب بما ليس معه ثم انفذ الى وكيل البطرك وكان اسمه جرجة الراهب والى كاتبه فاحضرهما وسلم لهما الاربعة كيزان وقال لهما خذا هؤلاء ادفعاهما<sup>5</sup> عن الاب الاكسندروس البطرك فاحذاهما

فيلبسطس 5. A — في. ABG — 3. BEG om. — 2. ارسلته اليك E. — 1. DF سهلاً. — اعطاهم للاب F. — 6. فيلبسطس E om. B فيلبسطس.

to let him travel to Upper Egypt, and whatever God allowed him to collect by the alms of the people he would send it to him. Then Kurrah released him, and he went up to Upper Egypt, and went round the cities and villages, and begged. And the Lord Jesus Christ healed many sick persons by his prayers, and every one rejoiced in him, saying : « Since the time of the Father Benjamin we have not seen a patriarch in Upper Egypt until this father ». But he suffered fatigue and trouble and the miseries of travel, and at last Satan, who hates the good, did this thing of which an account follows. There was a hermit, named Petubastes, who dwelt on a rock with two monks, his sons. One day their father, the hermit, bade them clean out for him a place away from the rock; and while they were clearing it and digging, they found five brazen pots full of money in Roman coin. So they hid one of the pots, and showed the other four to the hermit. So the old man said to them in his simplicity : « Is this all that you found? » And when they said that it was all, he was glad at that. Then he said to them : « The Lord has disposed this money for the Father Patriarch, because he is required to pay what he does not possess ». Afterwards he sent to the patriarch's steward, whose name was George the monk, and to his scribe, and summoned them both, and delivered to them the four pots, and said to them : « Take these and give them to the governor for the Father Alexander, the patriarch ». So they took the pots and went

ومضيا ودفناها بفعل سوء وكان الاب البطرك غائبا يجمع في الصعيد فاخذ الراهبان ولدا السائح الكوز المال اقتسماه وبديا يفعلا افعلا غير مرضية وتركوا الرهبة وابتاعا لباسا فاحرا وجواري سرارى فقبض الوالى والكاتب على احدهما وقالوا له من اين لك هذا المال وعاقبوه فلما احرقه الضرب قال لهم عاهدونى ان لا تفعلون معى سوءا واعرفكم كل شىء فعاهدوه فاعلمهم خبر الخمس كيزان وانه هو ورفيقه اخذا منهم واحدا وان الاربعة كيزان الاخر عند وكيل البطرك وكاتبه فاعلموا قرة بذلك سرعة فامر بغلق الابستوييون<sup>1</sup> واخذ كلما فيه من الاوانى والذهب والفضة والكتب والبهايم وانزل بلايا عظيمة على اصحاب البطرك واخذ الاربعة كيزان المال سوى اوانى البيعة ومال الابستوييون وانتقد الى الصعيد واحضر البطرك وهم بقتله بسبب يمينه ان ليس معه ذهب ولما اخذ منهم الاربع كيزان هرب جميع اصحاب البطرك مثل الحواريين ذلك الزمان فلما احضروا البطرك اليه

1. E om. to ركاتب add. القضية عن القضية. — 2. ABEG الابستويين E has a marginal note الابستويين يعنى دار البطركية.

away and buried them dishonestly. And the Father Patriarch was absent collecting money in Upper Egypt. So the monks, the sons of the hermit, took the pot of money, and divided it between themselves, and began to act impiously; for they abandoned the monastic life, and bought fine raiment and maidservants. So the governor of the town and the clerk seized one of them and said to him : « Whence hast thou this money? » And when he was chastised, and the stripes caused him anguish, he said to them : « Promise me that you will do me no hurt, and I will make everything known to you ». So they promised him, and he informed them of the affair of the five pots, and that he and his comrade had taken one of them, and that the other four pots were in the possession of the patriarch's steward and scribe. Then they at once informed Kurrah of this, and he commanded that the patriarchal residence should be shut, and all the vessels and gold and silver and books and cattle in it seized. And he brought down great trials upon the friends of the patriarch, and took the four pots of money, besides the vessels of the church and the goods found in the patriarchal residence, and he sent to Upper Egypt, and summoned the patriarch, and was minded to slay him because he had sworn that there was no gold in his possession. And when he took from them the four pots, all the friends of the patriarch fled like the apostles at that time. Then when they brought the patriarch before Kurrah, he gnashed his teeth upon him and wished to slay him, but the Lord restrained him; so he loa-



صرر بأسنانه عليه واراد قتله فمنعه الرب عنه فكبله بالحديد وطرحه في <sup>1</sup> السجن فاقام سبعة ايام ثم بعد هذا الزمه ان يقوم بالثلاثة الاف دينار ولحقه تعب عظيم وضيق الى ان تخلصت له الف دينار بعد سنتين ثم حلت بالاب القديس تجارب كثيرة وهو صابر عليها ثم ان قوما اشرارا مضوا وسعوا به ان عنده قوما يضربون الدنانير وان عنده سكة وفيما هو جالس في تاسع ساعة من النهار في بعض الايام يفطر وليس عنده علم الا وقد احاطوا بالابستمية وان اهل مدينة الاسكندرية والكاتب بامر قرة قد قبضوا عليه وعلى اصحابه وطرحوه على <sup>2</sup> الارض وضربوا اصحابه وعوقبوا حتى سالت دماؤهم الى الارض وكادوا يموتون من العقوبة ووجدوا<sup>3</sup> ما سعوا به عليه باطلا ولم يزالوا في هذه البلايا الى اليوم الثاني من امشير سنة اربع مائة وثلثين لديقلاديانوس<sup>4</sup> ثم بعد هذه البلايا التي نالت الاب قاموا عليه اهل الاسكندرية والكنهنة والزموه ان يقوم لهم برسوم ودياريات<sup>5</sup> في ثالث عيد الفصح ولم يكن

ولم يجدوا بعد ذلك 1. ABDG om. — 2. ABDEG om. — 3. F om. to باطلا add. — 4. EF للشهدا. — 5. B وديارات FG وديارات. — 6. EF للشهدا. — 7. B وديارات FG وديارات.

ded him with iron fetters, and cast him into prison, where he remained seven days. Then after that he compelled him to pay the three thousand dinars, and great trouble and distress came upon him, until one thousand dinars were paid to him after two years; and many trials came to the holy father, but he endured them patiently. Afterwards wicked people went and accused him falsely of having men in his house, who coined dinars, and alleged that he possessed a die for stamping coin. And while he was sitting at the ninth hour of the day, on a certain day, breaking his fast, and ignorant of what was to happen, before he knew anything, they had surrounded the patriarchal residence, and the people of the city of Alexandria with the town-clerk, by command of Kurrah, had seized the patriarch and his companions; and they threw him to the ground, and beat his companions, who were tortured till their blood flowed on the ground, and they almost died by the torture; and after all they found what they had accused him of to be false. And they did not cease from these persecutions till the second day of Amshir, in the year 430 of Diocletian.

Then after these persecutions which the father suffered, the people and clergy of Alexandria rose against him, and demanded that he should pay them some of the dues and church-rates on the third day of the Feast of Easter, but he had nothing to give them. And he said to them : « O brethren, you have seen how we have been robbed of all the property of



له شيء يدفعه لهم وكان يقول لهم يا اخوة قد نظرتم نهب جميع مال البيعة حتى الكاسات اللاتى<sup>1</sup> يرفع فيهنّ الدم الزكى جعلنا عوضاً<sup>2</sup> من<sup>3</sup> الذهب والفضة كاسات زجاج<sup>4</sup> P. 129 والديسقات خشباً من اجل نهب قرة لهم وكانوا يكتبونه بكلام كثير صعب وهو صابر على تكبيتهم وداع الى السيّد المسيح راعى الرعاة ان يتسلم منه شعبه بسلام<sup>5</sup> والرب يسوع المسيح فعل في ايامه امورا عجيبة<sup>6</sup> لانه مهتم بخلاص كل احد من الناس كان انسان اسمه يونس ارخن رزقه الله قبولاً عند الولاة فمضى الى قرة وقال له يجب ان تعلم ان الرهبان والاساقفة الذين في سائر الاماكن قد ثقل عليهم الخراج وهاهنا امر سهل منهم من هو مكشّر ومنهم من لا يقدر على قوته ونحن نعرف حال سائر النصارى فان رأيت ان تولينى امرهم استخرجت الخراجات فولاه على الاساقفة والرهبان فلما اعطاه السلطان قال لقرّة ان فيهم من لا يؤمن بامانة النصارى القبط ولا يصلون مع المسلمين فما ترى ان افعل بهم فقال افعل بهم بناموس النصارى واضعف الجزية عليهم فيخرج من عندك بتدبير الله

كاسات 1. Mss. التى يرفع فيها. — 2. ABDEFG عوض E عوضها. — 3. DF om. E om. to. — 4. ABCDEFG زجاج. — 5. ABCDEFG بسلام E om. — 6. ABCDEFG عجيبة.

the church, even of the cups in which the Pure Blood is offered: so that we have been forced to make chalices of glass and patens of wood instead of the gold and silver vessels, because Kurrah has robbed us of them ». But they reviled him with many hard words, while he patiently endured their abuse, and prayed to the Lord Christ, the chief shepherd, that he would receive his people from him and grant them salvation.

And the Lord Jesus Christ did in his days wonderful things, because he cares for the salvation of each one among men. For there was a man named John, an official, to whom God gave favour with the governors. So he went to Kurrah and said to him : « It is right that thou shouldst know that the taxes weigh heavily upon the monks and bishops in every place. Here then is an easy matter, for some of them are rich; while others have not the means of nourishment; and we know the state of all the Christians; if therefore thou thinkest fit to set me over their affairs, I will collect the taxes ». So he set him over the bishops and monks. And when Kurrah gave him authority, he said to him : « There are among them some who do not believe in the faith of the Coptic Christians, and yet will not pray with the Muslims. What then thinkest thou that I should do to them? » The governor answered : « Do to them according to the law of the Christians, and take a double poll-tax from them ». Accordingly John went out from before him, by the dispensation of God, and went first to the

ومضى أولاً الى كرسى صا وهو كرسيه وكان هناك قوم مخالفون وهم غايانيون<sup>1</sup> وشسطيكيون الذين ليس لهم بركة فزال مقاتلهم النجسة وعمدهم باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس فاض عليهم نور المعمودية وابتهجت نفوسهم ثم مضى الى المنى وكان<sup>2</sup> اسقف كرسيه ابا هور وعمد الرهبان هناك عند دحضهم الخلاف وكذلك الغايانيون<sup>3</sup> والبرسنوفيون الذين هناك اشركهم مع الارثوذكسيين وخرج من هناك مضى الى وادى هبيب وكان<sup>4</sup> هناك ايضا مقالة الغايانيين من مدة مائة وسبعين سنة من وقت الفرق على يد يوليانوس اعادهم ايضا الى الامانة الارثوذكسية وجمع كل البيع مجمعا واحداً بنعمة السيد المسيح معينه وليس هؤلاء فقط بل وفى كل موضع يجد فيه اصول مرة التى هى المقالات النجسات<sup>5</sup> من الرهبان او من غيرهم وفى مدينة بنا وبوصير<sup>6</sup> وسمنود واعمالهم ورشيد ودمياط قلعههم الرب من اصولهم ورمى بهم جميع كورة مصر جعلها اتحاداً واحداً وامانة واحدة وابطل<sup>10</sup> سائر المقالات النجسات

1. E. — 2. ADEFG وسطالسييس B. — 3. E. — 4. Mss. هونور. — 5. ABDG الغافلين. — 6. E om. to اعمالهم. — 7. ABDG غايانيس F add. وغيرها. — 8. Mss. النجسة. — 9. E om. to اعمالهم. — 10. E om. to النجسات. — 10. Mss. ابر صير.

diocese of Sà, which was his own diocese, where there were certain heretics. Gaianites and Schematics, living without the blessing of God. He therefore put a stop to their foul heresy, and baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, enlightening them with the illumination of baptism; and their souls were filled with joy. Then John went to Al-Munâ, where the bishop of the diocese was Abba Hor, and baptized the monks there, after they had abjured their heresy; and thus the Gaianites and the Barsanuphians, who were there, were led by him into communion with the orthodox. When he left that place, he journeyed to Wadî Habîb, where also the heresy of the Gaianites had existed during a hundred and seventy years, from the time of the schism caused by Julian; and he brought them also back to the orthodox faith. Thus he united all the churches in one body by the grace of the Lord Christ who helped him; not only these, but those in every place in which he found roots of bitterness, that is to say, foul heresies among the monks or others. For in the city of Banâ and Buşir and Samannûd and the neighbourhood, and at Rosetta and Damietta, the Lord rooted out their false principles and cast them away; and he united the whole land of Egypt in one faith with true agreement, and brought all the foul heresies to nought.

وكان الامير قرة محباً لجمع المال وكان كل ارخن يسوت يأخذ جميع ماله وكان<sup>1</sup> قد مات صاحب ديوان الاسكندرية وبقيرة الذي<sup>2</sup> كان<sup>3</sup> كاتباً من تيس وجماعة لا يحصون من مصر واخذ مالهم حتى الاساقفة اخذ ميراث الجميع وزاد على البلاد مائة الف دينار سوى خراجها المعروف وكانوا الناس يهربون ونسأؤهم واولادهم من مكان الى مكان ولا يابوهم موضع من اجل البلايا ومطالبات الخراج وعظم ظلمه اكثر ممن تقدمه ثم انه ولى انساناً اسمه عبد العزيز من مدينة سخا وكان يجمع الذين يهربون من كل موضع ويرتدّهم ويربطهم ويعاقبهم ويعيد<sup>4</sup> كلهم<sup>5</sup> الى موضعه وكان على الناس بلايا عظيمة ثم انزل الله على ارض مصر وباءً عظيماً وصار من يموت كل يوم لا يعرف عددهم<sup>6</sup> وكان اكثر من يموت من<sup>7</sup> P. 130 المسلمين ثم دخل الوباء منزل قرة فساتوا<sup>7</sup> نسأؤه وغلمايه وكان يهرب من موضع الى موضع خوفاً من الموت حتى فرغ من<sup>8</sup> اجله فسات بغته بموتة سوء وقد كان يوليانوس بطريك انطاكية الذي مسك البيعة من ايام يوحنا بطرك الاسكندرية الى ايام الاب الاكسندروس

1. E om. to مالهم. — 2. F التي. — 3. F كانت other Mss. om. with foll. wd. — 4. F om. to موضع. — 5. Mss. كل منهم. — 6. ABDEG عدد. — 7. E om. to سبب add. فسات رساؤهم وغلمايه. — 8. Mss. om.

And the Amir Kurrah was a great lover of money; and whenever an official died, he seized all his goods. Thus on the death of the chief of the Divân of Alexandria, and of Apacyrus of Tinnis, who was a clerk, and of an innumerable multitude of officials at Miṣr, he confiscated their property; and he even took away the endowments of the bishops. By these means he added a hundred thousand dinars to the established revenue of the country. And men began to flee from place to place with their wives and children, but no place would harbour them because of the troubles and the exaction of taxes; and his tyranny was greater than that of any of his predecessors.

Then Kurrah appointed a man, named Abd al-Aziz, of the city of Sakhâ, who collected the fugitives from every place, and brought them back and bound them and punished them, and sent everyone to his own place; and the people endured heavy trials. After this, God sent a great plague upon Egypt, and the number of those who died daily was not known: but the majority of those who died were Muslims. At last the plague entered the house of Kurrah, and his wives and his pages died; and he fled from place to place in fear of death, until he finished the term allotted to him, and then died suddenly a painful death.

Now Julian had been patriarch of Antioch, and had charge of the church from the days of John, patriarch of Alexandria, to the days of the Father Alexander; but he had gone to his rest, and departed to eternal hap-



وتيسح ومضى الى النعيم الابدى فاجتمعوا اساقفة المشرق ليقسموا لهم عوضاً منه وكان الولى  
عليهم اسمه الوليد لم يسكنهم من ذلك وقال ما ادع بطركنا يتقدم فى ايامى وكانوا حزن  
لاجل ذلك فعهدوا الى اسقف خائف من الله ممتلئ من نعمة روح القدس اسمه ا  
اجلسوه على الكرسي ببيعة انطاكية وكتب سنوديقا بناموس العتيقة وانقذها مع اسقف اس  
استفانوس الى الاب الطرك الاكسندروس لما بينهما من الاتفاق وكان القديس الاكسندر  
يفتقد المواضع فاجتمع به فى وادى هبيب فسلم<sup>1</sup> له السنوديقا من الاسقف ابنا ايليا الذ  
اجلسوه على كرسي انطاكية فوجدوها موافقة للامانة<sup>2</sup> المستقيمة قبلها بفرح واحضر مقدم  
الكور واعلمهم<sup>3</sup> ما جرى فى المشرق من منع الوالى للمؤمنين من تقديم بطرك و  
الاساقفة استخلفوا اسقفاً عوضه ليتم الشرطونيات الى حين زوال الغضب وقد كان مث  
هذا فى زمان اغريغوريوس الثالوغس وايضا تاوفيلس كان بالاريانيين<sup>4</sup> والاكاكين<sup>5</sup> وفاد

1. ABG فسلموا E om. to انطاكية. — 2. ABDG مستقيمة E صحيحة. — 3. E om.  
والانكريوس B والانكاسكرس ADG. — 4. Mss. بناريادرا. — 5. بمصر والبطركس  
والانكاستكرس.

ness. So the bishops of the East assembled in order to appoint his  
successor; but their prince, whose name was Al-Walid, would not allow  
them to do this. For he said : « I will not permit a patriarch to be  
appointed in my days ». And the bishops were sad because of this; and  
therefore they took a God-fearing bishop, filled with the grace of the  
holy Ghost, named Elias, and seated him upon the throne in the church  
of Antioch. And he wrote a synodical letter according to the law of the  
ancient canons, and despatched it by a bishop, named Stephen, to the Fa-  
ther Patriarch Alexander, because of the agreement between the two pre-  
lates. But the holy Alexander was visiting various places, so the bishop  
found him in Wadi Habib, and delivered to him the synodical letter from  
the bishop Abba Elias, whom they had seated on the throne of Antioch.  
And Alexander found the letter in accordance with the orthodox faith, and  
therefore he accepted it with joy, and summoned the chief men of the pro-  
vinces, and made known to them what had happened in the East, and  
how the prince had forbidden the faithful to appoint a patriarch, but that  
the bishops had given the late patriarch a successor, so that he might  
consecrate the bishops until the season of wrath should cease. And a similar  
occurrence had happened in the time of Gregory Theologus and our Father  
Theophilus with the Arians and Acacians, and the distress lasted until they  
called the aforesaid Gregory to Constantinople, and the church was delivered

الضرورة الى ان استدعوا الى القسطنطينية اغريغوريوس المذكور وسلمت له البيعة ولهذا طابت نفوس الاساقفة بمصر والبطرك وكتب جواب السنوديقا لاستفانوس<sup>1</sup> ومن معه ومضى بسلام الى كورته ولما تولى تادرس امور الاسكندرية في ايام الاب الاكسندرس كان هناك طبيب من اهل الاسكندرية في ايام الوليد اسمه انويس<sup>2</sup> الذي هو وجه الحمار فلما وجد الوسيلة سأل الامير ان يأمر ان يقدمه بطركا من الاسكندرية وكان روميا خلقه نيا مجدفا فقبل سؤاله وكان<sup>3</sup> كاتب اسمه انسطاسيوس من الاسكندرية ودفع هذا الكاتب الف دينار<sup>4</sup> للامير حتى جعل الغير بطرك الخلقدونى بمدينة<sup>5</sup> الاسكندرية وكان<sup>6</sup> يتقاوم الامانة المستقيمة ويتهنأ بالاكسندروس وبالخاصة<sup>7</sup> اذا لحقه تجربة في ذلك الوقت ثم ان الشعب اراد قطع الخلقدونى وقاموا عليه<sup>8</sup> فانهمزم ومضى الى الاكسندروس الاب وسأله بخضوع واعتذر<sup>9</sup> عما كان بلغه عنه ورغب اليه ان يقبله في الامانة الارثوذكسية فقبله بمحبة مسيحية<sup>10</sup> وعاد الى وصايا الله الذي<sup>11</sup> قال اذا رأيت حمار<sup>12</sup> عدوك ملقيا مثقالا<sup>13</sup> فلا تولي عنه<sup>14</sup> الى ان تنهض<sup>15</sup>

1. Mss. الاسانوس. — 2. Mss. انويسين. — 3. ABDEG om. with foll. wd. add. وكتب. — 4. ABD للكاتب E om. هذا. — 5. ABDG add. ردفعها. — 6. E om. الوقت. — 7. ABDG om. — 8. ADG وبالكاتب B وبالخاصة. — 9. ABDEG عما. — 10. AD مسيحية BEG om. — 11. E om. to كسيية. — 12. ABDEG om. — 13. Mss. om. — 14. ABDG add. مثقالا. — 15. DE تنهض.

to him. Therefore the bishops of Egypt and the patriarch were consoled, and he wrote on answer to the synodical letter, and gave it to Stephen and his companions; and Stephen departed in peace to his own country.

And when Theodore undertook the government of Alexandria in the reign of Al-Walid and in the days of the Father Alexander, there was there a physician, a native of the city, named Onopes, which means Ass's face. When this man gained influence, he begged the Amir to command Theodore to appoint him patriarch of Alexandria; and he was a Roman, and a blasphemous Chalcedonian. The Amir accepted his petition; and a certain clerk named Anastasius, a native of Alexandria, gave to the Amir a thousand dinars, and so induced him to establish this false Chalcedonian patriarch in the city of Alexandria. And he opposed the right faith and derided Abba Alexander, especially when he was enduring trials at that time. After that the people wished to depose the Chalcedonian, and rose against him; so he fled, and went to the Father Alexander, and prayed him humbly, and begged to be excused for what he had endured through him, and requested him to receive him into the orthodox faith. Therefore Alexander received him with Christian charity, and obeyed the



ولم ينزل على الأمانة الأرثوذكسية ثم قام على البيعة تجارب وخرج أمر سوء بأن تقلع من البيعة  
العمد المملوثة والرخام الذى فى البيع ويحمل جميعه وكان الاب بطرك حزيناً لاجل بيعته  
لأنها صارت خراباً لاجل<sup>1</sup> ما فعلوا<sup>2</sup> معه وهو مع هذا يشكر الله ويصبر بشجاعة ثم ان امرين  
صعبين<sup>3</sup> حدثا فى سنة اربع مائة واحد وثلاثين لديقلاديانوس فى<sup>4</sup> ثالث عشر سنة من  
الدكتيون<sup>5</sup> لاجل خطايانا وعظم افعالنا وذلك<sup>6</sup> ان من بعد موت قرة انقذ الوليد عوضه الى  
مصر واليا اسمه اسامة فلما وصل الفسطاط الشمس علام<sup>7</sup> جميع الكور وكتبها بالعربى وكان  
كثير الفهم فلما بدأ بذلك حدث غلاء عظيم لم يسمع بمثله من الجيل الاول ومات فى ذلك  
الغلاء اكثر ممن مات فى الوباء واشرفت جميع الاغنياء والفقراء على الموت ثم ان رخاء عظيم  
اقبل حتى انتهى القمح الى<sup>8</sup> خمسة وعشرين اردباً بدينار وبعد قليل وافى ايضاً وباء فافنى  
العالم ولو لم يرحم الرب من بقى منهم على الارض لم يبق منهم احد وكان الامير مقيم

1. DEF om. to معه. — 2. A فعلوا BG فعلوا. — 3. ABDG صعبة E om. — 4. EF om. to  
الدكتيون. — 5. A الدكتيوس BG الدكتوس D الدكتيوس. — 6. ABDG om. with foll. wd.  
— 7. Mss. علم. — 8. Mss. om.

commandments of God, who says<sup>1</sup> : « If thou seest the ass of thine enemy  
lying under his burden, turn not from him until thou hast raised him up ».   
And he did not cease to hold the orthodox faith.

Then there arose trials in the Church, and a wicked edict was issued  
that the coloured pillars and the marble which were in the churches should  
be taken away, and they were all carried off. And the Father Patriarch was  
sad for the sake of his church, because it became a ruin through that which  
was done with him. But in spite of this he gave thanks to God, and was bra-  
vely patient.

At that time two serious disasters happened, in the year 431 of Diocletian.  
In the 13th year of the Indiction, on account of our sins and our evil deeds.  
For after the death of Kurrah, Al-Walîd sent to Egypt as his successor a go-  
vernor named Usamah. This man, when he arrived at Al-Fustât, demanded  
a description of the boundaries of all the provinces, and wrote it down in  
Arabic; and he was a man of great intelligence. Then, when he had begun  
this, there came a great dearth, the like of which had not been heard of since  
the earliest ages; and more died in that dearth than had died in the plague,  
for all the rich and the poor were threatened with death. Afterwards a  
great abundance came, till wheat sank to twenty-five ardebbs for one dinar.  
But after a short time the plague returned, and destroyed the people; and

1. Exod., xxiii, 5.



على فعله السوء وكل المسلمين والنصارى خائفون منه ثم تقدّم ان لا يأوى احد غريبا في البيع ولا الفنادق ولا في السواحل وكانوا خائفين منه وطرّدوا من كان عندهم من الغرباء وتقدم الى الرهبان ان لا يهربوا من يأتي اليهم ثم اخصى الرهبان ووسمهم كل واحد منهم بحلقة حديد في يده اليسرى ليعرف ووسم كل واحد باسم بيعته وديره بغير حليب بتاريخ مسلكة الاسلام وكان في سنة ست وتسعين للهجرة قلق على الرهبان وضيق على المؤمنين واذا ظهروا<sup>1</sup> بهارب او غير موسوم قدّموه الى الامير فيأمر<sup>2</sup> بقطع<sup>3</sup> احدا<sup>4</sup> اعضائه ويبقى اعرج ولم يكن يحصى عدد من شوّ به على هذه القضية وحلق احي كثير وقتل جماعة وقلع اعين جماعة بغير رحمة وكان يقتل جماعة تحت العقوبة بالسياط وكان من<sup>5</sup> محبته للدنانير<sup>6</sup> يأمر الولاة ان يقتلوا الناس ويحضروا اليه مالهم ويكاتبهم ويقول سلت لكم انفس الناس فتحملوا ما تقدرون عليه من اساقفة ورهبان او بيع او كل الناس فاحملوا القماش والسال

-- 1. E om. to ar add. ظهر راهب. — 2. ABD فينشي (؟ فينشب) فينشي. — 3. ABDEG om. F بسل. — 4. ABDEG om. — 5. ABG om. — 6. ABD في E للدنانير. — للدنيا G المال.

if the Lord had not taken pity on those that remained of them on the earth, not one would have survived.

And the Amir continued to do evil, while all the Muslims and Christians feared him. For he commanded that no one should lodge a stranger in the churches or at inns or on the wharfs, and the people were afraid of him and drove out the strangers that were in their houses. And he commanded the monks not to make monks of those who came to them. Then he mutilated the monks, and branded each one of them on his left hand, with a branding iron in the form of a ring, that he might be known; adding the name of his church and his monastery, without a cross, and with the date according to the era of Islam. Thus there was, in the year 96 of the Hegira, trouble among the monks, and oppression of the faithful. If they discovered a fugitive or one that had not been marked, they brought him to the Amir, who ordered that one of his limbs should be cut off, so that he was lame for life; and the number could not be counted of those whom he maimed for this cause. And he shaved off the beards of many, and slew a great multitude, and put out the eyes of many without mercy, and killed many under punishment with scourges. And out of love for money he commanded the governors to put the people to death, and bring him their money; and he wrote to them, saying: « I have delivered up to you the lives of the people, therefore collect all the wealth that you can, from bishops or monks or churches or any of the

والبهائم وكلما تجدونه لهم ولا تراعوا احدا وای موضع نزلتموه فانهبوه وكانوا يخربون المواضع  
ويقلعون العمود والاشخاب ويبيعون ما يساوي عشرة دنانير بدينار حتى<sup>1</sup> صارت الفضة خمس  
11.112. وثلاثين درهما بدينار والقمح اربعين اردبا بدينار والنبذ<sup>2</sup> اربعين مطرا بدينار والزيت ماء  
قسط بدينار وكل من معه شيء يخاف عليه ان يظهره لئلا يعاقب ومن الضيق والضنك<sup>3</sup> همت  
الناس ببيع اولادهم واذا اعلسوا الامير بهذا لم يرق قلبه ولا يرحم بل يزيد فيما هو فيه  
وكان يكتب ويقول كل موضع يوجد فيه انسان ماشيا او عاديا<sup>4</sup> من موضع الى موضع او  
طالعا من مركب او نازلا وليس معه<sup>5</sup> سجله<sup>6</sup> يؤخذ<sup>7</sup> وتنهب المركب وما فيها<sup>8</sup> وتضرب  
بالنار واذا وجدوا من<sup>9</sup> الروم<sup>10</sup> في البحر فيحضرونهم اليه فمنهم من يقتله ومنهم من تصلب  
ومنهم من يقطع يديه ورجليه حتى انقطع الطريق ولم يبق من يسافر ولا يبيع ولا يشتري  
وثمرات الكروم تلفت ولم يبق من يشربها بدرهم واحد لاجل قيام اربابها عند داره

— يعدى. — 3. Mss. الزائد E والضم والضمك B. — 2. اردبا بدينار. — 1. E om. — 8. BEG وينهب. — 7. A add. يرخذوا. — 6. Mss. سجل. — 5. E سجل. — 4. Mss. معهم. — 10. Mss. روم. — 9. Mss. om. — 10. Mss. روم. — 9. Mss. om. — 10. Mss. روم.

people, and bring stuffs and money and cattle and all that you find belonging to them, and respect no one. And whatever place you visit, pillage it ». Accordingly the officials laid the country waste, and carried off the columns and the woodwork, and sold what was worth ten dinars for one dinar, until silver sank to thirty-five dirhems for a dinar, and wheat to forty ardebbs for a dinar, and wine to forty wineskins for a dinar, and oil to a hundred kists for a dinar. And everyone who possessed anything was afraid to show it, lest he should be put to the torture; and through anguish and distress men were minded to sell their own children. Yet when the Amir was informed of these things, his heart was not softened, and he had no mercy, but increased in his wickedness. For he wrote and said : « Wherever a man is found walking, or passing from one place to another, or disembarking from a boat, or embarking, without a passport, he shall be arrested, and the contents of the boat confiscated, and the boat burnt ». And if any Romans were found on the river, they were brought to him; and some of them he slew, and others he impaled, and the hands and feet of some he cut off. At last the roads were made impassable, and no man could travel or sell or buy. The fruits of the vineyards were wasted, and there was no one to buy them for a single dirhem, because their owners remained within their houses for two months, awaiting the passport to release them thence. If a mouse ate a man's passport, or if it were injured by water or fire or any accident, whether part

شهرين ينتظرون السجل بالافراج عنهم واذا اكل فار سجل الانسان او احبده ماء او نار او شيء من العوارض وبقي معه منه قطعة او جميعه وقد تغير رسمه لا يغير له حتى يدفع خمسة دنائير غرامة وبعد ذلك يغير له وكانت امرأة ارملة اخذت سجلا لولدها اليتيم<sup>1</sup> الوحيد<sup>2</sup> ترجوا<sup>3</sup> من عمل يديه ما تقنات به فخرجت من الاسكندرية الى اغراوة<sup>4</sup> وخرج الصبي الى البحر يشرب ماء فخطفه التمساح والسجل مربوط معه وامه تبكى وتحترق عليه فرجعت الى الاسكندرية فاعلمت الامير الغير مؤمن ما جرى عليها فلم يتراف عليها بل اعتقلها حتى وزنت عشرة دنائير بسبب السجل وانها دخلت المدينة بغير سجل وباعت ثيابها وكل ما لها وطافت تتصدق حتى اوفت العشرة الدنائير وكان الشيطان الذي كان موافقا له وقلبه مثل قلبه يلتقى في قلبه كل اليوم السوء<sup>5</sup> ثم انقذ<sup>6</sup> كشف الديارات فوجد فيها جماعة من الرهبان بغير حلق في ايديهم فمنهم من ضربت رقبتة ومنهم من مات تحت السياط ثم انه سمر باب البيعة بالحديد وطلب منهم الف دينار وجمع مقدمي الرهبان وعذبهم والتمس

1. Mss. يتييم. — 2. A وحيدا BG ووحيد DF وحيد E om. — 3. E om. to اغراوة. — 4. AD سحر. — 5. ABC يئس. — 6. AD سحر.

or the whole of it remained to his possession, if its lettering were damaged, it could not be changed for a new one until he paid five dinars as a fee for it, and then it could be changed for him.

Now there was a poor widow who received a passport for her son, who was her only one and fatherless, and to whose labour she trusted for her sustenance. So she departed from Alexandria to go to Aghrawah. But when the young man went out to the river to drink water, a crocodile devoured him with the passport which was fastened to him. And his mother wept and mourned for him, and then returned to Alexandria, where she informed the unbelieving Amir of what had happened to her; but he had no pity on her, and kept her prisoner until she paid ten dinars for the passport, because she had entered the city without a passport. And she sold her garments and all that she had, and went about begging, until she had paid the ten dinars. And Satan, whom the Amir resembled in heart, suggested evil to him all day long. After this he sent his officers to inquire into the state of the monasteries, and found there many monks who had no mark of a ring on their hands; so some of them were beheaded, and some died under the lash. Then he nailed up the door of their church with iron nails, and demanded of them a thousand dinars, and assembled the superiors of the monks, and tortured them, and required a dinar from each one of them. And he said :



منهم عن كل واحد منهم ديناراً وقال متى لم تقوموا بذلك هدمت البيع واخربتكم وجعلتكم في مراكب الاسطول فقلقوا شيوخ الرهبان وتمنوا الموت ولم يعلموا ما يصنعون ولم يكن لهم الا اجتماعهم في البيع والصلوات والتضرع الى السيد المسيح ان يترأف عليهم بحزن وكأبة حتى سمع الله الكريم الرحيم دعاءهم ونجّاهم بسرعة بان توفي سليمان ابن عبد الملك<sup>1</sup> وهو كان في ذلك الوقت الملك الكبير وملك مكانه عمر بن عبد العزيز<sup>2</sup> الذي كان امير مصر<sup>3</sup> وانفذ للوقت بارادة الله الروف واليا الى مصر فرمى طوبة حديد في رجلى اسامة البأس وخشبة في يديه<sup>4</sup> وجعله في الحبس وكان مظلوماً الى ان يرى رأيه فيه ثم اخذه فاخرجه من الاسكندرية الى مصر فقبض الله روحه في الطريق عقوبة له وضيقاً بقدر استحقاقه وكان هذا عمر بن عبد العزيز يصنع خيراً عظيماً امام الناس يفعل السوء امام الله وامر ان لا يكون على اواسى البيعة والاساقفة خراج وبدأ<sup>5</sup> ان يجعل<sup>6</sup> البيع بغير خراج والاساقفة وابطل<sup>7</sup> الجبايات وعمر المدن التي

1. Mss. اللد. — 2. ABG add. وكان اسمه عمر. — 3. ABDFG add. رولاد مكان سليمان وكان اسمه عمر. — 4. DE om. to والاساقفة. — 5. ABF جعل. — 6. ABDFG بطل. — 7. DE om. to والاساقفة. — 8. ABDFG جعل.

« If you do not pay this, I will destroy the churches, and turn them into ruins, and make you serve on board the ships of the fleet ». So the seniors of the monks were troubled; and they longed for death, and knew not what to do, and could only assemble in the churches, and pray, and humbly entreat the Lord Christ in grief and sadness that he would have pity on them. At last the gracious and merciful God heard their supplication, and delivered them suddenly; for Sulaiman, son of Abd al-Malik, who was at that time the sovereign prince, died and was succeeded by Omar, son of Abd al-Aziz who had been governor of Egypt. And by the will of the merciful God, Omar at once sent a governor to Egypt, who fastened a mass of iron to the feet of Usamah, the evil one, and a block of wood to his hands, and put him in prison; and he was kept in darkness until he should make up his mind concerning him. Then he took him, and brought him out from Alexandria to Misr. But God took away his life on the way in a grievous and painful manner, as he deserved.

Yet this Omar, son of Abd al-Aziz, though he did much good before men, acted ill before God. He commanded that there should be no taxes upon the property of the church and the bishops, and began to set the churches and bishops free from the impost on land; and he abolished the new taxes, and rebuilt the ruined cities; and the Christians were in security and prosperity,

خربت وكانوا النصارى فى امن وهدوء والبيع ثم من بعد ذلك بدا ان<sup>1</sup> يفعل السوء وكتب كتابا الى مصر مملوء غمًا وهو فيه مكتوب عمر يأمر ويقول من اراد ان يقيم فى حاله وبلاده فليكن<sup>2</sup> على دين<sup>3</sup> محمد<sup>4</sup> مثلى<sup>5</sup> ومن لا يريد فليخرج<sup>6</sup> من اعمالى فسلموا له النصارى ما بايديم من التصرفات وتوكلوا على الله وسلموا خدمتهم للمسلمين وصاروا عبرة لكثير ودخلت اليد على النصارى من الولاة والمتصرفين والمسلمين فى كل مكان كبيرهم وصغيرهم غنيهم وفقيرهم وامر وقال ان تؤخذ الجزية من سائر الناس الذين لا يسلمون ولم<sup>7</sup> تجر عادتهم بالقيام بها فلم يمهله الله لكن اهلكه سرعة ولم<sup>8</sup> يسكنه بالملك لانه كان يشبه الدجال ثم تولى بعده يزيد وما نحسن ان<sup>9</sup> نشرح ما جرى فى ايامه ولا نذكر من السوء والبلايا<sup>10</sup> لانه سلك فى طريق الشيطان وحاد عن طريق الله واول ما اخذ المسلكة اعاد الخراج الذى كان عمر قد رفعه عن البيع والاساقفة سنة واحدة وحمل على الناس

1. Mss. om. — 2. Mss. فيكون. — 3. E ديني. — 4. E om. with foll. wd. — 5. Mss. — 6. Mss. يخرج. — 7. E om. to بها. — 8. E om. to الدجال. — 9. Mss. om. — 10. ADF والبلايا.

and so were the churches. But after that he began to do evil; for he wrote a letter charged with sadness to Egypt, in which were written the following words : « Omar commands saying, Those who wish to remain as they are, and in their own country, must follow the religion of Muhammad as I do; but let those who do not wish to do so, go forth from my dominions ». Then the Christians gave him all the money that they could, and trusted in God, and rendered service to the Muslims, and became an example to many. For the Christians were oppressed by the governors and the local authorities and the Muslims in every place, the old and the young, the rich and the poor among them; and Omar commanded that the poll-tax should be taken from all men who would not become Muslims, even in cases where it was not customary to take it. But God did not long respite him, but destroyed him swiftly, and granted him the government no longer, because he was like Antichrist.

Then Yezid reigned after him; but we have no wish to relate nor describe what happened in his days, on account of the miseries and trials; for he walked in the path of Satan, and deviated from the paths of God. As soon as he undertook the government, he restored the taxes of which Omar had relieved the churches and bishops for one year; and he required great sums of money from the people, so that everyone was distressed in his dominions. And he was not satisfied with this only, but he even issued orders that the crosses should be broken in every place, and that the pictures



بطرکت فی ایضا add. — 3. E om. — 4. A المشرق بعد وفات ایلینا الاستف — 5. B اناسیوس FG ابانسیوس DE ابانسیوس — 6. E om. — 7. ABG لاجل DF منجل.

And after him reigned Hishâm his brother, who was a God-fearing man according to the method of Islam, and loved all men; and he became the deliverer of the orthodox. For when he learnt that we Christians had had no patriarch in the East since Julian, the late patriarch of Antioch, in whose stead the bishop Elias had taken his seat, and that Elias also had died, he took a man named Athanasius, full of every spiritual grace, who also was a bishop, and gave him the patriarchate of Antioch. So the bishops laid their hands upon him in turn, and made him patriarch. This Athanasius wrote a synodical letter with learning and great humility to the blessed Father Patriarch Alexander, saying : « Verily I am unworthy of this degree on account of my sins; yet I have not been promoted by my own will, but by that of the prince ». For he had known him before this time. So Alexander received the letter with joy, and then wrote an answer to it, asserting the unity of the faith, and containing good wishes and salutations. At the end he wrote thus : « We bless the prince Hishâm, and pray that he may enjoy



كان عارفاً به قبل هذا الزمان فقبلها الاكسندروس<sup>١</sup> بفرح ثم كتب اليه جوابها<sup>٢</sup> باتحاد<sup>٣</sup> الامانة<sup>٤</sup> P. 131 والصالح<sup>٥</sup> والسلامة ثم كتب نبارك على الملك هشام ونسال ان تتثبت مملكته سنينا كثيرة ويظفر باعدائه ليفعل الاستقامة امام الرب وشيخ الرسل بسلام ثم ان هشاما كتب الى مصر يأمر بان تدفع لكل من يزن الخراج<sup>٦</sup> براءة باسمه حتى لا يظلم احد ولا يكون في مملكته ظلم فاعطاه الله مملكة جيدة فاقام اثنتين وعشرين سنة ملكا ولم تقم عليه حرب لكن كل ثائر يثور عليه قد اسلمه الله في يديه بصلوات البطريركين الجليليين الاكسندروس بالاسكندرية واتناسيوس بانطاكية وكانت البيعة الارثوذكسية<sup>٧</sup> بدمشق ملاصقة للقصر الذي هو ساكنه ثم<sup>٨</sup> انه امر ان يبنى البطريرك بيته ملاصقا لمجالس الملك من كثرة حبه له حتى يسمع صلاته وقراءته لانه كان يقول له دفعات كثيرا اذا بديت بالصلاة بالليل تتلني راحة عظيمة ويزول غنى الهم بامر المملكة ثم يأتيني النوم براحة وكان يحبه كثيرا لاجل ذلك ويعطى كرامات

١. ABDEFG om. — ٢. ABDEFG اتحاد. — ٣. E om. to الرب add. هاشم. — ٤. ABDEFG خراج. — ٥. E om. to الملك.

a reign of many years, and overcome his enemies, so that he may do that which is right before the Lord ». And he dismissed the envoys in peace.

After this, Hishâm wrote to Egypt, commanding that a receipt in his name should be given to everyone who paid the taxes, so that none might be unfairly treated, and that there might be no injustice in his dominions. So God gave him a prosperous reign, and he continued to rule for twenty-two years; and no war continued against him, but everyone that rose up against him was delivered by God into his hands, through the prayers of the two glorious patriarchs, Alexander at Alexandria and Athanasius at Antioch. Now the orthodox church at Damascus was adjoining the palace in which Hishâm resided. Then he commanded that the patriarch should build his house next to the prince's reception-hall, because of his great love for him, so that he might hear him pray and read. For he often used to say to him : « When thou beginnest to pray at night I receive great comfort, and I cease to trouble about the affairs of the empire, and then sleep comes to me restfully ». And Hishâm loved Athanasius greatly for that reason; and he gave great gifts to the churches and the Christians. And there was at his court a Muslim who greatly loved the orthodox churches, and he was named Ubaid Allah. And when the prince Hishâm saw him act so, he rejoiced greatly, and made him governor of Egypt, and commanded him to act with kindness towards all baptised Christians. When Ubaid Allah came to Egypt, he commanded that the people and the cattle should be numbered,

كثيرا للبيع والنصارى وكان عنده رجل مسلم يحب البيع الارثوذكسية جدا اسمه<sup>1</sup> عبيد  
فلما نظره الملك هشام يفعل ذلك فرح جدا وولاد مصر واوصاده<sup>2</sup> ان<sup>3</sup> يفعل الخير مع  
العموديّة فلما وصل الى مصر امر بان تحصى الناس والبهائم وان تقاس الاراضى والكبر  
بجبال القياس ففعل ذلك وان يجعل طابع رصاص فى حلق كل الناس من ابن عشرين  
الى من عمده مائة سنة واحصاهم وكتبهم جميعهم ودوابهم من الصغير الى الكبير والاراضى  
الوكس<sup>4</sup> التى هى صعبة التى تثبت حلفا وشوكا وبنى<sup>5</sup> اميالا فى وسط الغيطان على الحد  
والطرق فى جميع ارض مصر واضعف الخراج فلما تم جميع ما ذكرناه وظلما كثيرا  
نذكره لما وصل القسطنطين<sup>6</sup> الى مدينة منف واقام بها اربعة شهور وامر ان يجتمع  
اليه مقدمو المواضع الى منف وجعل علامة الاسد على ايدى<sup>7</sup> النصارى كقول الكتاب  
الذى قاله يوحنا ابن الرعد اذ يقول لا يبيع احد ولا يشتري الا من كان على يد<sup>8</sup>

1. E om. to الله F om. to جدا ABDG ويسميه. — 2. ABDEG وصاد. — 3. Mss. om.  
— 4. E om. to وشوكا. — 5. F الخرس. — 6. F انشا. — 7. ABDEG ومضى. — 8. ABDE  
يدى.

and the lands and vineyards measured with measuring lines, and accordingly  
this was done; also that a leaden badge should be placed on the neck of  
every man, from the youth of twenty to those who were a hundred years old;  
and he had them numbered, and wrote down the names of all of them, and  
the number of their beasts, young and old, and an account of the bad lands,  
difficult of cultivation, which produce rushes and thorns. And he set up  
milestones in the midst of the enclosed lands, at the boundaries and on the  
roads, throughout the land of Egypt; and he doubled the taxes.

So after Ubaid Allah had accomplished all that we have related, and had  
committed much injustice which we have not related, when he came to Al-  
Fustāṭ, he went to the city of Memphis and remained there four months.  
And he commanded that the chief men of the towns should assemble at  
Memphis. And he had the mark of a lion put on the hands of the Chris-  
tians, according to the words of the Book, which John the Son of Thunder  
uttered, saying: « None shall sell or buy except those upon whose hand  
is the mark of the lion ». Then, when he had accomplished this, he wrote  
to the provinces of Egypt, saying thus: « If anyone is found in any place  
without the mark on his hand, his hand shall be cut off, and he shall be  
heavily fined, because he has disobeyed the commands of the prince and acted  
rebelliously towards him ». Now he had two sons, one of whom he des-

1. Apoc., xiii. 17.

علامة الاسد فلما تَمَّ ذلك كتب الى بلاد مصر يقول هكذا كلمن يوحيد في سائر  
المواضع فليس على يده الرسم تقطع يده ويخسر خسارة عظيمة لانهم لم يسمعوا اوامر  
الملك وخالفوه وكان له ولدان اتفد احدهما الى القبة<sup>1</sup> والآخر الى بحرى وكان قلق  
عظيم واضطراب في كل كورة مصر ثم وصل الى الجيزة وبنى له بها دارا عظيمة وكتب  
الى كور مصر بان تحشد له جماعة من الناس يشغلهم فيما يريد وبنى القسطنط حتى ان  
الناس هلكوا من التعب من كثرة ما اشغلهم فلما<sup>2</sup> عظم التعب والقيام بالخراج الذى اخضعه  
عليهم ثارت<sup>3</sup> حرب على النصارى والمسلمين حتى سفكت دماء كثيرة بارض مصر بين  
القبيلتين اولها<sup>4</sup> في مدينة بنا ومدينة صا ومدينة سمند وما يجاورهن ومواضع كثيرة في  
اسفل الارض وكذلك كان في الطرق والجبال والبحار ومتى شرحنا ذلك طال شرحه ولما  
دخل الوالى الى الاسكندرية ليسم الناس قبض على<sup>5</sup> البطرك ليسمه فامتنع فلم يدعه الوالى

1. G قبل. — 2. Mss. ثارت. — 3. Mss. om. to بنا add. — 4. ABDEFG  
om.

patched to the South, and the other to the North, and there was great distress and perturbation in all the land of Egypt. Then Ubaid Allah arrived at Al-Gizah, and built a large house for himself there; and he wrote to the provinces of Egypt, commanding that a body of men should be collected for him, that he might set them to work as long as he wished. And he built at Al-Fustât, until the men perished through fatigue from the great labours which he imposed upon them. In consequence of these things, when the forced labours and the payment of the taxes which he had doubled became grievous, war broke out between the Christians and Muslims, so that much blood was shed in the land of Egypt between the two factions, first of all in the city of Banâ and the city of Şâ and the city of Samannûd and their neighbourhood, and in many places in Lower Egypt; and there was likewise fighting on the roads and mountains and by the canals; but if we were to relate the history of it the account would be too long. When the governor of Alexandria entered that city to mark the people, he seized the patriarch in order to brand him, but he refused to be so treated. Yet the governor would not release him, and, though the patriarch requested to be allowed to go to the prince, would not consent to that. Then after a time he sent the patriarch to Mişr, with a troop of soldiers who were to bring him to Ubaid Allah; and accordingly, when he appeared before him, he made known to him the cause of his arrival. But Ubaid Allah would not let him go without branding him. Therefore when the Father Patriarch Alexander saw that he



والتمس البطرك المضى الى الملك فلم يجبه الى ذلك ثم بعد مدّة انفذ البطرك الى مع جند يوصلونه الى عبيد<sup>1</sup> الله فلما<sup>2</sup> حضر بين يديه عرّفه سبب حضوره فلم يتركه به وسم فلما نظر الاب البطرك الاكسندرس انه لا يخلّى قال لعبيد الله الامير اسلك تمهلنى ثلاثة ايام فاجابه وامهله فدخل البطرك الى مخدعه وسأل الرب ان لا يمكنه وسمه بل ينقله من هذا العالم سرعة فلما<sup>3</sup> نظر الله سريرة عبده انها حسنة افتقد فمرض فى اليوم الثالث وكان<sup>4</sup> المرض يتزايد كل يوم عليه فلما علم ان السيّد المسيح قد سم وقبل صلاته انفذ قومًا<sup>5</sup> ثقات ورؤساء من الارثوذكسيين اولاده<sup>6</sup> الى عبيد الله يسأله ان يطلقه ليمضى الى كرسيه قبل وفاته فلم يمكنه فظن ان هذا منه محال وانه غير عليل فلما مضت اربعة ايام قال الاب للاخوة عبّوا<sup>7</sup> المركب عند غروب الشمس ليمضى لان فى غم يفتقدنى السيد يسوع المسيح فمضوا ولم يكن معه احد من الاساقفة غير ابنا جمول اسقف وسيم<sup>8</sup> فلما انحدروا هارين وصلوا الى ترنوط عند الصبح ففى تلك الساعة تبيّن

فلم يشأ ان يتركه بغير رسم فطلب منه الاب ان add. تمهلنى 1. E عبد. — 2. E om. to يسأله 4. E om. to فاستجاب الله دعاء add. افتقد 3. ABG فلم 5. F om. to الارثوذكسيين add. بعض 6. F add. وانفذ جماعة الى الوالى يسأله add. 7. E هموا المراكب 8. Mss. حمل 9. F اوسيم.

could not escape, he said to Ubaid Allah, the Amir : « I pray thee to grant me a delay of three days ». So he consented to this, and granted him the respite. Then the patriarch entered his private chamber, and prayed the Lord not to suffer him to be branded, but to remove him from this world speedily; and when God saw the thoughts of his servant that they were good, he visited him; and accordingly he fell sick on the third day, and the sickness increased each day upon him. When he knew that the Lord Christ had heard him and received his prayer, he sent trustworthy persons and certain chiefs of the orthodox, his children, to Ubaid Allah, to beg him to release him, that he might depart to his see before his death. But he would not allow him, suspecting that this was a ruse, and that he was not sick. So when four days had passed, the father said to the brethren : « Prepare the boat at sunset that we may depart, for to-morrow the Lord Jesus Christ will visit me ». Accordingly they departed; but not one of the bishops was with him, except Abba Shamul, bishop of Wasim. Then when they had descended the river in their flight, they reached Tarnût by the morning; and at that hour the blessed Alexander went to his rest at that place. When Ubaid Allah learnt that the patriarch had escaped without

الطوباني الاكسندرس في ذلك المكان فلما علم عبيد الله انه قد هرب بغير امر انفذ اميرا ليعيده ومن معه فلما وصل اليهم وقبض عليهم ليردهم بغضب فوجد الاب قد تيسح فتركه وقبض على ابا جمول وسيّره الى عبيد الله فقال له بالحقيقة انك انت اشرت عليه بالهروب ولا بدّ ممّا تقوم بالف دينار ليت مال الملك وكان ابا جمول فقيرا يعجز عن قوت يومه وهو عريان وكان<sup>1</sup> حلو المنظر حسن السيرة وكان يعظ من يخطئ فيسمع منه وكذلك ثبت كل من هو عاجز في الامانة الارثوذكسيّة فحلف له انه لا يقدر على دينار واحد ولا هو في ملكه فلم يقبل منه وسأله الى شرطيين فلما اخذاه<sup>2</sup> ذاك<sup>3</sup> المسلمين اللذان لا نذكر اسماءهما سلّما<sup>4</sup> الى بربر متشبهين بالسباع في افعالهم فيجذبوه وجبرود<sup>5</sup> في وسط مصر حتى جاؤوا به الى باب بيعة ماري جرجس وهم يسحبونه وكان هناك جمع كثير مجتمعين ممّن يبيع ويشترى وكان خلق كثير يجروا خلفه في مصر وطالبوه بالف<sup>6</sup> P. 136

DEF تلكت المسلمين الذئب 3. ABG. -- 1. E om. to الارثوذكسيّة. -- 2. Mss. اخذوه. -- 3. ABG. ذاك. -- 4. Mss. سلّما. -- 5. ABEG جرجرود. -- 6. P. 136

leave, he despatched an officer to bring him back with his companions; but when he came up with them and took them into custody to bring them back in wrath, he found that the Father had gone to his rest. So he left him alone, but seized Abba Shamul, and conducted him to Ubaid Allah, who said: « The truth is that thou didst induce him to flee, therefore thou must pay a thousand dinars to the government treasury ». But Abba Shamul was poor, in want of sustenance from day to day, and went thinly clad; and he was sweet of countenance and virtuous in conduct; and he used to exhort sinners, and they listened to him; and likewise he confirmed those who were weak in the orthodox faith. So he swore to the Amir that he could not pay a single dinar, and did not possess one; but he would not accept this excuse, and gave him up to two officers of police. Then when those two Muslims, whose names we will not record, had taken him, they gave him up to some Berbers, like lions in their actions, who hauled and dragged him away through the midst of Miṣr, until they brought him to the door of the church of Saint George, trailing him along. And there was there a great crowd assembled of sellers and buyers; and many began to run after him through Miṣr. And they demanded a thousand dinars of him in spite of the exiguity of his possessions; and they began to torture him that day without mercy, and stripped him of his garment, and clothed him in a hair-cloth, and hung him up by his arms, thinly clad as he was, while all the people looked on, and scourged him with whips of



دينار مع قلة ذات يده وبدؤوا يعذبونه ذلك اليوم بغير رحمة ونزعوا عنه ثوبه والبسوه مسير  
شعر وعلقوه بذراعيه وهو عريان وجميع الشعب ينظرونه وهم يضربونه باسياط من جلود  
البقر حتى جرى دمه على الأرض والجمع يشاهدونه وما حلّ به من الشرط واقاموا  
اسبوعا يعذبونه هكذا حتى جمعوا له ثلاثمائة دينار ولما<sup>1</sup> نزلوا قوم من اصحاب<sup>2</sup> وعبيد الله  
بسابلونه ورؤساء النصارى قائلون لهم قد قارب الموت ولبس عليه ذنب في هذا الامر على  
ما عرفنا عند ذلك افرجوا عنه بعد شدة عظيمة لانه قارب الموت ولما تيسح الاب القديس  
بالحقيقة الاكسندروس بشيخوخة حسنة حزن عظيم لحق النصارى بسبب وفاته لانه اقام اربعة  
وعشرين سنة ونصفا على الكرسي وكان في ايام حياته قوم قديسون كثير في كورة مصر  
في البرارى والديارات يتعبون انفسهم متعبدين لله وتظهر منهم عجائب وايات وكان<sup>3</sup> انصار  
قس صياد في كورة اسنا يعمل بالشباك ويتمّ قانون الرهينة وبعد زمان كثير مضى وبني  
ديرا في الجبل وترهب عنده جماعة وكانوا في خيرة وضيقة فخرج خبر ذلك الشيخ في

1. E om. to add. لاند وكان. — 2. ABDG اصحاب om. — 3. E transposes order of foll. stories.

cowhide until his blood ran on the ground. And the multitude beheld him  
and what befell him at the hands of the police; but they continued for a  
week to torture him in this way until the people collected for him three  
hundred dinars. But when there came down some of the friends of Ubaid  
Allah to interview him, while the chiefs of the Christians said to them :  
« He is near death, and he is guiltless of any fault in this matter accor-  
ding to what we know », then upon that they released him after severe  
torments, for he was near death.

Thus when the Father Alexander, a saint indeed, went to his rest in a  
good old age, great sadness fell upon the Christians because of his death.  
For he had remained for twenty-four years and a half upon the throne.  
And there were during the days of his life certain very holy men in the land  
of Egypt, in the deserts and monasteries, who wearied themselves in the  
service of God, and by whom wonders and signs were manifested. For  
there was a man, who was a priest and at the same time a fisherman, in the  
province of Isnâ, who laboured with the nets, while he followed the rule of  
the monastic life. And after a long time he departed and built a monastery  
on the mountain, and many became monks with him there; and they lived  
in virtue and poverty. And the fame of that old man went forth through the  
outer country; and his name was Matthew, and he was a native of Asfant.  
So God manifested by his means many wonders among the sick and the le-



الكورة البرانية وكان اسمه متيوس<sup>1</sup> من اهل اسفنت فظهر الله على يديه عجائب كثيرا في الاعلاء والبرص والذين بهم الارواح النجسة اشفاهم والموتى اقامهم باسم سيدنا المسيح وبعد ايام ظهر امر عجيب امامه كان انسان قبطي في اسفنت وله ولدان وابنة واحدة يحفظهم في بيته وكانوا ابكارا اطهارا خادمين لله فاضلهم الشيطان الثلثة بصنعة مردولة وذلك انه دخل في اكبرهم فقَالَ له اذا كان ابوك لا يزوجك فامض الى اختك نم معها فانها تكفيك الى زمان وحسن له ذلك ففعله وكذلك حسن الآخر الصغير معها ايضا ففعلا الاخوان باختهما ذلك الفعل القبيح ولم يعلم الواحد بالآخر وكانت حافظة لهذا السر تلك المخالفة فجلبت سرعة وكانا ابواها يحفظانها لاجل الفضيحة ولم يعلما ما كان فاقامت عدة شهور ولم تلد فحملها على دابة ومضيا بها الى القديس متيوس فلما قربوا<sup>2</sup> من الجبل خرج الشيخ هاربا ينتف شعرا لحيته حتى لقيهم تحت الجبل فعرفاه ابواها خبرها وارادا ان يدفعوا له هدايا لكي يصلي عليها لتلد فتقدم لهم ان ينزلوها برفق من على

1. Mss. دعتيوس. — 2. ABG om. DF فربت E قربا.

pers; and he healed those in whom were unclean spirits, and raised the dead in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And after some days a great miracle took place in his presence. There was a Copt at Asfant, who had two sons and one daughter, all of whom he kept in his house; and they were pure virgins, serving God. But Satan led the three astray by a vile deed, namely that he entered into the elder of the sons, and said to him : « Since thy father will not give thee a wife, go in to thy sister, and sleep with her, for she will be sufficient for thee for a time ». And he made this deed seem pleasant to him, so he committed it. Likewise he tempted the other younger brother to sin with her also. Thus the two brothers did with their sister that foul deed; but the one did not know of the other; and that perverse girl kept this secret, until she speedily became pregnant. And her parents kept her on account of the shame, and they did not know what had been done; so she remained many months without bearing a child. Then they set her upon a beast, and took her to the holy Matthew; and when they drew near to the mountain, the old man came forth, fleeing and tearing the hair of his beard, until he met them at the foot of the mountain. Thereupon the parents made known to him what had happened to her, and wished to give him gifts, that he might pray over her, that she might bring forth; so he bade them take her gently down from the back of the beast; and she alighted, being in great agony. Then he said to her : « Make known to me what thou hast done, thou vile woman! » So she made known to him what we have recorded,

الدابة فنزلت وهي باوجاع عظيمة فقال لها عرّفيني ما فعلت<sup>1</sup> يا مرذولة فعرفته بما ذكرنا واكثر منه فرفع يديه الى السماء وصلى ففتحت الارض فاعما وبلعتها وحضر ذ جماعة وشاهدوه وشهد لنا من كان حاضرا وهو صادق امين من اولاد البيعة ان ذ المكان صار مثل بئر مظلمة تنتهي الى العمق واقام<sup>2</sup> ستة شهور والنار تطلع منه الجوّ ورائحة تن عظيم تصعد منه حتى لا يقدر احد يقربه وهو بعيد من الدير خم وعشرين غلوة<sup>3</sup> وكذلك<sup>4</sup> دير القديس ابا شنودة في جبل ادريبا انتم تعلمون ان كث من القديسين تثبتوا فيه وخاصة<sup>5</sup> الطوباني الارشيمدريدس ابا سيث لانه كان انسا على طريق حسنة في حياته وبعد ذهابه الى الرب نظرنا قبره بعينينا قد بنى عليه بناء من كثرة العجائب والشفاء والبروء التي تظهر من جسده المقدس الى الآن ما لا يحصى كثرته لانه تكون منه عجائب في كل يوم وفي برية وادي هبيب ايضا كانوا قوم قديس ينظرون رويا وجليانا واطلعهم<sup>6</sup> الله على ما في العالم يشاهدونه كأنهم حاضرون في جم

1. Mss. فعلت. — 2. ABG قام. — 3. ABG add. الى تمام ستة شهور. — 4. E om. بروح add. جميعا to. — 5. ADF وبخاص BG وبخاص. — 6. E om. to جميعا. — 7. ADF وبخاص BG وبخاص. — 8. E om. to جميعا.

and more also. Thereupon he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed her up. And many were present, and witnessed this; and one who was present bore witness to us, being a truthful and trustworthy man, of the children of the Church, that that spot became like a dark well, descending into the depths of the earth, and remained so six months, while fire ascended from it into the air, and an evil smell came up from it, so that none could approach it. The place was at some little distance from the monastery, about twenty-five bowshots.

Likewise in the monastery of the holy Abba Sinuthius on the Mount of Adribâ, you know that many of the saints were confirmed there, and especially the blessed Archimandrite Abba Seth. For he was a man who walked in a good path during his life; and after his departure to the Lord, we beheld with our own eyes his tomb, which was built over him in gratitude for the many miracles and the healing and the cures, which take place through his holy body to this hour, and are innumerable from their multitude; for wonders are worked by it every day.

In the desert of Wadi Habib also there were holy men who saw visions and revelations, to whom God disclosed that which took place in the world, that they beheld it as if they were present everywhere. For to some of

فمنهم من كان يظهر له السيّد المسيح والحواريون المقدسون فيقيمونهم في ضيقهم وعبادتهم ومنهم من كانت السلائكة يظهرّون لهم وكان منهم شيخ في دير ابي مقار اسمه يوانس<sup>1</sup> من اهل شبرا ميسنا التي هي ارواط قبضوه البربر ثلاث دفعات واسرود وجعلوه عبداً وضيقوا عليه وانزلوا به بلايا فنظر الرب الى صبره كل دفعة فاعاده الى ديره المقدس بعد ذلك صار اغومنساً لانه كان كاهناً وهذا<sup>2</sup> كان قانوناً بيرية وادي هبيب اى قس انتهى اليه الطقس قدّموه اغومنساً فلم يتناول السرائر المقدسة حتى نظر السيّد المخلص في المنام والسيّد العذراء واسرار عظيمة ظهرت له وكان معه قديسون من هذه البيرية لا يجب اظهار امرهم وكان له تلميذ<sup>3</sup> اسمه ابيمخس من ارواط واستحق<sup>4</sup> طقس القمصية بعده وكان<sup>5</sup> بقلبه مثله في كل افعاله وعليه نعمة عظيمة مثل موسى النبي في زمانه وكان يشفى المرضى ويبرئ كل علة وصار عمره اكثر من مائة سنة وحلت عليه نعمة الروح القدس واطلع على امور جليلة حتى صار يعلم الغيب من قبل ان يسايله احد وكان له اخوان

1. ADEG يونس B يونس. — 2. E om. to امرهم. — 3. Mss. add. آخر. — 4. Mss. add. الآخر. — 5. E om. to وكان له اخوان.

them the Lord Christ and the holy Apostles appeared, and raised them up in their poverty and devotion; and to some of them the angels appeared. And there was among them an old man in the monastery of Saint Macarius, named John, a native of Shubrâ Maisinâ, which is also called Arwât. Him the Berbers seized three times, and took prisoner; and they made him a slave, and ill-treated him and caused him to suffer. But the Lord looked upon his patience continually, and restored him to his holy monastery. After this he became hegumen, for he was a priest; and this was a rule in the desert of Wadi Habib, that every monk who attained the rank of priest was appointed hegumen. And he never communicated of the Holy Mysteries without seeing the Lord and Saviour in his vision, with our Lady the Virgin; and great secrets were made manifest to him. And there were holy men with him of this desert, whose history we need not relate. And he had a disciple, named Epimachus of Arwât, who was counted worthy of the office of hegumen after him, and was like him in his heart in all his actions; and upon him was much grace, like Moses the prophet in his time; for he healed the sick, and cured every disease, and lived for more than a hundred years.

And the grace of the Holy Ghost descended upon him, and he learnt glorious matters, so that he even knew what he had neither seen nor heard be-



روحانيان احدهما ابا جرجة والاخر<sup>1</sup> ابا ابرهام وكانا قديسين بتقلب حسن وافعال عظيمين وشهدوا من اجلهما ثقات انهما سارا بسيرة الكبير انطونيوس وتتمماها وكان الشعب في ذلك الزمان متعبدين لله باجتهد وكانا يشاهدان في البيعة بنى المعمودية كأنهم خراف يضر صغيرهم وكبيرهم واذا بواحد من الشعب قد كسل ورجع عن حسن العبادة فشاهداه هذان الشيخان وقد عاد لونه اسود في وسط الاخوة واذا ما سرحوا الكهنة الاخوة مضيا الى قلاية ذلك الاخ فقالا له تب عن كسلك ووعظاه وعزياده فاذا كان بالغداة وحضر الى البيعة فينظرانه قد ابيض اكثر<sup>2</sup> من جميع الاخوة فمجددا الله على رافته على جنس البشر هكذا ان اردت ان اذكر افعال القديسين فما<sup>3</sup> يسعنى الزمان ولا تحصيلها الاقلام ولا تسعها القراطيس والمجد لله دائما ابداً امين

1. ABEG om. — 2. E om. to البشر. — 3. E om. to end, add. بطول الشرح.

fore anyone questioned him upon it. He had two spiritual brothers, one of them being Abba George and the other Abba Abraham, and they were holy and famous for virtuous living and great deeds; and trustworthy men bore witness of them, that they walked in the way of the great Anthony, and brought it to perfection. Now the lay monks at that time worshipped God zealously; and these two holy men beheld the baptized people in the church like white sheep, both old and young. But lo, one of the community became slothful, and went back from the good service of God; and so these two old men beheld him with his colour changed to black in the midst of the brethren. And when the priests had dismissed the brethren, those two went to the cell of that brother, and said to him : « Turn from thy sloth ». And they exhorted him and comforted him. So on the morrow, when he came to the church, those two looked upon him, and he had become whiter than all the brethren; and therefore they praised God for his mercy to the race of men. In this way, if thou wilt that I record the deeds of the saints, they would be too many for the time, and too numerous for the pens, and too many for the sheets of paper. Glory be to God for ever and ever!

قسما البطرك  
وهو من عدد الالباء الرابع والاربعون

ثم لما تنسّح الاب الاكسندروس قدّموا عوضه رجلاً اسمه قسما وكان راهباً قديساً من برية ابي مقار وكان من اهل بنا فاجلسوه بغير اختياره فلم يدع السؤال للسيد المسيح ليلاً ونهاراً ان يقبله اليه فلما كان تمام خمسة عشر شهراً تنسّح بمجد وكرامة في آخر يوم من بؤونة وكان بظاهر مريوط دير يعرف بطمنورة<sup>1</sup> وكان فيه راهب شيخ قديس روحاني وشاب آخر راهب وكانا<sup>2</sup> يعذبان اجسادهما بالحديد والسلاسل وكان رئيسهم<sup>3</sup> اسمه يحنس اعطى نعمة ونبوة ورأى عجائب دفعات كثيرة وكان له تلميذ يخدمه اسمه تاودوروس<sup>4</sup> وكان<sup>5</sup> حاسداً<sup>6</sup> لافعاله وهو سالك قلبه<sup>7</sup> واعماله كلها بمحبة روحانية وكان قد زاد على كل من في الدير بافعاله وعلى الدياقية ومائدة الاخوة وعلى كل اسباب الدير

1. Mss. بطمنورة. — 2. Mss. وكانوا يعذبون اجسادهم. — 3. BD رئيسهم E رئيسهم. — 4. A تاودوروس BDG تاودوروس F تادرس. — 5. ABC add. رجل. — 6. F om. to المتواضع. — 7. F طريقه. — add. في كل حين.

COSMAS I, THE FORTY-FOURTH PATRIARCH. A. D. 730-734.

When the Father Alexander went to his rest, they appointed instead of him a man named Cosmas, who was a holy monk of the desert of Saint Macarius, and a native of Banā. So they seated him on the throne against his will; but he did not cease to pray night and day to the Lord Christ that he would receive him to himself. And at the end of fifteen months he went to his rest with glory and honour, on the last day of Ba'umah.

Now there was outside Maryūt a monastery called Ṭammūrah, in which there was an old monk, holy and spiritual, and also a young monk; and they used to chastise their bodies with iron and with chains. For the superior, whose name was John, was endowed with grace and the power of prophecy, and saw wonders many times, and he had a disciple who served him and was named Theodore; and this man envied his deeds, and imitated his life and all his works with spiritual love, and surpassed all in the monastery in his conduct, in the diaconicon and at the table of the brethren and in all the affairs of the monastery and its service, seeking abasement at

وخدمته طالبا الاتضاع في كل حين وكان متبعا قول المسيح لتلاميذه من اراد ان يكون منكم كبيرا فليكن لكم خادما وكان فعله هكذا الى شيخوخته كما قال لنا من فيه المقدس عند استحقاقه البطركية وكان يعلمنا ويحثنا على التواضع في كل حين ولما كان في حياة الاكسندروس ابوه الروحاني قال له نبوة<sup>2</sup> يا ولدي تاودوروس آمن انني لا اكذب فقال له نعم يا ابي انني ما سمعت باسم الكذب من فيك<sup>3</sup> قط قال له الاب<sup>4</sup> وفي<sup>5</sup> نسخة اخرى قال له الشيخ يا مؤمن بالله ان في السنة التي يتيسح فيها الاكسندروس انا بمسكنتي اتيسح معه وانت تجلس على كرسي الاب الجليل ماري مرقس وليس بعد الاب الاكسندروس لكن بعد الذي يأتي بعده فتم كلام<sup>6</sup> الشيخ الارثوذكسي الارشيمنطريديس وكان شعب الاسكندرية الكهنة<sup>7</sup> والاراخنة مهتمين في من يقدمونه عوضا من ابا قسما حتى اظهر الرب في قلوبهم ذكر الاب الراهب القديس تاودوروس فمضوا الى الدير واخذوه<sup>8</sup> واحضروه الى الاسكندرية<sup>9</sup>

1. ABDG فا. — 2. B om. to له. فقال له. — 3. Mss. فاست. — 4. E om. to بالله. — 5. BG lacuna; BGF om. to الشيخ. — 6. Mss. كلامه. — 7. DF om. with foll. wd. — 8. F add. والحمد لله دائما. — 9. F add. قهرا.

all times. For Theodore used to follow the words of Christ to his disciples<sup>1</sup> : « He among you who desires to be great, let him be to you a servant ». And he acted in this manner until he grew old, as he said to us with his own holy mouth when he was counted worthy of the patriarchal dignity; for he taught us and incited us to humility at all times. And in the lifetime of Alexander, his spiritual father said to him prophetically : « O my son Theodore, believe that I do not lie ». He answered : « Yea O my father, I have never heard the name of a lie from thy mouth ». The father said to him (another copy reads, The old man said to him) : « O believer in God, verily in the year in which Alexander dies, I in my meanness shall die with him, and thou shalt sit upon the throne of the glorious Father Saint Mark, not after the Father Alexander, but after him who shall follow him ». And the words of that orthodox old man, the Archimandrite, were fulfilled.

For the people of Alexandria, the priests and officials, were taking thought as to whom they should appoint in the room of Abba Cosmas, until the Lord recalled to their minds the memory of the holy father and monk Theodore. Therefore they journeyed to the monastery, and took him and brought him to Alexandria.

1. S. Matth., xx, 26-27; S. Mark, x, 43, 44.



تاودوروس البطرك  
وهو من العدد الخامس والاربعون

واجتمع جماعة من الاساقفة القديسين واوسدوا الاب القديس تاودوروس بطركا بامر السيد المسيح وكانت امور الابسقوبية<sup>1</sup> والبيعة<sup>2</sup> الارثوذكسية<sup>3</sup> نامية مستقيمة كل يوم من ايامه حتى عادت الى ما كانت عليه اولاً واكثر الى ان صارت كأنها لم تنهب اولاً وكان رجالاً صالحاً وديعاً محبباً لكل احد حسن الصورة مثل ملائكة الله لم يكن في ايامه شيء من الشرور وكان عبيد الله الملك بمصر ينزل عذاباً وبلايا وخسارات على اهل مصر واخاف على دينار من الخراج ثمن دينار وكان يحدث اموراً على الناس حتى ان الدينار قل وعثر ولما تمادى على ذلك لم يصبر الله عليه لكن اثار عليه قوماً من مقدمي المسلمين مضوا الى هشام الملك وعرفوه الشرور التي يفعلها وما احدثه من البلاء في مصر فامتلاً عليه غيظاً وكتب للوقت يعزله وانفذ اميراً وجماعة معه بغضب عظيم وامر ان ينفي وولده<sup>4</sup> الاصغر

1. E om. — 2. E البيعة. — 3. ABDEG ولده. — 4. E ولده.

THEODORE, THE FORTY-FIFTH PATRIARCH. A. D. 731-743.

And an assembly of the holy bishops met together and consecrated the holy Father Theodore patriarch by the command of the Lord Christ. And the affairs of the patriarchate and of the orthodox church grew and prospered during all his days, until they returned to their former state, and became still more flourishing, so that it seemed as if the church had never been plundered. And Theodore was a good man, tranquil, full of charity towards all men, beautiful in countenance like an angel of God; and in his days nothing evil was done.

But Ubaid Allah, the ruler in Egypt, brought punishments and trials and losses upon the people of Egypt, and added an eighth of a dinar to every dinar of the taxes; and through his oppression of the people the dinar grew rare and rose in value. Yet when he continued long in this course, God would not suffer him, but raised up against him some of the chief among the Muslims, who went to Hishâm the prince, and made known to him the evil which he did, and the troubles that he had caused in Egypt. Therefore Hishâm was filled with wrath against Ubaid Allah, and wrote at once to remove him, and despatched an officer with many attendants to Egypt in great anger. And he commanded that he should be banished with his younger son, Isma'il, to the land of the Berbers in the province of Africa,

اسمعيلى معه<sup>1</sup> الى بلاد البربر من اعمال افريقية وينفى منها الى مغرب الشمس ويعذب لانه ما  
يفعل ما امره به ففعل به ذلك سرعة وجعل ولده الاكبر القاسم<sup>2</sup> بمصر والياً وولاد امورها  
عوضاً من ابيه ونفى المذكور الى البربر ولما اقام هناك يسيراً ملك على البربر بافريقية  
وكان ولده اسمعيل هناك الى ان ينفى الى حيث امر الملك وكتب الى هشام يستعطفه  
ويتوب اليه ممّا كان منه ويسأله ان يولّيه تلك البلاد فولّى على البربر بافريقية وكانت  
افعاله ايضاً رديّة فاخذ بنات الناس الملاح وبناب المقدّمين والامراء فانفذهنّ الى هشام  
الملك سرارى ويكتب اليه انهنّ جوارٍ اشتراهنّ له سرارى وكذلك النعاج اذا قربت  
ولادتها يشقّ بطونها ويخرج منها الخراف بعد ان يصوفون فيأخذ جلودهم يعمل منها فراء  
وينفذها الى هشام ويقول له انه ابتاعها له حتى افنى نعاجاً كثيراً من تلك البلاد فتشاوروا  
عليه البربر ان يقتلوا ولده اسمعيل واهل بيته فاخذوه ونساءه واولاده وسراريّه وكلما  
ينطوى اليه وقتلوهم جميعهم قدّامه<sup>3</sup> وهو ينظرهم ويشقون بطون النساء ونزعوا الاولاد

قدّام ابيه عبيد الله. add. ووجهه — 3. E om. to — 2. Mss. prefix ابر. — 1. ABDEG om.

and that Isma'il should be exiled thence to the land of the Setting Sun, and punished because he did not do what was commanded him. So this was speedily done to him. Hishâm made Ubaid Allah's elder son, Al-Kasim, governor in Egypt, and set him over her affairs instead of his father, who was banished to the Berbers. When he had remained there a short time he ruled over the Berbers in Africa, where his son Isma'il was, until he was banished whither the prince commanded. For Ubaid Allah wrote to Hishâm, seeking to conciliate him, and expressing repentance of what he had done, and begging him to make him governor of that country; and so he was made governor over the Berbers in Africa. Yet his deeds were again evil, for he seized the daughters of rich men and the daughters of the chiefs and officers, and sent them to Hishâm the prince as maidservants, writing to him that they were slave-girls whom he had bought for him as maidservants. Likewise the sheep, when they were near parturition, he ripped them open, and took out the lambs just covered with wool, and took their skins and made pelisses of them, and sent them to Hishâm, saying that he had bought them for him; so that he destroyed large numbers of sheep from that country. Therefore the Berbers conspired against him, forming a plot to kill his son Isma'il and the people of his house; and they seized Isma'il and his wives and concubines and all that belonged to him, and killed them all in his presence, while he looked on. And they ripped the women open, and took the infants from them, and threw them down before him.

منها وطرحوهم قدامه ثم جابوه الى افريقية وهو مربوط الى ابيه وقتلوه قدامه وهو ينظره بعد ان شقوا بطنه اولاً وضربوا به رأس ابيه ووجهه ثم اخرجوا اباد من ديارهم وهم وراءه يشتمونه وهو حزين باك وكان ابونا تالدوروس قد عاش ورأى جميع ذلك ثم افتقده الرب ومضى اليه بشيخوخة حسنة وبنعمة السيد المسيح كانت البيعة تنمو بغير مقاوم لها ولا شقاق فيها في جميع ايامه واقام على الكرسي الرسولي احدى عشرة سنة ونصفاً وتيسح في سابع يوم من امشير<sup>1</sup>

السيرة الثامنة<sup>2</sup> عشرة

ابنا ميخائيل<sup>3</sup> البطرك

وهو من العدد السادس ولاربعون

كما<sup>4</sup> قال الكتاب في المزمور ٥3 الذي سمعنا رأينا واخبرونا ابؤنا وكما اخبر موسى

وخلى الكرسي بعدد سنة واحدة وشهوراً عديدة E add. والسجد لله دائماً ابدياً 1. D add. تكون معنا امين F add. — 2. السابعة. — 3. Mss. خيال. — 4. E om. to end of paragraph.

Then they brought Isma'il to Africa, taking him bound to his father, and killed him in his presence while he looked on, after ripping him open and striking his father on the head and face with his dead body; and afterwards they drove his father away from their country, following and insulting him, while he was sad and weeping. And our father Theodore lived to see all these things.

Then the Lord visited him, and he departed to him in a good old age and in the grace of the Lord Christ. And the Church was growing, without adversaries or internal divisions, all his days. He remained upon the apostolic throne eleven years and a half, and went to his rest on the seventh day of Amshir.

## CHAPTER XVIII

MICHAEL I, THE FORTY-SIXTH PATRIARCH. A. D. 744-768.

As the Scripture says in the 77th Psalm<sup>1</sup>: « What we have heard we have seen, and our fathers have told us »; and as Moses the Prophet wrote

1. Ps. LXXVII, 3 (Sept. LXXVII).



النبي فانه كتب ما كان في الارض من آدم الاول الى زمانه ثم بعده الانبياء الذين تنبؤوا  
بما يكون ثم بعدهم الحواريون القديسون كرزوا بما شاهدوه وكذلك كل من كان بعده  
على هذه القضية<sup>1</sup> وتعاليم الاءاء المؤيدين<sup>2</sup> الذين للبيعة والكلام المقوى للامانة والاخو  
بنى<sup>3</sup> المعمودية اللابسين<sup>4</sup> النور والاءاء المؤيدين الذين اثبتوا الاساس القوى والدعامة الوثيقة  
والرب يسوع المسيح المخلص الذي نجانا وخلصنا من اثمنا بتجسده من العذراء الطاهر  
والمنعم علينا بفتح قلوبنا واذهاتنا بسماع كتبه المقدسة فليمن<sup>5</sup> ويستس<sup>6</sup> ويوسابوس<sup>7</sup> الذين  
من اليهود الذين اخبروا اولاً بخراب اورشليم والذين وضعوا لنا سيرة البيعة المقدسة  
افريقوس<sup>8</sup> واوسايوس<sup>9</sup> والصوزامنوس<sup>10</sup> اظهروا لنا الجيد والردى والبلايا التي حلت  
بالقديسين والرعاة لقطعان السيّد المسيح وما نالهم من التعب على البيعة والشعب الارثوذكسى  
من المتولين في كل زمان ليس كورة مصر فقط بل وانطاكية ورومية وافسس التي

لابسين G لابسى B. — 4. BG اولاد. — 5. B add. اثبتوا الاساس. — 6. F الصفة. — 7. B. —  
— 8. ارياس BDEG ارياس A. — 9. يسييس FG فيسيس B. — 10. فليمن F فيكن BG. — 11. —  
— 12. انسپراميوس Mss. — 13. اوسانيوس ABG. — 14. اخريفيوس F افريقوس B.

history, for he described what had happened on the earth from Adam the  
first man to his own time; and after him were the prophets who prophesied  
what should take place; and after them the holy apostles preached what  
they themselves had witnessed : so those who followed them did likewise.  
Then there were the teachings of the inspired fathers of the Church, and the  
words which confirmed the faith and the baptized brethren who put on the  
garment of light; and the divinely assisted fathers who gave strength to the  
firm foundation and to the immovable pillar<sup>1</sup>. And we have the Lord Jesus  
Christ, the Saviour, who delivered us and saved us from our sins by his Incar-  
nation of the pure Virgin, and graciously granted to us the opening of our  
hearts and understandings by the hearing of his holy Scriptures. Philo  
and Justus and Josephus, the Jews, were the first who related the des-  
truction of Jerusalem. Those who composed for us the history of the holy  
Church were Africanus and Eusebius and Sozomenus, who showed us the  
good and the evil, and the trials which befell the saints and shepherds of the  
flock of the Lord Christ, and the troubles which they underwent for the sake  
of the Church and the orthodox people at the hands of the secular gover-  
nors at all times, not only in Egypt, but also at Antioch and Rome and  
Ephesus. There appeared the heresy of Nestorius, whose tongue deserved

1. I Tim., iii, 15.

كان فيها هارسيس نسطور الذى يستحقّ لسانه القطع من اصله وبقية المخالفين فى ذلك الزمان وبدد الله جميعهم مثل الغبار امام الريح شبل<sup>1</sup> الاسد الحكيم كيرلس الذى قطعه وغيره من المخالفين وجعل كتبه فى سائر بيع المسكونة الارثوذكسية كما اظهر لنا ذلك الكتاب الذى ابتداء باسمائهم الى ان انتهوا الى المعترف المجاهد بالحقيقة ديسترس الذى احرم لاؤون الذى هو السبع المفترس للانفس كاسمه واحرم الستمائة وثلاثين المجتمعين بخلقدونية واحرم مرقيان الملك والملكة باخارية<sup>2</sup> المرذولة وجعل جميع من اتبع لاؤون تحت الحرم واخرج بأمر الملك والملكة ومضوا به الى النفى وتم جهاده هناك واعاد<sup>3</sup> نفوساً كثيراً الى السيد المسيح على يديه وكلما جرى كتب به الينا الى هاهنا فى ثانى عشر سيرة من سير البيعة والبدو<sup>4</sup> بكتب ما بعد ذلك من الاب كيرلس وهو فى دير ابلاح<sup>5</sup> الى الاب المعترف<sup>6</sup> الاكسندروس نسأل<sup>7</sup> عنه<sup>8</sup> المعلم والكاتب فى زمانه الذى هو الشماس الارشيدياقن<sup>9</sup> صاحب الاب البطرك ابنا سيمون بطرك الاسكندرية وكاتبه الراهب ابا

1. BD مثل. — 2. B om. to بالمر الملك والملك. — 3. F بعد ان اعاد. — 4. AFG. — 5. A ابلح B ايلح G ايلح. — 6. F المغبوط القديس. — 7. Mss. place this and foll. wd. after ابلح. — 8. Mss. عنها. — 9. Mss. الارشيدياقن.

to be cut out at the root, and the false teaching of the other heretics at that time; but God dispersed them all, like the dust before the wind, that is to say, by means of the young lion, Cyril, who excommunicated Nestorius with the rest of the heretics, and whose writings were placed in all the orthodox churches of the world. This is shown to us by that book which begins with the names of the patriarchs as far as the true confessor and champion, Dioscorus, who anathematized Leo, the soul-devouring lion, as his name implies, and excommunicated the six hundred and thirty, assembled at Chalcedon, and Marcian the prince and the vile princess Pulcheria, and all the followers of Leo, and was deposed by command of the princes, and sent into exile, where he finished his fight. Dioscorus brought back many souls to the Lord Christ by his action. And all that happened was written down for us to that point in the twelfth part of the histories of the Church. And for the first history of events subsequent to that, from the time of the Father Cyril when he was in the monastery of Ablah, down to the days of the father and confessor Alexander, we may consult the teacher and scribe in his time, who was the archdeacon and companion and secretary of the Father Patriarch Abba Simon, patriarch of Alexandria, namely



جرجة فكتب ذلك في جبل القديس ابي مقار بوادي هبيب واعلمنا ما جرى في زمان  
مرقيان الملك الكافر وما لحق اباؤنا من التعب وما جاء بعدهم الى زمان سليمان بن عبد  
الملك ملك المسلمين الذي ولى بعده الملك عمر بن عبد العزيز الذي هزم اسامة  
الملك الكافر الذي كان قبله بمصر ومن اجل ذلك اسألكم انا البائس الحقير ان تسألوا  
السيد المسيح عني ان يحد رباط لسانى الناقص بصلواتكم ويفتح قلبى المظلم ويعطينى  
معرفة الكلام فاعلى اقدر ان اظهر لكم ولا بؤتكم ما تطلبونه منى مما لا تصل اليه قدرتى  
ليس<sup>1</sup> كمعلم ومهد اكثر منكم ولكن كمتعلم ولما نظرت ما كتبه بعينى وكبرته على  
ولمسته يدى وما سمعته من الاحباء قلبى ممن صدق ونأمن اليه لئلا اكون على قول  
الانجيل الصادق في العبد الذي دفن فضة سيده في الارض واقول لقدسكم انا البائس  
الحقير في الناس اننى تمثلت بقول داود اذ يقول عن البارئ سبحانه في المزمور مدام  
الذى يقيم الفقير من على الارض<sup>2</sup> والمسكين من المنزلة ويجلسه مع اغنياء<sup>3</sup> الشعب هو

1. F om. — 2. F التراب. — 3. F روساء.

the monk, Abba George. For he wrote that history on the mountain of the  
holy Macarius in the Wadî Habîb, and informed us of what happened in the  
time of Marcian, the unbelieving prince, and the trouble that overtook our  
fathers and those that came after them, down to the time of Sulaiman, son  
of Abd al-Melik, prince of the Muslims, after whom reigned Omar, son of  
Abd al-Azîz, who drove away Usâmah, the unbelieving governor, who had  
been before his reign in Egypt. Therefore I, the vile sinner, beg you to  
pray the Lord Christ for me, that through your prayers he may loose the  
bond of my feeble tongue, and open my darkened heart, and give me  
knowledge of words, so that perchance I may be able to show to you, my  
brethren and my father, what you ask of me, although it exceed my power,  
not as a teacher and guide greater than you, but as a scholar, since I saw  
that of which I have written with my own eyes, and its importance imposes  
a debt upon me, and my hand touched it, besides what I heard from friends  
older than myself, such as I could trust and believe. God forbid that I  
should act according to the words of the true gospel', concerning the ser-  
vant who buried his Lord's silver in the ground. I declare to your Holiness,  
vile sinner among men as I am, that I follow the words of David, when he  
praises the Creator in the 112th Psalm : « Who raises the poor from  
the earth and the needy from the dunghill, and sets him with the rich of  
the people<sup>2</sup> ». He it is who has seated me among the holy fathers, so that

1. S. Matth., xxv, 25; cf. S. Luke, xix, 20. — 2. Ps. cxiii, 7 (Sept. cxii).



الذى اجلسنى مع الالباء القديسين وشاهدت ما نالهم بقلبى لاكتب ذلك بغير استحقاق لانهم صاروا رعاة على الارض وبذلوا<sup>1</sup> نفوسهم على اسم المسيح دفعات شتى لاذكر يسيرا من افعالهم وبقيتهم السيّد المسيح وحده العالم بها وما كان متقدما فان السيّد المسيح يعلم اننا ما زدنا عليها شيئا بل شرحت ما كان الى حين نياحة الاب الطوباني تاودوروس بطرك الاسكندرية والمملكة التى كانت فى ايامه الى تمام السابع<sup>2</sup> عشر سيرة المذكورة انفاً والآن فبارادة الله وصلواتكم<sup>3</sup> المقدسة<sup>4</sup> نذكر<sup>5</sup> السيرة الثامنة<sup>6</sup> عشرة من سير البيعة لما خرج عبيد الله من مصر وتولّى بعدد القاسم ولده الذى صار فيه الشر اكثر من ابيه دفعات<sup>7</sup> كقول الانجيل المقدس ان كل شجرة ردية تثمر ثمرة ردية هذا فعل الشر قدام الله والناس فى مملكته وسلك المسلك الردى كما اننا نذكر ذلك اذا تقدّمنا قال سليمان بن داود الحكيم الويل لاهل المملكة التى ملكها صبي وكان هذا القاسم صبيّا فى عمره وفعله واذا ملك ملك جاهل فكل<sup>8</sup> من يصحبه يكون مثله فاول بداية

وبقرة صلواتكم ابتدئ. — 3. F om. to ونذكر. — 4. Mss. السادس. — 5. Mss. وابدلوا. — 6. Mss. السادسة. — 7. D om. with foll. wd. add. ابتدئ بشرح. — 8. BG om. to البيعة. — 9. Mss. السابعة. — 10. F om. to ملكها صبي. — 11. DF فجميع.

I witnessed what befell them in my heart, that I might write it down, although unworthy; for they became shepherds upon the earth, and in many cases gave up their lives for the name of Christ. Let me then record a few of their deeds, for the rest of them the Lord Christ alone knows, with all that took place in former times. But indeed the Lord Christ knows that we have added nothing to the facts, having related what took place down to the death of the blessed Father Theodore, patriarch of Alexandria, and the affairs of state in his days, to the end of the seventeenth chapter of the History, completed above. Now, by the will of God and your holy prayers, we will write the eighteenth chapter of the History of the Church.

When Ubaid Allah left Egypt, Al-Kasim, his son, became governor after him, and was much more wicked than his father, according to the words of the holy gospel; « Every evil tree brings forth evil fruit<sup>1</sup> ». This man did evil before God and men in his time of government, and walked in the bad path, as I will relate further on. Solomon, the wise son of David, says : « Woe to the people of a kingdom which is ruled by a child<sup>2</sup> ! » Now this Al-Kasim was a child in age and conduct; and when an ignorant prince rules, all his companions will be like him. The first beginning of his acting thus was that he loved evil and loved women, like horses which neigh one

1. S. Matth., vii. 17. — 2. Eccl., x. 16.

فعله هذا كان محبًا للشر ومحبًا للنساء مثل<sup>1</sup> الخيل التي تصهل جعل له سراري من كل جنس ليس لهنّ عدد وكان قلبه ملتهبًا بهنّ جدًّا كما<sup>2</sup> شاهدنا<sup>3</sup> باعينا دفعات شتى وكان ينفذ ويحضر الطوباني<sup>4</sup> تاودوروس<sup>5</sup> البطرك كالذبّ اللابس<sup>6</sup> لباس الخروف وكان يصحب الاب البطرك ابي الروحاني ابا مويسيس<sup>7</sup> الاسقف حتى يجتمع به وكان الملك يحبّ ابي اكثر من كل الاساقفة وكان يحضر له الصغار من السراي حتى يبارك عليهنّ وانا ابصرهنّ وكان يقول للاب البطرك هؤلاء هنّ اولادك<sup>8</sup> ضع يدك عليهنّ وباركهنّ واعطيهنّ البركة لانني اشتريتهنّ جدًّا وكان يفعل ذلك دفعات شتى بالاب البطرك فلما حضرنا عنده دفعة كالعادة كان هناك الاب الاسقف انا ابراهيم<sup>9</sup> اسقف الفيوم والارصينويثس<sup>10</sup> لاجل امر<sup>11</sup> مهمّ فلما حضرنا ايضًا دعا واحدة من السراي وكانت مغربيّة فقال لايينا ابراهيم<sup>12</sup> هذه ابنتك وجعل يده في يدها وكان قلبه كالاطفال وقال له انت تعلم انني احبك جدًّا من زمان ابي وكلما كنت تطلبه من ابي افعله لك فقال له القديس ابراهيم<sup>13</sup> نعم فقال له اريد.

1. E om. to تصهل. — 2. E om. to شتى. — 3. DF راينا. — 4. BG الاب. — 5. ABDEFG مسيس BD مسيسيس AFG. — 6. AB لابس DFG اللابس E om. to الخروف. — 7. AFG مسيسيس BD. — 8. Mss. اولادى. — 9. ABDEFG ابراهيم. — 10. ABG الاطروبررس DEF om. مويساس E. — 11. BDG امرهم. — 12. ABDEFG ابراهيم. — 13. ABG ابراهيم DF. — الاسقف E ابراهيم.

after another. He obtained for himself female slaves of every race without number, and his heart was exceedingly pleased with them, as we witnessed with our own eyes many times. For he used to send for the blessed patriarch Theodore, acting like a wolf in sheep's clothing; and the Father Patriarch was accompanied by my spiritual father, the bishop Abba Moses, who went to bear him company; and the governor loved my father more than all the bishops. Then the governor brought his young female slaves to the patriarch that he might bless them; and I myself saw them; and he said to the Father Patriarch : « These are thy children; lay thy hand upon them and bless them, and give them a benediction, for I bought them recently ». This he did on several occasions with the Father Patriarch. Once when we visited him according to custom, the bishop Abba Abraham, bishop of the Faiyum or Arsinoites, was there on account of important business. And when we also appeared, Al-Kasim called one of his female slaves, who was a native of the West, and said to our father Abraham : « This is thy daughter ». And he placed the bishop's hand upon her hand, for his heart was as the heart of babes. And he said to the bishop : « Thou knowest that I have loved thee greatly since my father's

منك ثلثمائة دينار فتقدم<sup>1</sup> ابي الى الارشدياقن<sup>2</sup> الذي<sup>3</sup> كان<sup>4</sup> اقنومه اسمه سمعان كان قد جاء معه وهو الذي استحق<sup>5</sup> الاسقفية من بعده فقال له احضر الثلثمائة دينار فاحضرها وسلمها للقاسم وكان له مال كثير<sup>6</sup> للبيع لان كان عنده في كرسيه خمسة وثلاثون دينارا بالفيوم وهو المتولى عليهم وكان عليه خراج خمس مائة دينار الذي لبيت مال السلطان لاجل ذلك كان مقدما عند كل احد وكانوا تجار مصر يبايعونه ويشترون منه ثم انه بعد ان دفع الثلثمائة دينار قال<sup>7</sup> له القاسم انا اكرمك بهذه الكرامة العظيمة حتى اتى جعلت زوجتي لك ابنة ولا تدفع لها شيئا تكرمها به فاعطاها مائة دينار في يدها واحتسب له بها في الخراج الذي عليه وكان القاسم<sup>7</sup> سالكا في طريق الجهل كل حين تضاعف الظلم في ايامه على الناس وولى ولاية في كورة مصر اشتر منه قوما يجمعون اموال الغرباء من اسوان الى اسكندرية والتقى على الناس بلاء عظيما في كل البلاد والكور الكبار

1. ABG om. to دينار. — 2. ABEG دياقن. — 3. ABG om., add. معد. — 4. ABG وكان. — 5. DF عظيم. — 6. ABG رقال. — 7. ABEG prefix ابر.

time, and all that thou didst ask of my father, I will do for thee ». Then the holy Abraham said to him : « It is good ». So Al-Kasim continued : « I desire of thee three hundred dinars ». Thereupon the father gave directions to the archdeacon Simeon, who was his steward and had come with him, and who was counted worthy of the bishopric in succession to Abba Abraham. And the bishop said to the archdeacon : « Bring the three hundred dinars ». And he forthwith brought the money, and the bishop handed it over to Al-Kasim. For he had much property belonging to the churches, since he possessed in his diocese thirty-five monasteries in the Faiyum, of which he was the administrator; and he was bound to pay a tax of five hundred dinars, which were due to the Public Treasury upon this property. He had authority over all these monasteries, and the merchants of Egypt sold to him and bought of him. Then after the bishop had paid the three hundred dinars, Al-Kasim said to him : « I do thee this great honour that I have even made my wife a daughter to thee, and yet thou wilt not give her anything to honour her therewith ». Accordingly the bishop gave her a hundred dinars into her hand, and Al-Kasim reckoned them as part of the taxes due from him.

And Al-Kasim walked in the path of ignorance continually, and the oppression of the people was doubled in his days. He appointed subordinate governors throughout Egypt worse than himself, men who amassed money from strangers from Aswân to Alexandria; and he caused great trouble to



والتغار وكان الكبير يأكل الصغير والقوى يأكل الضعيف مثل<sup>1</sup> سمك البحر وكانوا هؤلاء الذين يجمعون مال<sup>2</sup> الغرباء يأكلون المستورين ويأخذون مالهم حتى ضاق كل احد وبعد ذلك عمل مراكب مثل قصور الملوك وزينها وكان يركب فيها نساء<sup>3</sup> وعبيده ويخرج في بلاد مصر ويمضى بهم الى الاسكندرية معه وتيس ودمياط فيأخذ<sup>4</sup> اموال التجار والناس والمقدمين في تلك السواخع ويصعد الى صعيد مصر وينتهى الى اسوان يفعل ذلك وكان يسير صحبته جماعة من الجند والعسكر ويدخلون<sup>5</sup> الى ملعب انصا فلما كان في بعض الايام وقد<sup>6</sup> وصل الى دير القديس ابي شنودة صعد بتكبر عظيم واخذ معه سريّة واحدة كان يحبها اكثر من جميع سراريّه ومماليكه فركبها فرساً وركب هو فرساً اخرى وكان معه شيخ مقدّم في المسلمين اسمه ريان<sup>7</sup> بن عبد العزيز الذي كان ملك مصر فلما وصلوا الباب خرج في لقائهم الشيخ رئيس الدير وجميع اولاده ليكرموه بسبب المملكة ولما

1. E om. to ضاق add. ركانت ضيقة على. — 2. ABG om. — 3. E ونساء. — 4. E فيأخذوا. — 5. BEG بانصا. — 6. F om. — 7. Mss. وتاب and so below.

the people throughout the land and in all the provinces, both great and small. The great man devoured the small man, and the strong devoured the weak, like the fishes of the sea; and those who collected the strangers' money devoured the poor and seized their property, until everyone was in distress.

After that, Al-Kasim made boats like the castles of kings, and when he had furnished them, he embarked in them his wives and his slaves, and sailed through the land of Egypt, and took them with him to Alexandria and Tinnis and Damietta, in order to take the money of the merchants and of the people and of the officials in those places. And he went up the river to Upper Egypt as far as Aswân, doing the same thing. And a body of troops and armed men travelled in his company; and they entered the theatre at Ansinâ.

And on a certain day Al-Kasim arrived at the Monastery of Saint Sinuthius, and went up with great pomp, taking with him one female slave whom he loved more than all the rest, besides his mamlukes; and he made her ride a mare, while he rode another mare at her side. He was accompanied also by an old man, who was a chief among the Muslims, named Rayân, son of Abd al-Azîz, the former governor of Egypt. So, when they reached the door, the aged superior of the monastery came out to meet them with all his sons, that they might do honour to the governor on account of his office. After Al-Kasim had passed through the second door, which

دخل الباب الثانى من الحصن الحائط بالبيعة وهو راكب ثم وصل باب البيعة<sup>1</sup> فاراد<sup>2</sup> ان يدخل البيعة راكباً فصرخ الشيخ رئيس الدير وقال انزل ايها الملك لا تدخل الى بيت الله بهذه<sup>3</sup> الكبرياء وخاصة هذه الامراة التى معك لانه ما دخل قط باب هذه البيعة امراة وخرجت بالحياة بل تموت للوقت فلم يلتفت الى كلامه لكن دخل ومعه جيشه وكانت البيعة عظيمة جداً تسع الاف<sup>4</sup> فلما توسط البيعة وهو<sup>5</sup> راكب فرسه نشرت الفرس التى تحت<sup>6</sup> السريّة بقوة الله فوقعت<sup>7</sup> الى الارض فماتت السريّة للوقت هى والفرس التى كانت تحتها واما القاسم فنزل<sup>8</sup> عليه روح شيطاني<sup>9</sup> نجس رماد وخنقه وخبطه حتى ازبد وصرّ باسنانه مثل الخنزير البرى فلما تمهد<sup>10</sup> قليلاً نظر الى الشيخ<sup>11</sup> رئيس الدير وقد حزن عليه فدفع للبيعة اربع مائة دينار نذراً والفرس الذى كان راكبه وكان هناك تابوت خشب ساج مصفح بالعاج مثل الطابق عليه جسد القديس ابي شنودة

1. DF الكنيسة. — 2. So E; other mss. فبدأ يريد. — 3. B بهذه. — 4. BEG ألف. — 5. E om. to تحتها add. تحتها وماتوا للوقت. — 6. ADF تحت add. وفرس. — 7. E add. السريّة. — 8. ABDEG نزل. — 9. DF om. — 10. Mss. اهدى. — 11. D om. to حزن add. وزدم.

is in the fortified wall which surrounds the church, while he remained on horseback, then he came to the door of the church, and began to prepare to enter it, still mounted. But the aged superior of the monastery cried aloud and said : « Dismount, O governor! Enter not into the house of God in such pride, and above all in the company of this woman who is with thee; for no woman has ever entered this church, and come out of it alive. Nay she will die on the spot ». Yet Al-Kasim gave no heed to his words, but entered, accompanied by his soldiers. Now the church was very large, and capacious enough to contain thousands of people. So when he reached the middle of the church, still riding, the mare on which the female slave was mounted plunged, and fell to the ground by the power of God; and the female slave died on the spot, both she and the horse that was under her. And as for Al-Kasim, there came upon him an unclean Satanic spirit which threw him down and choked him and buffeted him, so that he foamed at the mouth and gnashed with his teeth like a wild boar. But when he recovered a little, he saw that the old man, the superior of the monastery, was grieved for him; and he gave to the church four hundred dinars as a votive offering, as well as the horse which he was riding. And there was in the monastery a chest of teak-wood, inlaid with ivory, fitted with shelves, above which was the body of Saint Sinuthius. This chest had been



قد عسلاود برسم النذر ولمن يلتقى فيه نذرده وصاروا يجعلون فيه الكتب وكان ح  
الصنعة عجيبة مليحة فاستحسنه ريان الذى<sup>1</sup> كان معه واراد ان يأخذه وكان<sup>2</sup> القديس  
شنودة قد انفق عليه مالا كثيرا فقالوا له ما تقدر تأخذه لان الذى جعله هاهنا منع  
خروجه فقال لا بد لى منه بئس او هدية ثم امر عشرة رجال ان<sup>3</sup> يحملوه فلم يقدر  
دعا ثلاثين رجلا فلم يقدر<sup>4</sup>وا ان<sup>4</sup> يحركوه فلما نظر الاعجوبة دفع لهم ثلثمائة دينار  
خرجوا بخوف وزممع وتعجب ولم يفارق القاسم<sup>5</sup> الروح النجس الى يوم وفاته وهو يع  
ثم انزل الله على كورة مصر من اجل خطايا<sup>6</sup> القاسم غلاء عظيما فاول<sup>7</sup> سنة ك  
البلاد شرا قيا فقلت الخيرات وغاب القمح وعدم حتى لم يجدوه ومات خلق كثير وب  
كثير ثم جاء وباء على كورة مصر ثانى سنة لم يكن مثله ومع جميع ذلك لم ينقص<sup>8</sup>  
القاسم بل يزداد وضاعف الخراج على الناس وكان الانسان اذا نام ليلا يخاف من ض

1. E om. to معد. — 2. BG لان الذى جعله هاهنا. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. Mss. om. —  
BDG om.: E prefixes ابر. — 5. E افعال ابو القاسم. — 6. E om. to يجدوه add. وشرقمت. — 7. E om. to يجدوه add. وشرقمت. — 8. BEG ينتقل. البلاد وعدم الق

ade for the sake of the votive offerings, for the convenience of those who  
ould put their votive offerings in it; and the books also were placed  
erein; and it was of handsome workmanship, admirable and beautiful.  
Rayân, who was travelling together with Al-Kasim, admired it, and  
shed to take it away with him. Now Saint Sinuthius had spent much  
oney on it. So they said to that man : « Thou canst not take it, for he  
o placed it here forbad its removal. » But he answered : « I must take  
either for a price or as a gift. » Then he bade ten men lift it up, but they  
uld not. Then he called thirty men, but they could not move it. So when  
e saw the miracle, he gave the monks three hundred dinars. Then they  
l went away in fear and trembling and wonder. And the unclean spirit  
d not depart from Al-Kasim until the day of his death, but continued to  
rment him.

Then God sent down a great dearth upon the land of Egypt, on account  
the sins of Al-Kasim. In the first year the land was dried up, and  
provisions were scarce, and there was no wheat to be found; and many  
en and cattle died. Afterwards, in the second year, there came a pestilence  
pon Egypt, such as had not been before. But in spite of all this the  
ickedness of Al-Kasim did not diminish but increased, and he doubled  
he taxes laid upon the people. And when a person went to sleep at night  
e dreaded the light of morning, and yet he could not wish for night that



الصباح وما<sup>1</sup> يشتهى الليل حتى<sup>2</sup> يفرغ من كثرة البلايا وبعد السنة الثانية المواتة جاءت السنة الثالثة شراقيا لم يصعد النيل البشة ولم يبر الناس في ايامه خلاصا بل كانت السنين تنقاب هكذا بامر الله سنة وباء وسنة شراقى الى اخر السنة التى اخذت منه فيها<sup>3</sup> المملكة وهى السنة السابعة وكان<sup>4</sup> الوباء من اول هاتور كل سنة الى<sup>5</sup> الثانى والعشرين من بؤونة<sup>6</sup> ومعظمه بمصر لكثرة الخطايا التى كانت بها وكان من ثامن يوم من بشنس الى اول يوم من بؤونة حل بالناس فناء لم يحصى بعض من مات فيه يوما يسوت فيه الفان ويوما الف ومائتان<sup>7</sup> ويوما الفان<sup>8</sup> واربع مائة بمصر والجيزة من سائر الناس القاطنين بهما<sup>9</sup> وتجار من الغرباء حتى انقطع دفن الناس الاموات<sup>10</sup> والقبور ولا يدفن رجل حتى يعلم به السلطان ويكتب اسمه واسم والده<sup>10</sup> حتى الطفل الذى يرضع ثم ان اباءنا القديسين سألوا الرب وايضا الفقراء والاغنياء وتضرعوا اليه بالصوم والصلاة والبكاء والابتهال الى ان ترأف الرب عليهم ورفع الوباء ورحمهم

1. E om. to البشة. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. ABDEG om. — 4. E om. to الغرباء حتى add. — 5. Mss. رومانى. — 6. Mss. الشى. — 7. Mss. بها. — 8. E om. EF المي. — 9. E القاسم. — 10. ADF والده.

he might rest from his many troubles. After the second year of famine came the third year, in which there was a drought, and the Nile did not rise at all; and the people saw no prosperity in the days of that governor, but the years passed in turn in this manner by God's command, a year of plague followed by a year of drought, until the end of the year in which the government was taken from him, namely the seventh year. And the plague lasted from the beginning of Hatîr each year until the twenty-second of Baunah, and raged chiefly at Miṣr on account of the multitude of sins committed there. And from the eighth of Bashans to the first of Baunah the mortality among the people was so great that not even a part of those who died could be counted; for on one day two thousand perished, and another day twelve hundred, and another day two thousand four hundred at Miṣr and Al-Gizah, among the people who inhabited those places and traders sojourning there; so that the burial of the dead was interrupted, and there were no tombs to hold them. And no male might be buried until the authorities knew of his death; and then his name was written down, and the name of his father, even in the case of young infants. Then our holy fathers prayed to the Lord, and the rich and the poor did likewise, and they besought him with fasting and prayer and weeping and supplication, until the Lord had pity on them, and took away the plague.

وبعد هذا اباعوا التجار القمح للناس وظهر وكثر فمضوا قوم من تجار القمح الى  
شئاس ساحر كان يسكن في منف وهي مصر القديمة ودفعوا له مالا كثيرا وسألوه ان يعمل  
سحرا ليغلوا به القمح فبدأ ان<sup>1</sup> يعمل اعمالا تغضب الله بصنعتة وسحره المرذول وکار  
عنده صبى يتيم ابن امرأة ارملة ليس لها ولد سواه فقال<sup>2</sup> لها انت<sup>3</sup> ما لك شيء تاكلينه  
ولا تطعمين ابنك ادفعيه لى اجعله لى ولدا واعلمه صنعتى فسلسته له وهي مسرور  
وكان ذلك الكافر قد مضى الى سحرة كثير في مواضع حتى علموه<sup>5</sup> سحرا عظيما  
ففعل ما غلا به القمح ثم ان الكافر اخذ ولد الارملة ودخل به بيتا واغلق عليه الباب  
وعلقه بيديه ورجليه عن الارض وفعل به ما يغضب الله ولم يزل يسلخ جلد الصبى من  
وجهه الى رأسه كل يوم الى ان انتهى الى اكتافه فغاب القمح وعدم بعد ان كان قد  
ايع عشرة ارادب بدينار وایع مدان بدينار ولا يوجد فمضى عريف صبيان المكتب الى  
الامراة الارملة وقال لها لولدك<sup>6</sup> عدة ايام ما جاء عندنا فای موضع هو فمضت الى ذلك

1. Mss. om. — 2. E om. to الارملة add. فاخذ هذا الكافر. — 3. ABD انتى. — 4. Mss.  
ان ولدك لى. — 5. Mss. add. يسحر. — 6. E لى. تاكليه ولا تطعمى.

After this the merchants sold wheat to the people, and there was an abundant supply of it. So some of the corn-merchants went to a deacon, who practised magic and lived at Memphis, which is the ancient Miṣr; and they gave him much money, and begged him to enable them by his magic arts to sell their wheat at a high price. So he began to exercise his art in such a manner that God was angered, and to practise his vile sorcery. For there was with him an orphan boy, the son of a widow who had no other children. And he said to the widow : « Thou hast nothing to eat or to feed thy son withal. Give him to me that I may make him my son, and teach him my art ». So she delivered her son to the magician with joy. Now that unbeliever had visited many magicians in divers places, until they taught him to practise profound witchcraft; and thus he was able to do that by which the wheat became dear. Then indeed that miscreant took the widow's son, and led him into a chamber, and shut the door upon him, and hung him up by his hands and feet above the ground, and did to him what made God angry; for he did not cease gradually to flay the skin of the youth from his face to the back of his head daily, until he came to his shoulders. Then wheat became rare and scarce, and whereas it had been sold at the rate of fourteen ardebbs for a dinar, and then at two mudds for a dinar, at last it was not to be procured at all. At that time the monitor of the boys in the school went to the widow woman, and said to her :

الكافر وسأله عن ولدها فلم تجده فقال لها لى عدّة أيام ما رأيته وخرج من عندي ومضى الى عندك ولم اعلم له خبرا فلما سمعت هذا منه مضت بحزن عظيم وكان الصبي الى ذلك اليوم لم يمت بل معلقا قد سلخ كثير منه وكان الصبي العريف ينظر معلمه الساحر يدخل ساعة بعد ساعة الى الخزانة التي فيها الصبي معلقا فقال في قلبه ما ذا يصنع معلّمى في هذه الايام يدخل هذه الخزانة ويخرج وكان ذكيا فدخل المعلم فتبعه الصبي بمكر فسمع الصبي ابن الارملة يبكي ويتضرع اليه وهو لا يرحمه وكان يقول كلاما يحزن القلب الويل<sup>1</sup> لك يا امّى الحزينة الارملة لانك ما تعرفين ما حلّ بى الويل لبطنك التي حملتني وثديك اللذين ارضعاني اين انت<sup>2</sup> تنظرين عذاب ولدك اليتيم ليت لو مت<sup>3</sup> وانت<sup>4</sup> حامله لى<sup>5</sup> ولم تلدينى على الارض حتى وقعت في هذا العذاب الشديد اين عينك<sup>6</sup> تنظراننى اللتان تشتهيان ان<sup>7</sup> تنظراننى وتشاهدانى في هذا العذاب ويقول مثل هذا كثيرا

1. E om. to مثل هذا كثير. — 2. Mss. امّى. — 3. Mss. متى. — 4. Mss. رادى. — 5. Mss. بى. — 6. Mss. om.

« Thy son has not attended our school for many days. Where then is he? » So she went to that miscreant and enquired after her son, but could not find him. For he said to her : « I have not seen him for many days. He left my house, and returned to thine, and I know nothing about him ». Therefore when she heard this from him, she departed in great grief. But the boy was not dead even then, but was still fastened up and partly flayed. And the young monitor saw the magician, his master, entering hour after hour into the closet in which the boy was fastened. So he said in his heart : « What does my master do in these days, entering this closet and coming out? » And he was a sagacious youth. So when the master entered, he followed him secretly. Then he heard that boy, the widow's son, weeping and sighing and imploring his master; but he took no pity on him. And he uttered words in the sadness of his heart such as these : « Alas for thee, my mother, widowed and mourning as thou art, for thou knowest not what has become of me! Alas for thy womb which bore me, and thy breasts which gave me suck! Where dost thou behold the torments of thy orphan son? Would that I had died when thou didst bear me in thy womb, and would that thou hadst never brought me forth upon earth, so that I should fall into this grievous torment! Where are thine eyes beholding me, longing to see me and gaze upon me, who am in this torment? » And the boy said many things like these, in the hearing of the young monitor. So the monitor went away quickly in



والصبي العريف يسمعه فيخرج مسرعا بخوف<sup>1</sup> عظيم يقع ويقوم من شدة الخوف الى ان وصل بيت الارملة ام الصبي فقال لها قد وجدت ابنك فجاءت مسرعة بعد ان عاد عليه ما سمعه من فم ابنها فمضت الى الوالى وعادت عليه القضية وما سمعته فانفذ معها قومه ثقات من المسلمين ومعهم اعوان الى بيت ذلك الكافر فوجدوه داخل الخزانة التى فيه الصبي معلقا مسلوحا من رقبته الى كتفيه فحملوه والساحر مكتنفا معه الى الوالى وبغته ربطوا يديه ورجليه وقطعت اذناه بين يدي الوالى فاعترف له بكلماته وواحدوا الصبي وعينووه على تلك الحال وكتبوا فى الوقت الى القاسم ملك مصر فلما وقف على الكتاب امر بجمه وحرقه بالنار

ومع هذه الامور لم يتخل القاسم عن طريقته السوء ومحبتته<sup>2</sup> جمع الذهب وكان يغير الولاة كل وقت التواب<sup>3</sup> عنه وكانت قبيلة فى الجبل الشرقى من مصر من بليس الى القلزم والبحر من المسلمين يسمون العرب وكان فيهم اكثر من ثلثين الف فارس منتشرين فى

ليراث G ليراث F لتوات B لواب A. — 3. E om. to عند. — 2. E om. to الخين. — 1. E om. to

great terror, stumbling and raising himself again in the extremity of his fear, until he reached the house of the widowed mother of the boy. So he said to her : « I have found thy son. » Then she came speedily, after he had repeated to her what he had heard from her son's mouth, and went to the governor, and repeated to him what had happened and what she had heard. So the governor despatched with her some trustworthy Muslims, and some officials with them, to the house of that miscreant, and they found him within the closet, in which the boy still was, fastened up and layed from his neck to his shoulders. So they carried the lad away, and led the magician bound before the governor. For at once they fastened his hands and feet, and his ears were cut off in the presence of the governor, and then he confessed all that had been done by him. And they brought in the boy, and beheld him in that state. And they wrote at once to Al-Kasim governor of Egypt; and when he had read the letter, he gave orders that the magician should be stoned and burnt in the fire.

But, in spite of all these things, Al-Kasim did not desist from his evil ways and his love for the amassing of gold. And he used constantly to change the subordinate governors, who acted as his deputies. Now there was a tribe in the mountains in the eastern part of Egypt, from Bilbais to Al-Kulzum and the sea, consisting of Muslims who were called Arabs. And there were among them more than thirty thousand horsemen, roving through those deserts and districts, and they had chiefs in command over them.

تلك البراري والبلاد ومنهم امراء مقدمون عليهم فولى عليهم زماما يسمى ابا جراح وكانت خيامه عند دير على اسم السيّدة مريم قريب تيس وفيه جماعة من الرهبان وكهنة مزيّنين بافعال حسنة واغومنس<sup>1</sup> قديس كان من وادي هبيب من دير القديس ابي مقار واسم الاغومنس ايماخس واستحق الاستشفية بعد ذلك وكان معه من<sup>2</sup> جملة الرهبان<sup>3</sup> في<sup>4</sup> هذا الدير ابا مينا الذي صار اسقف مدينة منف واما يعقوب القس وجماعة رهبان وكان للزمام اخوان فاخذهما وصعد الى الدير ودخل البيعة وطرد الرهبان من البيعة ونهبوها واخذوا كلما في الدير من قماش وغلة واثاث وكان اخود الصغير اشر منه وكان في موضع الاغومنس صليب منصوب في الشرق يستعين به على الشياطين المقابلين له في كل وقت فدخل الصبي الى الموضع فقال للاغومنس لاي شيء هذا الصليب فقال هو صليب المهي المسيح فقال له انت تعبدد فقال له نعم فبصق على الصليب واستهزأ به وشتم الشيخ الاغومنس<sup>5</sup> فخرج الشيخ<sup>6</sup> من الدير بقلق عظيم قائلاً ان لم يأخذ الرب الحق

1. E ايغومنس and so below. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. Mss. رهبان. — 4. E om. to رهبان add. قديس البعض منهم استحق درجة الاستشفية. — 5. Mss. use a coarse term. — 6. E القمص. — 7. E القمص.

Al-Kasim, therefore, appointed as their governor a steward of the palace, named Abu Jarah; and his tents were near a monastery named after Our Lady Mary, near Tinnis. In this monastery there were many monks and priests, adorned with good works, and a holy hegumen named Epimachus, who had come from Wadi Habib, from the Monastery of Saint Macarius, and who was afterwards counted worthy to be made a bishop. And there were with him, among the monks in this monastery, Abba Mennas, who became bishop of the city of Memphis, and Abba James the priest, and many others. And the steward of the palace had two brothers, whom he took up to the monastery; and he entered the church with them, and drove out the monks; and they plundered the church, and seized everything in the monastery, whether stuffs or provisions or furniture. And the steward's younger brother was worse than he. For there was in the cell of the hegumen a cross erected at the east end, with which he drove away the devils who frequently appeared to him. So that youth entered the cell and said to the hegumen : « What is the purpose of this cross? » Whereupon he answered : « It is the cross of Christ, my God. » He said to him : « Dost thou adore him? » The monk answered : « Yea ». So the young man spat upon the cross, and treated it insultingly, and reviled the aged hegumen. And the old man went forth from the monastery in great sorrow, saying : « If God do not requite this youth for his deed, I



من هذا الصبي لا عدت الى هذه البيعة جميع<sup>1</sup> ايام<sup>2</sup> حياتي ثم مضى الى موضع آخر واقام فيه وقال في نفسه اني احبر عشرة ايام وانظر ما يكون والا مضيت فلما كان في اليوم الثامن مضى الصبي وجلس على بيت الماء فنزلت احشاؤد وامعاؤده<sup>3</sup> وخرج كلما في بطنه مثل اريوس الكافر فلما شاهد اخوه الزمام ذلك خاف وخرج من الدير واحق الخوف كل من سمع ونظر ثم انه طاف في تلك الاماكن الى ان وجد القديس<sup>4</sup> ايماخس<sup>5</sup> فاعاده الى البيعة بعد سؤال موجدًا مكرمًا واعاد اليه جميع ما اخذوه ووقع خوف عظيم على المسلمين الى مدة طويلة

وفي جميع ذلك كانت بيعة الاسكندرية ارملة بغير بطرك فاجتمعوا الارثوذكسيون التاوضيسيون وجمعوا الالباء الاساقفة وحضر جماعة من الخلق دونيين المخالفين وجعلوا مجمعا بمصر واحضروا ثلاثة اناس ليختاروا منهم واحدا فيجلسوه<sup>6</sup> بطركا فلم يشأ الرب ان<sup>6</sup> واحد منهم ياخذ الدرجة لكن حفظها لمن قد اصطفاه وعرفه من البطن كما يظهر مستأنفا من القول

1. BEFG طول. — 2. E عمرى. — 3. E om. with foll. wd. add. القديس. — 4. ABFG ابرماخس. — 5. Mss. يجلسوه. — 6. Mss. om.

will never return to this church all the days of my life. » Then he departed to another place, and remained there; and he said within himself : « I will wait ten days, and see what will take place; and if nothing occur, I will depart. » So, on the eighth day, that young man went and sat in the privy place, and his bowels gushed out, as it had happened to Arius the unbeliever. Therefore when his brother, the steward of the palace, beheld that punishment, he was afraid, and departed from the monastery; and fear came to all who heard or saw.

Afterwards the steward went round through that district until he found the holy Epimachus, whom he brought back to the church, after entreating him with respect and honour; and he restored to him all that had been taken away. And great fear fell upon the Muslims and long remained among them.

During all this time, the church of Alexandria remained widowed, without a patriarch. Therefore the orthodox Theodosians assembled, and called the bishops together. And a number of the heretical Chalcedonians met together; and they formed a council at Miṣr. And three men were brought forward, that one of them might be chosen, and enthroned as patriarch. But it did not please the Lord that one of them should receive that degree, but he kept it for him whom he had selected and marked out from the womb, as shall appear further on in our discourse.



ونزع الله المملكة من القاسم وانفذ اليه الخليفة من قبض عليه وحمله اليه تحت الحوطة والضيق ولما سارا الى بليس مع<sup>٢</sup> الموكلين به السائرين به الى الخليفة لحقوه الاساقفة وجماعة من النصارى الى بليس وسألوه ان يفسح لهم في<sup>٣</sup> ان يقيموا بطركاً فالتمس منهم ان<sup>٤</sup> يدفعوا له مالاً فلم يدفعوه فامتنع ولم يطلق لهم اقامة بطرك فقال ابا تادرس اسقف مصر وكان<sup>٥</sup> اكبر الاساقفة في ذلك الزمان وهو اول الثلاثة اساقفة الذين جلسوا واحدا بعد واحد وكل منهم اسمه تادرس على كرسى مصر الابى الروحاني ابا مويسيس<sup>٦</sup> اسقف وسيم انظر ايها الاب فعل هذا القاسم الذي لم تشاهده انت الا اليوم وما فعله من الشرور بالناس الذي انا مشاهد له اكثر اوقاتى فقال له الاسقف ابا مويسيس اغفر لى يا سيدى الاب ان عاد هذا الى مصر دفعة اخرى فما تكلم الله فى انا الخطاى قط وستسمع ما يفعل الله بهذا<sup>٧</sup> البائس الشقى ثم سيروء الموكلون به ولم يعد الى مصر بل اخذ جميع ماله وهو فى العذاب والاعتقال وانفذ الى مصر واخذ عبيده وسراريه

1. D om. to بليس add. النصارى الى بليس. — 2. ABFG الى الخليفة مع. — 3. E om. to بليس. — 4. E om. to بليس يقيمون بطركاً. — 5. E om. to الروحاني. — 6. ADEFG B ميسيس E ميسيس and so below. — 7. ABC هذا.

And God took away the government from Al-Kasim; for the caliph sent to him one who arrested him and carried him away to his master under guard and restraint. And when he reached Bilbais, together with those in charge of him, who were conducting him to the caliph, the bishops and a body of Christians came to him at Bilbais, and begged him to allow them to appoint a patriarch. Then he demanded of them that they should give him money; but they would not give it, and so he refused permission, and would not allow them to appoint a patriarch. Then Abba Theodore, bishop of Miṣr, who was the oldest of the bishops at that time, and was the first of three bishops named Theodore who successively occupied the see of Miṣr, said to my spiritual father, Abba Moses, bishop of Wasîm : « Behold, Father, the conduct of this Al-Kasim, and the evil that he has done among men, such as thou hast never seen before this day, but which I have beheld during the greater part of my time! » The bishop Abba Moses replied : « Pardon me, my Lord and Father. If this man return to Egypt, then God has not spoken by me the sinner. But thou shalt hear what God will do to this wicked wretch ».

After this the commissioners conducted Al-Kasim on his journey. And he never returned to Egypt, but all his goods were seized, while he was tor-

ومضوا<sup>1</sup> بهم الى الخليفة ثم عادوا الالباء الاساقفة ومن معهم الى مصر فوجدوا الخلق دونيين قد سبقوهم واخذوا انسانا من مقاتلتهم كان يعمل الابر في السوق اسمه قسما وكانوا قد جمعوا<sup>2</sup> فيما بينهم ذهباً وفضة وآنية ودفعوه لذلك المخالف القاسم قبل مضيه وتقدم<sup>3</sup> لهم بان<sup>4</sup> يقيسوه بطركاً فاخذوه<sup>5</sup> الخلق دونيون واوسموه بطركاً لهم وافتحروا على الارثوذكسيين بانهم اقاموا بطركاً ولم يقيموا هم بطركاً لهم

وكان والى مصر بعد القاسم انسانا اسمه حفص بن الوليد الحضرمي كبيراً في جنس المسلمين بمصر وكان<sup>6</sup> سنياً على مذهبهم فلما كان في تلك الايام اجتمع مجمع اساقفة بمصر في سنة اربع مائة وتسع وخمسين لديقلاديانوس<sup>7</sup> في اليوم الثامن والعشرين من مسرى وكان معهم<sup>8</sup> كهنة الاسكندرية والاراخنة واحضروا قوماً صحبتهم ليقع التخيّر منهم على احد<sup>8</sup> وكان<sup>9</sup> بعض الاساقفة قد ذكر<sup>10</sup> اسماً واحداً سرّاً والله العالم بكل شيء قد حفظ هذه الرتبة لمستحقها وهذه اسماء الاساقفة الذين كانوا مجتمعين لتقدمة البطرك ابراهيم اسقف

1. E om. ABFG ومضوا به D واحضروهم. — 2. ABG وجمعوا. — 3. EF ورسم. — 4. ABDG بان يقيموا EF بتقدمت. — 5. EF om. to لهم. — 6. EF om. to مذهبهم. — 7. E om. to مسرى add. للشهداء. — 8. ABDG واحد. — 9. E om. to الاسكندرية. — 10. D ذكروا.

tured and imprisoned. And the caliph sent to Egypt, and seized his male and female slaves, who were carried away to the caliph.

Then the bishops returned with their attendants to Miṣr, where they found that the Chalcedonians had anticipated them, having chosen a follower of their sect, a man who made needles in the market-place, named Cosmas. For they had collected among themselves gold and silver and plate, and had given them to that perverse governor, Al-Kasim, before he departed; and he had given orders that they should appoint him patriarch. So the Chalcedonians took that man Cosmas, and ordained him patriarch for themselves, and triumphed over the orthodox, because they had elected a patriarch, whereas the latter had not nominated one for themselves.

The governor of Egypt who succeeded Al-Kasim was a man named Ḥafs, son of Al-Walid, a native of Ḥadramaut, of high rank among the Muslims in Egypt, and a Sunnite according to their religion. In those days a council of bishops assembled at Miṣr, in the year 459 of Diocletian, on the 28th day of Misri. And there were with them the clergy of Alexandria and the chief laymen, who brought men with them, so that the election might fall upon some one. And one of the bishops mentioned a certain name secretly; but God, who knows all, had reserved this degree for him who was worthy of it. These are the names of the bishops assembled to appoint the patriarch :

الفيوم مويسيس اسقف وسيم مينا اسقف تمي يعقوب اسقف بوحير<sup>1</sup> تادرس الاسقف<sup>2</sup> المترانوس اسقف مصر بقطر اسقف مليب<sup>3</sup> يعقوب اسقف صهرجت اسحق اسقف سمند ابراهام اسقف بليس بطرس اسقف ترنوط خيال اسقف اتريب وكهنة الاسكندرية فمضوا الى الوالى حفص وسألوه ان ياذن لهم فى اقامة بطرك فقال لهم اذا استقر رأيكم على انسان احفظوه حتى ابصره فخرجوا من بين يديه ومضوا الى بيعة ابي شنودة بمصر وصلوا<sup>4</sup> وجلسوا فى طقوسهم كالقانون البيعى وكان كل واحد جالسا عند ايده الاسقف وكهنة الاسكندرية جالسون قدام الاساقفة وجميعهم بسكينة ووقار لا يتكلم احد كلمة او<sup>5</sup> يأمرود الآباء الاساقفة وجميعهم وجوههم مطرقة الى الارض صغيرهم وكبيرهم فلما عبرت الساعة السادسة رفع الشيخ الاسقف ابا مينا اسقف تمي وجهه وقال بصوت خفى ابا ابراهام<sup>6</sup> اسقف الفيوم يا ابي اغفر لى ما ترى ما نحن فيه ومجتمعون بسببه قال له يا ابي السيد

1. Mss. ابرحير. — 2. F om. with foll. wd. ABG اسقف مترانوس. — 3. AD دمليج. — 4. E om. to البرسنوفيين add. وجلسوا الى الساعة السادسة فصلا ونجسوا. — 5. F. — 6. Mss. ابراهيم. كثير مئة عشرة ايام كل منهم الى موعده ولم يستقر رأيهم على احد وحضروا فى ثانى يوم واشتوروا على انسان فلم يستقر رأى الجميع عليه وجرا بينهم خطاب كثير والاسكندرانييين يقولوا ان البطرك لنا والاساقفة ما لهم الا وضع اليد وكانوا اساقفة الصعيد منفردين عنهم وحصل بينهم شقاق وسجس ابراهيم. — 5. F. الا ان. — 6. Mss. ابراهيم.

Abraham, bishop of the Faiyum; Moses, bishop of Wasim; Mennas, bishop of Tmai; James, bishop of Buṣir; Theodore, metropolitan bishop, bishop of Miṣr; Victor, bishop of Maliḡ; James, bishop of Ṣabrajt; Isaac, bishop of Samannūd; Abraham, bishop of Bilbais; Peter, bishop of Tarnūt; Michael, bishop of Atrib; besides the clergy of Alexandria. Then they went to the governor, Ḥafs, and prayed him to allow them to appoint a patriarch. And he said to them: « When your choice is fixed upon some one, keep him until I have seen him. » So they went out from before him, and proceeded to the church of Saint Sinuthius at Miṣr, and prayed, and took their seats according to their rank in agreement with the canon of the church, each one sitting with his father and bishop, while the clergy of Alexandria sat in front of the bishops. And all were tranquil and dignified, and none spoke a word unless the bishops commanded; and the faces of all were bent upon the ground, both small and great. And when the sixth hour had passed, the aged bishop, Abba Mennas, bishop of Tmai, lifted up his face, and said in a low voice to Abba Abraham, bishop of the Faiyum: « O my Father, pardon me. What thinkest thou that we are about, and



المسيح يدبر الامور كلها والقديس ماري مرقس وجميعنا<sup>1</sup> ورئيس<sup>2</sup> رعاة انفسنا واجسادنا معه فصرخ جميع الشعب والجمع بصوت واحد قائلين السيّد المسيح يتم هذا الامر بارادته ووقفوا وصلّوا فلما تمّوا بالصلاة استقرّ بينهم الاجتماع بالغداة فمضى كل واحد منهم الى موضعه وكان بعض الاساقفة البحريين<sup>3</sup> قد ذكروا اسم واحد اختاروه فعلم ابا ابراهيم اسقف الفيوم فقال لهم انا بطرس اسقف ترنوط<sup>4</sup> كان هذا قد قام جميع ايامه في بوية ابي مقار وهو حسن السيرة جيّد الافعال احذر ان تجعل يدك على الذي يقدمونه لك حتى يجتمع رأى الجميع عليه لانه ما يصلح لهذه الرتبة وكان انا بطرس قد ضعف لكبر سنّه وهو منفرد عنهم فلما كان في اليوم الثاني اجتمعوا وصلّوا وجلسوا وحضروا كهنة الاسكندرية فقال الابروطس دبّروا هذا الامر يا ساداتي الآباء فقال له تادرس<sup>5</sup> من الذي اخترتموه حتى نعرفه نحن ايضاً فقال الابروطس فلان وهذا اسمه مكتوباً فقال لهم تادرس اذا

1. DF om. — 2. DF رئيس. — 3. ABDG بحري F om. — 4. AD ترنوة BG ترنوط. — 5. AD تادروس G تادوروس B تادورس.

for what reason are we assembled? » He answered : « My Father, the Lord Christ will settle all matters, and so will Saint Mark, and all of us also, for the chief Shepherd of our souls and bodies is with us. » Then all the people and the assembly cried with a loud voice together saying : « The Lord Christ will accomplish this matter according to his will. » Thereupon they stood up and prayed; and when they had finished the prayers, they agreed to meet on the morrow; and each one of them departed to his own place. Now some of the bishops, from the North, had mentioned the name of one whom they had selected; and Abba Abraham, bishop of the Faiyum, heard of it. So Abba Peter, bishop of Tarnût, who had lived all his days in the desert of Father Macarius, and was beautiful in his conduct and excellent in his actions, said to them : « I warn thee not to lay thy hand on him whom they shall bring forward to thee, until the opinion of the assembly shall be unanimous concerning him; for he is not fit for this degree. » Now Abba Peter had grown weak through his great age, and was kept apart from the rest.

And on the second day they assembled and prayed and took their seats. The clergy of Alexandria being present, the archpriest exclaimed : « Bring matter to a settlement, my Lords and Fathers. » So Theodore said to this them : « Who is it that you have chosen, that we also may know him? » Thereupon the archpriest said : « Such and such an one, and here is his name written down. » Then Theodore said to them : « If the assembly approve of

رضى به الجمع فهو جيد فقال له الابروطس هذا الامر هو الينا ما هو للاساقفة وليس لهم الا وضع اليد فقط ونحن الذين نتخير بطركا فقال لهم ابنا ابراهام اسقف الفيوم واساقفتكم \* ايضا يقدمون لكم الذى<sup>1</sup> يختارونه لكن اذا قدمتموه وهو مستحق اوسمنا وان<sup>2</sup> P. 148 كان غير مستحق طردناه فوق الخطاب بينهم فى اليوم الثانى فصلوا وانصرفوا ولم ينزلوا هكذا الى تمام عشرة ايام وكان الصلح فى هذه<sup>3</sup> السدة بينهم ويجرى بينهم كلام كثير نهارا وليلا ولا ينزلوا عن رأيهم ولا اشتركوا اساقفة الصعيد معهم فى ذلك وكانوا اساقفة الصعيد منفردين عنهم وقالوا ان كان ليس غير هذا فما تقدمه وكان بعض<sup>4</sup> الاساقفة البحريين مع كهنة الاسكندرانيين<sup>5</sup> متفقين على تقدمته فلما كان اليوم الرابع من الشهر الجديد وهو توت بدى الشيطان يلتقى بينهم السجس فلحقهم حزن وبكاء لذلك وصرخوا الاساقفة المتفقون مع الاسكندرانيين وقالوا ان لم نجعل هذا الذى كتبنا اسمه والا فما نجعل احدا والسيدة

بعض اساقفة DF بعض الاساقفة اساقفة بحرى ABG — 2. ABDG om. — 3. ABG بعض الاساقفة اساقفة بحرى — 4. DF الاسكندرية — 5. ABDG ما بجميع الامر ما — 6. بحرى — 7. بحرى.

him, he is fit. » The archpriest replied : « This affair regards us, not the bishops, who have nothing to do except to lay their hands upon him, and no more; for it is we who elect the patriarch. » Then Abba Abraham, bishop of the Faiyum, said to them : « Your bishops also may propose to you him whom they choose. Yet if you have proposed one who is worthy, we will ordain him; but if he is not worthy, we shall reject him. » Thus a discussion took place between the two parties on the second day; and after prayer they dispersed. And they continued to act in this way till ten days were over. During this time there was peace between them, and there were many discussions by day and by night; yet they would not give up their views, nor would the bishops of Upper Egypt adopt their opinion in this matter, but remained separated from them, saying : « If this man were the only man possible, we would not appoint him. » But some of the bishops of the northern dioceses were in agreement with the clergy of the Alexandrians with regard to his appointment. Then on the 4th day of the new month, namely Tut, Satan began to sow dissension among them, so that sadness and weeping came to them on account of it. For the bishops who were in agreement with the Alexandrians cried and said : « If we do not elect this man whose name we have written, we will not elect anyone. » But the Lord Christ, who cared for all these matters, was displeased at their words; while the man whom he approved for this ministry was kept



المسيح المهمتهم بجميع الامور لم يرض بكلامهم والذي ارتضاد لهذه الخدمة محفوظ فوقهم بينهم خصومة في ذلك اليوم كما كان جرى في نوبة البرسنوفيين وفيما هم كذلك طرح الله في قلوبهم في<sup>1</sup> تلك الساعة بان يحضروا الاسقفين اسقف وسيم ابنا مويسيس<sup>2</sup> وبطرس اسقف ترنوط<sup>3</sup> وقالوا اذا لم تحضروا المذكورين ما يكون بيننا صلح وكان ابنا مويسيس ضعيفا جدا له ستة شهور ملازما<sup>4</sup> المرض في دير نهيا وكذلك ابنا بطرس في بيعة السيدة بجبل وسيم المقدس في دير نهيا الذي في برّ الجيزة غربى مصر فمضى اليهما الاثنان اسقف مصر واسقف الفيوم واعلماهما بما جرى ولم يكن ابنا مويسيس يقدر يركب دابة ولا يجلس من عظم الوجع فدبروا الآباء وحملوه على النعش الذي يحمل فيه الموتى لانهم<sup>5</sup> لم يجدوا هناك سواه وحملوه قوم مؤمنون على اكتافهم الى ان وصلوا به الى القسطنطينية وركبوا ابنا بطرس دابة وكان معه جمع كثير فوصلوا واجتمعوا في اليوم الثامن وكهنة مصر والاراضنة معهم<sup>6</sup> لكي يفصلوا هذه النوبة بارادة الله ومعاونته وكان معهم ارشيدياقن<sup>7</sup> بيعة

1. ABG om. — 2. ABDG مويسيس and so below E مريساس F ميسيس. — 3. BEG وايضا add. وجلسوا E om. to فاحضروه في add. وحملوه على. — 4. E om. to ارشيدياقن. — 5. E om. to الاراضنة. — 6. D om. to الاراضنة. — 7. Mss. ارشى.

in reserve. Thus there was a quarrel between them that day, as there had been over the matter of the Barsanuphians. And while they were in this plight, God put it into their hearts at that hour to send for the two bishops, Abba Moses of Wasim and Peter of Tarnût; for they said : « If you do not bring the two aforesaid, there will never be peace between us. » Now Abba Moses was very weak, because he had been confined by sickness for six months in the Monastery of Nahyâ, and Abba Peter likewise at the church of Our Lady on the Holy Mountain of Wasim, in the Monastery of Nahyâ, which stands on the bank of Al-Gizah to the west of Miṣr. So the bishop of Miṣr and the bishop of the Faiyum went to those two, and informed them of what had occurred. But Abba Moses could not mount a beast or sit upon it on account of the great pain which he was suffering; so the fathers contrived a plan, and had him carried on the bier on which the dead were borne, for they found nothing else there. And some of the faithful bore him on their shoulders, till they brought him to Al-Fustât. But they made Abba Peter ride on a horse; and there was a great company with him. When they arrived, the assembly [met together on the 8th day, and the clergy of Miṣr and the officials with them, that they might settle this business by the will and help of God. And there were with them the archdeacon of the church of Saint Sergius, and the aged officials Mennas



ابى سرجة والشيوخ الاراختة منا وبولس وكثير من النصارى بمصر فصلوا وجلسوا وبدوا يتحاولوا فى الكلام كما كان فى الاول وزاد الشر وكانوا<sup>1</sup> الاساقفة البحرىون يقولون ما تقيم هذا المكتوب اسمه وانا ابراهيم اسقف الفيوم يقول ما له معنا نصيب فقال لهم انا ابراهيم انكم ان سمعتم منى طلبنا الى الله جميعنا كما امرت القوانين وسألناه ان يقيم لنا من يريد ولا تقسم البيعة قسمتين فرضوا قوم من الاساقفة البحرىين<sup>2</sup> على<sup>3</sup> هذا الرأى وجلسوا عند اساقفة الصعيد وكان الطوبانى ابا موسىس اسقف وسيم ملقيا وسط الجمع من شدة الوجع فسمعهم يذكرّون الفرق فقام بقوة روح القدس التى معه واوماً بيدد الى كهنة الاسكندرية فقربوا منه فقال لهم ما ذا تقولون انتم فقالوا ما يقوله ابا مينا اسقف تميمى هو قولنا ونحن<sup>4</sup> الذين نقدّم بطركاً وليس لكم انتم فى هذا شيء وكان بجانبه جريدة يتوكأ عليها لضعفه فذكر ما فعله السيد فى الهيكل لما طرد من كان فيه من الصيارف بالمخصرة الحبل

مع كهنة الاسكندرية فطردهم انا موسىس بجريدة add. لم يشفقوا على احدهم 1. E om. to كان يتوكأ عليها وقال لهم لا تجربوا بيعة الله انهم علموا واتفقوا على الغد ومضوا الى بهذا 3. F — 2. Mss. والبحريين — 4. مراعاتهم

and Paul, and many of the Christians of Miṣr. So they prayed and took their seats, and began to attack one another with words, as at the beginning. As the strife increased, the bishops of the North said : « Wilt thou not appoint this man whose name is written down? » But Abba Abraham, bishop of the Faiyum, said : « We have no part or lot with him. » Then Abba Abraham said : « If you would listen to me, we would all of us beseech God, as the canons command, and pray him to raise up for us whom he will, that so the Church may not be divided into two parties ». Then some of the Northern bishops signified their approval of this proposal, and took their seats with the bishops of Upper Egypt. Now the blessed Abba Moses, bishop of Wasim, was lying in the midst of the assembly, on account of the severity of the pain which he suffered, and when he heard them speak of schism, he rose up by the power of the Holy Ghost which was with him, and beckoned with his hand to the clergy of Alexandria, so that they drew near to him. Then he said to them : « What are you saying? » They answered : « What Abba Mennas, bishop of Tmai, says, that is our opinion; for it is we that appoint the patriarch, and you have nothing to do with this matter. » Now there was by his side a staff for him to lean upon on account of his infirmity, so he called to mind what the Lord did in the Temple, when he drove out the money-changers therein with the scourge of cords; and he rose up and drove out the clergy of Alexandria, and pursued them, striking

فقام وطرد كهنة الاسكندرية وجرى خلفهم وضربهم بالجريدة حتى اخرجهم من الباب قائلاً لهم اخرجوا من وسطنا لا تخربوا بيعة الله لاجل شهوات قلوبكم ثم التفت الى الاسقف ابا مينا ومن معه من الاساقفة وقال اى شىء بينى وبين هذا الانسان الذى لم يختاره السيد المسيح وانت تريد وتفرح به ان كان عرفت له شيئاً من الفضائل اذكره وسط الجماعة فان رضيت به كان امر من الله فيقدم<sup>1</sup> فلما سمع ابا مينا هذا قال له الكتب انكرت هذا فدعه ومن رأيت صلاحه قدّموه ثم وضع مطانوة وخرج وقال يكون الاتحاد بينكم والاتفاق وانا برئ من هذا ثم افترقوا ذلك اليوم بعد صلاة السادسة بكأبة وحزن عظيم اذ لم يجدوا من يقدمونه وكان يذكر اسماء جماعة لم يتفقوا على احدهم فلما كان النصف من الليل استيقظ شماس مع الاسقف ابا مويسيس وقال له اغفر لى يا ابنى قد عرفت واحداً يستحق هذا الامر فقال له من هو يا ولدى فقال له الشماس هو القديس

1. F فيتقدم.

them with the staff, till he had forced them out through the door, saying to them : « Depart from the midst of us! Ruin not the church of God through the desires of your hearts! » Then he turned to the bishop Abba Mennas, and the bishops with him, and said : « What have I to do with this man who is not chosen by the Lord Christ, but whom thou desirest and delightest in? If thou knowest any of his virtues, recount them in the midst of the assembly. Then, if they approve of him, it is a thing from God, and he may be appointed. » When Abba Mennas heard this, he said to Abba Moses : « The books forbid this, therefore leave him; but if you know the virtues of any man, then appoint him. » Then he made a prostration, and departed, saying : « Let there be unity and concord among you; I am innocent of this mischief. » Then they separated on that day, after the prayer of the Sixth Hour, in sorrow and great grief, because they had not found anyone to appoint. For the names of many were mentioned, but they would not agree to any one of them.

But at midnight a deacon in the company of Abba Moses awoke and said to him : « Pardon me, my Father, I know one worthy of this office. » He said to him : « Who is he my son? » The deacon answered : « He is the holy and precious one, the priest Michael at the church of Saint Macarius, a pure virgin, brought up in the desert ». Then the bishop Abba Peter cried and said : « He who speaks by this deacon is Christ. O my son, verily this priest Michael is worthy of this rank ». So on the morrow they assembled, and there was a discussion among them, according to their custom; and

النفيس القس ميخائيل<sup>١</sup> ببيعة القديس ابي مقار بتول طاهر تربى في البرية فصرخ الاب الاسقف ابنا بطرس وقال هذا الشماس الذي تكلم فيه المسيح بالحقيقة يا ولدى ان هذا القس ميخائيل مستحق هذه المنزلة فلما كان بالغداة اجتمعوا وجبرى بينهم الخطاب كما جرت عادتهم فاجروا ذكر القس ميخائيل المذكور فصرخ جميع الشعب الكبير والصغير كلهم من فم واحد قائلين بالحقيقة هذا المستحق وكان قبل ذلك قد نظر انسانا قديسا كانت الامور معلنة له من قبل الرب لانه<sup>٢</sup> يشهد له بذلك<sup>٣</sup> فقال انى سمعت صوتا من السماء قائلًا وانا فى بيعة القديس ابي مقار ان القس ميخائيل مستحق البطركية

ثم قاموا جميعاً ومضوا الى القصر وعرفوا حفصا الذى جرى وما كانوا فيه وسألوه كتب كتاب الى شيوخ وكهنة وادى هبيب ليسلوا لهم ابنا ميخائيل<sup>٤</sup> المذكور فكتب لهم الكتب واخذوها وخرجوا من عنده وكان الرب يسوع المسيح قد حرك مقدمى وادى هبيب لسبب<sup>٥</sup> جرى فخرجوا من البرية وصحبهم القس ميخائيل<sup>٦</sup> المذكور وكان السبب انهم اجتمعوا وتشاوروا قائلين ان القاسم الظالم اضعف علينا الخراج والجزية فوق طاقتنا وقد وصل

1. Mss. كييل and so below. — 2. E om. to بذلك. — 3. ABDG بعد ذلك. — 4. Mss. خيال. — 5. E om. to يزيل عنا add. يدعوا له ويبنوه. — 6. Mss. كييل. — ويسالوه ان يزيح عنهم

then they mentioned the priest Michael, the aforesaid. So all the people cried out, old and young with one voice, saying : « In truth that man is worthy ». And before this he had seen a holy man, who received revelations from the Lord, for he bore witness to him of that and said : « I heard a voice from heaven, while I was in the church of the holy Saint Macarius, saying : The priest Michael is worthy to be patriarch ».

Then they all rose up and proceeded to the palace, and made known to Hafs what had taken place, and what they had agreed upon, and prayed him to write a letter to the seniors and priests of Wadi Habib, that they might give up the said Abba Michael to the bishops and clergy. So the governor wrote letters for them, and they took them and went out of his presence. Now the Lord Jesus Christ had already moved the superiors of Wadi Habib for a certain cause: and they had come forth from the desert with the aforesaid priest Michael in their company; and the reason was that they had met together and taken counsel, saying : « Al-Kasim, the tyrant, increased our land-tax and poll-tax beyond our power to pay. Now a new governor is come, therefore let us go and visit him and pray for him, and congratulate him on his appointment; and let us have confi-



ملأه جديد فمضى اليه وندعو له ونهنئه بالقدوم وتوكل على الله ونسأله ان ينزيل  
 P. 150 الظلم فوصلوا في اليوم الثالث عشر من توت الى الجزيرة وفي اليوم المذكور خرج  
 الرسل بالكتب متوجهين الى البرية فلما عدوا البحر لقوا<sup>1</sup> شيوخ الرهبان وابا ميخائيل  
 معهم الذي ساروا لاجله فلما رأوه تعجبوا عجباً عظيماً وبهتوا وفرحوا جداً وتعجب  
 احد منهم ممّا فعله السيّد المسيح فاخذوه ومضوا به الى قصر الملك وجميع كهنة  
 صارخون<sup>3</sup> بين يديه بالقراءة<sup>4</sup> حتى وصلوا الى القصر وهم يقولون قد ارسل الرب لنا الرب  
 المأمون الذي هو مرقس الجديد فلما اعلّموا حفصاً بما كان تعجب جداً ودقّ يداً  
 يد وقال مبارك الله الاله النصارى قد فعل افعالاً نتعجب منها وقال لهم هذا الرجل الـ  
 اصطفاه الله لكم ان يكون لكم اباً خذوه وامضوا به بسلام فتقدّم<sup>5</sup> اليه انبا تادرس  
 اسقف الكرسى ودعا للامير وسار معه وكان الشعب يقطعون من ثيابه للبركة ولما كان  
 الغد وهو الرابع عشر من توت ركبوا الاساقفة المراكب وانحدروا الى الاسكندرية

قاريسين. E add. يقرأوا. ABDG add. — 3. Mss. خيال. — 4. BEFG وجدوا. AD لقيوا. — 5. ABD om. — 6. ABD تادرس. — 7. E om. to المراكب add. فدعوا للامير واخذوه. — 8. تادرس.

nce in God, and beg the governor to remove these unjust exactions from  
 ». So they arrived at the Island on the 13th of Tut. And on that day  
 e messengers of the council had started with the letters on their way to  
 e desert; and when they had crossed the river, they met the superiors  
 the monks, and with them Abba Michael, on whose account they had  
 undertaken their journey. Therefore, when they saw him, they were greatly  
 tonished, and wondered and rejoiced exceedingly; and each one of them  
 marvelled at what the Lord Christ had done. So they took him, and  
 nducted him to the governor's palace, with all the clergy of Miṣr acclai-  
 ing him and chanting before him, till they reached the palace. And they  
 id : « The Lord has sent us the trusted shepherd, the new Mark ». Then  
 hen they informed Hafs of what had happened, he marvelled greatly;  
 and he clapped his hands together and said : « Let us bless the God of the  
 hristians, who has done deeds at which we wonder ». And he said to  
 em : « This man is he whom God has chosen for you, to be a father for  
 ou. Take him, and depart with him in peace ». And Abba Theodore, the  
 shop of the diocese, went forward and approached the governor and  
 ayed for him, and then departed with the patriarch. And the people cut  
 pieces of Michael's garments for the sake of a blessing.

And on the morrow, which was the 14th of Tut, the bishops embarked

ليلة السادس عشر من توت فخرج اليه خلق كثير ولما وصلوا به شوارع المدينة ومعهم  
شمع وصلبان واناجيل نزل عليهم مطر اقام ثلثة ايام وثلثة ليالى يسكب وان جميع  
القبايل بالاسكندرية قالوا هذا الرجل من الله قد مضت سنتان<sup>1</sup> ولم ينزل مطر في هذه  
المدينة ومبارك دخول هذا الرجل مدينتنا واوسموه في اليوم السابع عشر من توت  
ونريد<sup>2</sup> الآن نذكر يسيرا من افعاله في الرهبانية وعجائبه قبل ان يكون بطركا ولكن  
نخاف من التطويل لان كل شيء له مقدار كما قالت الكتب غير اننى قد ذكرتها في  
كتاب<sup>3</sup> سيرته خارج عن هذه السيرة

ثم مضى الى الرب الطوباني اتناسيوس بانطاكية واجلس الملك هشام<sup>4</sup> رجلا مؤمنا  
اسمه يوحنا ومات هشام وضبط الملك انسان اسمه الوليد بن يزيد بن عبد الملك وكان  
جنسه يفضه فدى<sup>5</sup> يبنى مدينة على اسمه في البرية ويجعل اسمه عليها وكان الماء بعيدا

1. E om. to مدينتنا add. القبايل الله جميع القبايل. — 2. ADF سنتين BG سنتين. — 3. E om. to السيرة. — 4. BG كنيها. — 5. DF سيرة غير هذه. — 6. Mss. هشام. — 7. E om. to غدا.

in the boats, and went down the river to Alexandria, which they reached on the night of the 16th of Tut; and many people came forth to meet the patriarch. But as they entered the streets of the city, carrying candles and crosses and books of the gospels before him, rain began to descend upon them; and it lasted three days and three nights, pouring in torrents. And all the tribes in Alexandria said : « This man is from God. Two years have passed without a fall of rain in this city. Blessed is the entrance of this man into our city! » And they consecrated him on the 17th day of Tut.

Now we would fain relate a few of his deeds in the monastic life, and his miracles before he became patriarch; but we fear to be tedious, for everything has a measure, as the Scriptures say. Moreover I have related these matters in the book of his biography, apart from this history.

At that time the blessed Athanasius at Antioch departed to the Lord. And Hishâm, the prince, appointed after him a trustworthy man, named John. Then Hishâm died, and the government of the empire was undertaken by a man named Al-Walîd, son of Yazîd, son of Abd al-Malik. Since, however, his people hated him, he began to build a city named after himself in the desert, for he gave his name to it; but the water was fifteen miles distant from it. He collected workmen from all quarters, and built that city by means of forced labour; and on account of the multitude many died every day from the scarcity of water; for though the water was carried thither by twelve



منها خمسة عشر ميلاً وجمع الناس من كل موضع وبنى فيها بيد قويّة ومن كثرة الناس كان كل يوم يموت فيها جماعة من قلة الماء وكان يحمل لها الماء الف ومائتا جمل وما يكتفيهم كل يوم وكانت الجمال فرقين ستمائة<sup>1</sup> تحمل يوماً وستمائة تحمل غداً<sup>2</sup> فوثب عليه رجل اسمه ابراهيم فقتله واخذ الملك منه واطاق الاسارى فمضى كل واحد منهم الى موضعه وولى آخر<sup>3</sup> فى ارض مصر اسمه حسان بن<sup>4</sup> عتاهية<sup>5</sup> هذا ابراهيم هو ابن عمّه وفي<sup>6</sup> نسخة اخرى عيسى<sup>7</sup> بن ابي<sup>8</sup> عطا كاتب لاسامة وهو<sup>9</sup> عارف بجميع اعمال اسامة<sup>10</sup> وكانت مصر قبل ولايته لها كثيرة الذهب والدينار مع الناس كالدهم فى ذلك الزمان فلما وصل اليها نزل عليها وباء عظيم فى ايامه حتى ان العجل<sup>\*</sup> الصغير دفع فيه عشرون ديناراً فعرفه وكلاؤه واصحابه بذلك فقال انا اعرف اعمال اهل مصر ان عشت انا ادعهم يشترون الثور بدينارين وخسر اهل مصر خسارات عظيمة<sup>11</sup> وانزل عليهم بلايا وتعب واباعوا الناس بهائمهم واولادهم وكان بمصر صبي مسلم اسمه رجا فحشد جماعة واخذ المملكة

1. F ستمائة تحمل كل يوم ثقله وستمائة تحمل ثانى يوم ثقله. — 2. D يوم. — 3. BG واحد. — 4. E om. to ذلك الزمان. — 5. Mss. عتاهيا. — 6. BG om. with 2 foll. wds. — 7. ABDG سبأ F om. with 3 foll. wds. add. ويقال انه كان. — 8. ABDG باطاح. — 9. ABG ابن ابراهيم. — 10. A سامة BG عامة. — 11. Mss. عظيمة.

hundred camels daily, yet this was not enough for them; the camels being divided into two bands, six hundred carrying water one day, and six hundred the next. Then Al-Walîd was attacked by a man named Ibrahim, who killed him, and seized the government instead of him. Ibrahim released the enslaved workmen, who departed each one to his own place; and he appointed a new governor in Egypt, named Ḥassân, son of Atâhiya; and this Ibrahim was a cousin of his. (But according to another copy the governor's name was Isa, son of Abu Aṭâ.) The new governor had been secretary to Usâmah, and he was acquainted with all that Usâmah had done. Now Egypt, before Ḥassân was governor, abounded in gold; and a dinar was as common as a dirhem among the people at that time. But when he arrived, a great pestilence broke out in the land, until a young calf was sold for twenty dinars. When Ḥassân's commissioners and friends informed him of this, he observed: « I know what the people of Egypt do. If I live, I will make them buy a bull for two dinars ». And at this time the Egyptians suffered great losses, and trials and troubles were brought upon them, so that the people offered their cattle and their children for sale.

And there was at Miṣr a young man, a Muslim, named Rajâ, who



وكان حفص الوالى<sup>1</sup> مساعداً له ومضوا<sup>2</sup> الى حسان<sup>3</sup> يريدون قتله فهرب منهم الى دمشق وامر حفص ان يصلى كل من بمصر واعمالها بصلاة السنة وكل من يتخلى عن دينه ويكون مسلماً لا تؤخذ منه بعداً جزية لانها كانت على الناس كلهم ولاجل هذه الخصلة اضل الشيطان خلائق<sup>4</sup> فتخلوا عن دينهم ومنهم من اكتتب وصار من العسكرية وكان الاب البطرك ابنا ميخائيل<sup>5</sup> ينظر هذا وهو حزين باك لنظره من يجحد السيد المسيح ومن اجل ذلك خرجت الاساقفة من كراسيهم ومضوا الى البرية الى الديارات وتضرعوا امام الرب بالصلوات ثم ان الاب ابنا مويسيس اسقف وسيم مسكود بكريسيه اولاده لم يسكنود ان<sup>6</sup> يمضى الى موضع بل يصلى على رعيته لئلا يخطئهم الذئب من بيعته وكان في الجزيرة واعمال مصر يفتقد حال اولاده كل وقت واذا قوم ارثوذكسيون<sup>7</sup> من اراخنة مصر حضروا عنده وهم حزان وقالوا له يا ابانا صل علينا واجتهد فقد احسينا من انتقل الى دين الاسلام

1. DF om. — 2. E om. to دمشق. — 3. ABDEG يسا. — 4. E جماعة F add. كبيرة. — 5. Mss. خيال and so below. — 6. Mss. om. — 7. BDEFG om.

assembled a body of followers, and seized the government, with the assistance of Hafs the former governor. And they went to Hāsān, and wished to kill him; but he fled from them to Damascus. And Hafs commanded that everyone in the provinces of Egypt should pray according to the laws of the Sunnite ritual, and proclaimed that all those, who would give up their own religion and become Muslims, should be exempted from the poll-tax; for that was an impost due from all of them. By means of this procedure Satan did much harm to many people who gave up their religion; and some of them enrolled themselves among the soldiery. And the patriarch, Abba Michael, saw these things with sadness and tears, because he beheld men denying the Lord Christ. And for these causes the bishops left their sees, and departed into the desert, and entered the monasteries, where they humbled themselves before the Lord in prayer.

At that time the Father Moses, bishop of Wasīm, was detained by his spiritual children in his see, and they would not let him depart from it to any other place; but he prayed for his flock that the wolf might not carry them away from his Church. And he remained at Al-Gizah and in the neighbourhood of Miṣr, constantly superintending the affairs of his children. And behold, some of the orthodox officials of Miṣr came to his house in sadness, and said to him: « Father, pray for us earnestly. For we have counted those who have seceded to the religion of Islam from among our brethren, the baptized Christians, in Miṣr and its neighbourhood, through the persua-

من اخوتنا بنى السعدونية من مصر واعمالها على يدى هذا الوالى اربعة وعشرين الف انسان فقال لهم الاب يا اولادى آمنوا ان فى هذا الشهر تنظرون باعينكم هذا الوالى الكافر حفصا يحرق جسده بالنار فى وسط فسطاط مصر ويقتل رجا بالسيف فتت نبوة الاب سرعة وكان هذا القديس يشفى الاعلاء باسم السيد يسوع المسيح واعطى التوبة ثم ان الملك انفذ اميراً الى مصر ومعه خمسة الاف مقاتل ليقاتلوا حفصا وكان اسم الامير حوثره<sup>2</sup> فملك مملكة مصر واعمالها واحرق حفصا بالنار وقتل رجا بالسيف واخذ جميع اموالهما كما تنبأ الطوبانى ونزع الولاية منهما لانهما طردا حسنا منها وتسلطا عليها بغير امره وانفذ امرهما الى الملك وعادت المملكة لحسان لاجل ذلك وكان قد حكم بالحق مثل سليمان وهو محب البيع والاساقفة والرهبان وكان يحب البطارك انبا ميخائيل وكان يحضره ويتحدث معه دفعات شتى عند مضيه اليه من اول بطركيته واما حوثره من بعد ما جرى اقام بمصر وجيشه وكان محباً للارثدكسيين وكان ينزل بوسيم

1. ABDEFG اورميرا. — 2. Mss. كثر and so below.

sions of this governor, and they amount to twenty-four thousand persons ». So the father said to them : « My children, be assured that this month you will see with your own eyes this unbelieving governor Hafs burnt with fire in the midst of Fustât Miṣr; and Raja will be slain with the sword ». And the father's prophecy was speedily fulfilled. Moreover this holy man used to heal the sick in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and gave to men the gift of repentance.

Then the prince sent a general to Egypt, accompanied by five thousand fighting men, that they might make war upon Hafs. The name of this general was Hautharah; and he gained possession of Egypt, and caused Hafs to be burnt in the fire, and killed Rajâ with the sword, and seized all their goods, as the blessed one had prophesied. So the prince took away the government from those two, because they had driven Hassân away from the country, and had taken the power into their own hands without his orders. And Hautharah sent their property to the prince. And the government was restored to Hassân for these reasons; and he was a wise judge like Solomon, and loved the churches and the bishops and monks; and he loved the patriarch Abba Michael, and used to admit him, and converse with him often, when he visited him, from the first days of his patriarchate. And as for Hautharah, after what had happened, he remained in Egypt with his troops. And he loved the orthodox; and, as he resided at Wasîm with all his army for three years, he used to consult the Father





مصر وأظهر أمورا عظيمة بمصر وأخذ<sup>1</sup> لسروان الذهب والفضة والنحاس والحديد وكل شيء يجده وكان يفعل ذلك بمشورة رجل سوء يتعلم هذه الأفعال من الشيطان وكان رئيسا على جميع صنائع مصر وأمور المساكنة اسمه عبد الرحيم وانتهى تبعه<sup>2</sup> إلى ما لم يسمع بشئله وهو أنه أخذ<sup>3</sup> اللنطن<sup>4</sup> وعقاقير<sup>5</sup> خلط جميعها ودهن بها مراكب الأسطول لكي إذا وقع على المراكب النار من الروم لا تحترق وكان ذلك مما نظرت بعيني وقد ضربت المراكب بالنار فلم تحترق بل تنطفئ النار للوقت وكانوا تجار من البلاد يصلون ببضائعهم فجمعوا مالا بينهم ودفعوه لسروان وسألوه أن يدعمهم يبنون بيع مصر فاجابهم واصحاب تاوفيلكتس الخلقدونى ويدعى قسما قالوا له ان لنا كنائس كثيرا بمصر تغلبوا عليها التاوضوسيون يعنى القبط عند اخذ ملك الروم وليس لنا بيعة نسأل ان يكتب لنا الملك كتابا على ايدينا إلى مصر بان تسلم لنا بيعة ابى مينا بمريوط لتتقرب فيها لان كان لها اسم وعجائب كثير وأوقاف فى كل موضع فاخذ تاوفيلكتس الكتب إلى عبد الملك بن

1. E om. to يجده add. — 2. BEG عماد DF بعيد. — 3. ABEG om. — 4. E om. ABDFG الاطن. — 5. E فعل عقاقير.

to the people of Egypt, and gave rise to much disturbance in the country, seizing for the benefit of Marwân the gold and silver and copper and iron, and everything that he could find. This he did by the advice of an evil man, who had learnt these deeds from Satan, and was director of all the arsenals of Egypt, and of the affairs of the government, and was named Abd ar-Rahîm. His labours at last produced results unheard of before, namely that he took linen rags and smeared the ships of the fleet with decoctions of herbs which he mixed up together; so that, when the fire was thrown by the Romans upon the ships, they did not burn. And this I saw with my own eyes; for the ships caught fire, but yet did not burn; and the fire was at once extinguished.

And merchants came from the country, bringing their wares, and collected money among themselves, and gave it to Marwân, and prayed him to allow them to rebuild the churches of Miṣr; and so he consented to their request. But the friends of Theophylact the Chaldeonian, who was also called Cosmas, said to him : « Verily there are many churches of ours in Egypt, of which the Theodosians, that is to say the Copts, took possession, when the government of the Romans was overthrown; and now we have no church there. We beg the prince to write for us to Egypt, and send by us letters commanding that the church of Saint Mennas at Maryût be handed over to us, so that we may communicate there. » For that church was famous for many

موسى بن نصير بان يكشف الحال بين اليعاقبة والخلقدونيين ويحققوا من بنى هذه  
البيعة ويسلموها اليه فلما وقف على الكتب من عند مروان انفذ اميرا الى الاسكندرية  
وتقدم باحضار البطريركين اليعقوبى والخلقدونى وكان الصوم قد قرب فامر باحضارهما ولما  
وصل ابنا ميخائيل الى وسيم خرج اليه الاسقف ابنا مويسيس وسار معه الى ان وصل الى  
عبد الملك وكان معنا الاسقف ابنا تدرس اسقف مصر الذى كان قبل اسقفية ارشيدياقن<sup>3</sup>  
بيعة القديس ابي مقار بوادى هبيب وكنا نحضر الى القصر مع الخلقدونيين كل  
يوم واقمنا كذلك اربعين يوم الصوم من بكر الى اخر النهار وكان اسقف الروم يسئى<sup>1</sup> 153  
معنا وقسما بطريركهم وكان الاسقف المذكور يبغض اهل ملته وقال انا ما جئت الى ان  
اجعل للثالوث رابعا وكان اسمه قسطنطين ومعه شماس يسئى انسطاسيوس من بيعة الساكنية<sup>2</sup>  
بالاسكندرية وجمع عبد الملك الساكنيين وقرأ عليهم الكتب وكشف عن الحق وجرى

وكانوا كل يوم يحضروا الى القصر من بكر add. كذلك — 2. E om. to — 3. ABDG — 4. ABG EDF om. — 5. Mss. العاقبة. — 6. ABG — 7. ارشيدياقن — 8. الى اخر النهار مدة

miracles, and had been endowed with property in many places. So Theophylact took to Abd al-Malik, son of Musa, son of Nasir, letters which directed him to settle the dispute between the Jacobites and the Chalcedonians, and ordered that the truth concerning the founders of that church should be ascertained, and that it should be handed over to them. And when Abd al-Malik had read the letters from Marwân, he despatched an officer to Alexandria, and commanded that the two patriarchs, the Jacobite and the Chalcedonian, should be brought before him. Now the fast was at hand, so he commanded that they should be summoned.

And when Abba Michael reached Wasim, the bishop, Abba Moses, went out to meet him, and travelled with him until they came to Abd al-Malik. And there was with us the bishop Abba Theodore, bishop of Mīṣr, who, before he became bishop, had been archdeacon of the church of Saint Macarius in Wadi Habib. And we attended at the palace together with the Chalcedonians every day, and this we continued to do during the forty days of the fast, from early morning to the end of the day. And the bishop of the Romans, and their patriarch Cosmas went with us. Now the said bishop hated the people of his religion; for he said: «I have not gone so far as to add a fourth Person to the Trinity.» His name was Constantine, and with him was a deacon, named Anastasius, of the church of the Melkites at Alexandria. And Abd al-Malik assembled the Melkites, and read the decree to them, and enquired into the truth of the allegations. And the dispute carried



من الخصومة قدامه امر عظيم وكاموا الارثوذكسيون ظافرين بالخلقدونيين وما يخاطب  
 من الكتب المقدسة حتى ان عبد الملك تعجب ثم احضر صاحب ديوانه وكان رجلا  
 تحت يد ديوانان ورجلا آخر اسمه عيسى<sup>1</sup> بن عامر<sup>2</sup> وسلمهم له ليطول روجه  
 ويسمع كلامهم ويعرفه وامر ان يكتب كل منا ما يقوله في كتاب فمضوا الخلقه  
 سرا الى دار عيسى وحملوا اليه هدايا لبساعدهم فيما بلتسونه فجمع الارب البطارك  
 ميخائيل اساقفته وكتب كتابا مملوء من كل حكمة ونعمة الله وكلام كتب الله المقدس  
 كان من بناء البيعة للشهيد ماري مينا وما لقيه ابونا البطاركة من التعب والنفس  
 الخلقدونيين واخذ البيع منهم بيد ملوك الروم وكتبوا ذلك قبطيا وعربيا فلما اذ  
 دفعوا ذلك الى عيسى المذكور فقرأ وتعجب من الفاظه ثم احضر الخلقدونيون كتابا  
 شبر فيه كلمتان فلما قرأ ضحك وهز رأسه ثم قرأ الكتابان علانية وكل الحاض  
 يسمعون ما فيهما فقال له ابونا البطرك ابنا ميخائيل ايها السيّد الكاتب ما يجب ان

بمن ABDEG 2. — يسا. Mss.

fore him had great results; for the orthodox with their arguments from  
 holy Scriptures prevailed over the Chalcedonians, so that Abd al-Malik  
 elled. Then he summoned the chief of his Divan, who was a Muslim  
 two Divans under his authority, and another man called Isa, son of  
 , and handed them over to him, that he might thoroughly investigate  
 matter, and make it known; and he ordered that each party should  
 and its claims in a letter. But the Chalcedonians went secretly to  
 house of Isa, and offered him bribes, that he might favour them in their  
 as. And the patriarch, Abba Michael, assembled his bishops, and  
 e a letter full of all wisdom and of the grace of God, and of the words  
 e holy Scriptures of God, giving an account of the foundation of the  
 ch of the martyr, Saint Mennas, and of the troubles and banishments  
 red by our fathers, the patriarchs, at the hands of the Chalcedonians,  
 of the taking of the churches from them by the hands of the princes  
 e Romans; and that report was written down in Coptic and in Arabic.  
 wards they assembled together, and gave that report to the aforesaid  
 who read it and marvelled at the patriarch's eloquence. Then the Chal-  
 nians sent him a letter a span long, with two words in it; and, when he  
 read it, he laughed and shook his head; and the two letters were read  
 blic, and all present heard their contents. Then our father the patriarch,  
 Michael, said to Isa : « My Lord Secretary, it is not right that we  
 ld allow our enemies, who have no God, to hear our words, so that they



اعداءنا الذين ليس لهم الاله يسمعون كلامنا فيجعلونهم حجة فيما بعد فتقال اما اقرا الكتاب وانما فعل ذلك بمكر ومراعاة لهم لاجل البرطيل والذي كان في كتاب الاب البطرك المغبوط هو ذا نذكر بعضه ميخائيل بنعمته الله اسقف مدينة اسكندرية والشعب التاوضوسي الى السادة<sup>1</sup> من<sup>2</sup> اجل<sup>3</sup> بيعة الجليل ماري مينا بمريوط وكان في ذلك الزمان الملوك المؤمنون لله ارغاديوس وانوريوس على عهد الاب القديس توفيلس البطرك ابتداء بعارة بيعة يوحنا المعمدان فلما كتلتها بنى بيعة ابي مينا بمريوط وبيعة اخرى على<sup>4</sup> اسم تاوضوسيوس بن ارغاديوس الملك الذي ساعده على بناء البيع ولما تبيح توفيلس صار كامن جاء بعدد يبنى فيها قليلا قليلا الى ايام طيماتاوس البطرك فهو الذي كتلتها وبعد هذا اتى ملك<sup>5</sup> شيطان اسمه مرقيان وهو الذي قسم البيعة بامانته الفاسدة ونفا الاب الجليل ديسترس البطرك السجاهد عن امانة ابائه المستقيمة واخذ امانة جديدة مرذولة وساعده على ذلك لاون بطرك رومية الذي P.154

1. ABG add. الملوك. — 2. DF om. to المزعوم. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. E om. to البيع. — 5. ABDEFG شيطان ملك.

may take them as a proof hereafter. » Isa replied : « I will read the letter. » But he only did this in guile, and in his care for the interests of the Chaldeonians, because of the bribe which he had received from them.

Now behold, we will cite a part of the contents of the letter written by the blessed Father Patriarch : « Michael, by the grace of God bishop of the city of Alexandria and of the Theodosian people, to the governors, with regard to the church of the glorious Saint Mennas at Maryût. At that time reigned the faithful and pious princes, Arcadius and Honorius, in the days of the holy father, the patriarch Theophilus. He began to build the church of John the Baptist, and when he had finished it, he built the church of Saint Mennas at Maryût, and another church named after Theodosius, son of Arcadius the prince, who helped him to build the churches. When Theophilus was dead, all his successors added to that church, little by little, until the days of the patriarch Timothy; so that it was he who completed it. After that time there came a diabolical prince, named Marcian; for it was he who divided the church through his corrupt creed, and banished the glorious father, the patriarch Dioscorus, who fought for the right faith of his fathers. And Marcian invented a vile new creed, being assisted therein by Leo, patriarch of Rome, who was anathematised by the patriarch Dioscorus together with his impure writings, which were full of heresy. And the aforesaid prince did wicked deeds against the children of the

أحرمه ديستقرس البطرك وأحرم أقواله الطمثة المساومة كفراً وفعل الملك المذكور بأولاد البيعة الأرثوذكسية أفعالا قبيحة فظلم كثيراً وقتل منهم وطرده ونفاه وقاسوا منه شدة عظيمة ولم يزل معهم هكذا مظلومين إلى أن<sup>1</sup> صارت المملكة للسادة المسلمين والآن نحن معهم متخاصمين

هذا يسير من كثير مما تضمنه كتاب الأب الجليل أبنا ميخائيل البطرك وأما الخلق دونيو فكتبوا وقالوا في البداية كان الملك لنا والكنايس وجميع مالها لنا وأنما المسلمون سلموها للقبط عند تغلبهم على ديار مصر

وكان عيسى لأجل البرطيل الذي أخذه منهم يريد أن يصدقهم ويكذب القبط فقام لا اتم ولا هم اتيتم بحجة فامضوا واكتبوا غير هذين الكتاين واحضروهم إلينا ففعل كقولهم فقال أيضاً ليس هذا كلام فامضوا واكتبوا غير هذين الكتاين ولم يزل يدافع شهراً كاملاً فقال بعض الحاضرين لأبنا موسى إسقف وسيم الرأي بدفع إلينا البطرك

1. Mss. om.

orthodox church, and was exceedingly tyrannical; for he slew some, and drove others away into exile; and they suffered severely at his hands. Nor did they cease to be oppressed in like manner, until the government was transferred to our lords the Muslims. And to this day we continue to dispute with the followers of that new creed. »

This is a little out of much contained in the letter of the glorious father, Abba Michael the patriarch. But as for the Chalcedonians, they wrote and said : « In the beginning the power was in our hands, and the churches with all their property were ours. But the Muslims, after their conquest of Egypt, handed them over to the Copts ».

Isa however, for the sake of the bribe which he had received from the Chalcedonians, was desirous of proving them in the right, and of convicting the Copts of falsehood. So he said : « Neither you nor they have brought any proof of your words. Go therefore and write two other letters besides these two, and bring them to us. » So we did as he said. Then he said again : « These are no arguments. Go therefore and write something besides these two letters. » And he did not cease to put us off for a whole month. Then one of those present said to Abba Moses, bishop of Wasim :

My advice is that our father, the patriarch, should give something to this man, that he may deliver us from these adversaries who oppose and resist us. » But Abba Moses answered : « My son, it is not right that patriarchs and bishops should offer bribes to anyone, nor is it right that they should

لهذا شيئاً لينظفنا من هؤلاء المقاومين العادين المعاندين فقال له يا ولدي ما يليق بالبطاركة والاساقفة ان يدفعوا البرطيل لاحد كما انهم لا يليق بهم اخذ من احد وما اقمنا بعد سنة ولا سنتين ولا ثلاثين سنة صابرين مثل اباينا ونحن الآن مقيسون في مواضعنا وكنائسنا بيدنا والله ما يغفل عنا ولا يتخلى عن معونتنا وفي ذلك الاسبوع كافاً الله اولئك المخالفين بصلوات ابينا وعزله<sup>1</sup> الرالى عن كتابته وديوانه وصار آخر عونه رجل من اولاد قضاة المسلمين يستنى ابا الحسين وكان شيخاً وديعاً لا يحابى احداً ولا ياخذ برطيلاً وكان حكيماً في كلامه يقطع بالحق في قوله فسلمونا له ليحكم بيننا وكانت اول حكومته انه قال من هو<sup>2</sup> ابو<sup>3</sup> اليعاقبة فيكم فاشاروا الحاضرون الى ابا ميخائيل وقالوا<sup>4</sup> هو ذا هو ثم قال ابو<sup>5</sup> الملكية وارود<sup>6</sup> الآخر فقال لانبا ميخائيل انت على امانة يعقوب استنف اورشليم احد تلاميذ السيد المسيح قال نعم انا هو ثم التفت الى الآخر وقال عرفنى ايها الشيخ من<sup>7</sup> ابوك وما ملتك قال له بطرك الملكية انا على امانة مرقيان الملك فقال له

1. BEG وقال A. — 2. Mss. اب. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. B. عرل القاضى. — 5. E add. لانبا ميخائيل. — 6. Mss. راورود. — 7. Mss. من. ابيك وملتك.

take bribes from anyone. And we have not had to endure persecution for a year or two years or thirty years, like our fathers; but we are now living in our own homes, and our churches are in our own possession, and God does not forsake us nor cease to help us. »

And during that week God requited those heretics through the prayers of our father. For the governor deprived Isa of his office of secretary and his Divan; and there came another in his place, a man of the sons of the judges of the Muslims, named Abu 'l-Husain, who was an old man, tranquil, not given to showing favour to anyone, nor to taking bribes; and he was wise in his discourse, and just in his judgments. So they delivered us to him, that he might judge between us. And at the beginning of his judgment he said : « Which among you is the father of the Jacobites? » So those present pointed to Abba Michael, and said : « Behold him here! » Then he said : « The father of the Melkites? » And they showed him the other. Thereupon he said to Abba Michael : « Thou holdest the faith of James, bishop of Jerusalem, one of the disciples of the Lord Christ. » He said : « Yea, that is my belief. » Then he turned to the other and said : « Make known to me, Sir, who is thy father, and what is thy creed. » The patriarch of the Melkites said to him : « I hold the faith of Marcian the prince ». Upon that the judge rejoined : « Thou believest in the prince, and



القاضي انت تؤمن<sup>1</sup> بالملك وليس بالله فقال له قل لى ابو<sup>2</sup> مذهبك من هو ومن اين هو حتى اعلم واحكم بينكم فقال له ابى الذى بدأ ووضع الاساس هو نسطور جمع<sup>3</sup> مجمع<sup>4</sup> بافسس وكان المقدم فيه كيرلس ابو<sup>5</sup> هذا وكان معهم راهب من جبل ادريبا من اعمال اخميم واخرجوه من البيعة وساعدتهم الملكة فى ذلك الزمان وبعد ذلك اقام الله مرقية<sup>6</sup> سرعة ولاون البطرك<sup>7</sup> واجتمعا بنسطور ومن معه وملكما البيعة فى كل موضع وولوا اساقفة عليها الى اليوم واسقفنا بالاسكندرية كان ابروتاريوس قتلود الاسكندرايون فامر الملك بعسكر انقذه الى الاسكندرية وامرهم ان يقتلوا بالسيف فقتلوا ثلثين<sup>8</sup> ألفا فى ساعة واحدة فلما سمع القاضي ذلك دق يداً على يد وقال لمن كان حوله ما اعظم هذا الظلم فاجاب ابونا<sup>9</sup> الروحانى وقال للقاضي هو ذا لنا شهران ونحن فى هذا الامر سلمنا الملك لعيسى<sup>7</sup> بن<sup>8</sup> عامر كما علمت ايها القاضي الذى يحبه الله من اجل احكامه

1. Mss. تأمن. — 2. Mss. أب. — 3. F add. عليد. — 4. Mss. أب. — 5. E أربعة. — 6. E أربعين. — 7. Mss. ليسا. — 8. E om. with foll. wd. — 9. E om. with foll. wd.

not in God? » And he continued : « Tell me who is the father of thy sect, and whence he came, that I may know and judge between you. » The Melkite answered : « My father, who first laid the foundation, was Nestorius. A council was assembled at Ephesus, at which the leader was Cyril, the spiritual father of this man. They had with them a monk from the Mount of Adriba, in the province of Ikhnîm, and they drove Nestorius out of the Church; for they were assisted by the princess at that time. But after that, God speedily raised up Marcian and the patriarch Leo, who agreed with Nestorius and his followers, and everywhere took possession of the churches, over which bishops have ruled up to this day. But our bishop at Alexandria, Proterius, was slain by the Alexandrians; and therefore the prince commanded that an army should be collected, and sent it to Alexandria, and bade the soldiers slay with the sword; and so they killed thirty thousand in one hour. »

When the judge heard that, he clapped his hands together, and said to those around him : « How cruel and tyrannical was that deed! » Then our spiritual father answered and said to the judge : « Behold, we have been occupied with this matter for two months. The governor delivered us over to Isa, son of Amir, as thou knowest, O judge, whom God loves on account of thy just judgments; and we wrote reports and gave them to Isa, but he would not settle our case, but asked of us more than we know ». So the judge commanded to bring forth the reports of the Jacobites and Melkites; and he read them and understood their contents, and was filled with asto-

بالحقّ وقد كتبنا كتباً ودفعتها لعيسى<sup>1</sup> ولم<sup>2</sup> يفصل امرنا وهو يطلب منا ما لا نعرفه فامر  
باحضار كتب اليعاقبة والملكيين فقرأها وفهم مضمونها واستعظم ما كان بينهما<sup>3</sup> واخذها  
ودخل بها الى الملك فقرأها وتعجب ايضاً وامر بنفاذ الحكم وامضاه فخرج القاضي  
وقال لقسما انت رجل ليس لك دين ولا اله وهو ذا كتبك تشهد عليك ان البيعة  
لانا ميخائيل وقد عرفنا ما كتبتم جميعاً فامضوا واكتبوا غير هذه الكتب وايتوني بها  
فخرجنا من عنده فعلموا الخلق دونيون انهم مغلوبون فقرروا بينهم كلاماً بمكر وانفذوا  
الينا وكان معهم قسطنطين اسقف مصر فقال لانا ميخائيل ابوتك تعلم ما جرى علينا  
بالاسكندرية بسبب الامانة والى اليوم الخلاف فى الامانة ونحن نريد ان يكون بيننا  
وبينك اتفاق فى البيعة ونعاهدك ونصير جميعنا قطيعاً واحداً وارسل الى الاب بذلك  
فقال الطوباني انا ميخائيل للاساقفة ما ذا تقولون فى ذلك تفذ<sup>4</sup> رسولا اليه ليسمع<sup>5</sup> منطقته

1. Mss. ليسا. — 2. E ليفصل بيننا. — 3. Mss. بينهم. — 4. E om. to اسقف مصر الملكى  
add. فقالوا نرسل اليهم ننظر كلامهم فارسلوا اليهم قس فاضل معلم وشماس عارف بالكتب  
والشعرهم بشرح وبدأ بطرقات الملكية ينلوا بامانة الثلثمائة وثمانية عشر راتلسيرس وكيرلس حبر  
— 5. ABD اجمع.

nishment at the difference between them; and he took the documents, and carried them to the governor, who read them, and was also astonished, and commanded him to pronounce his sentence, and dismissed him. Accordingly the judge came forth, and said to Cosmas : « Thou art a man without religion or God. For behold, the reports bear witness against thee that the church belongs to Abba Michael. We understand all that you have written; therefore go and write other reports besides these, and bring them to me ».

So we went out from his presence. But the Chalcedonians recognised that they were vanquished, and therefore they invented among themselves words of guile, and sent them to us. And Constantine, bishop of Misr, was with the messengers; and so he said to Abba Michael : « Thy Paternity knows what has happened to us at Alexandria for the sake of the faith; and to this day the dispute about our creed continues. Therefore we desire that there be an agreement between thee and us concerning the church, and we wish to make a compact with thee, and to become one flock together. Send a message therefore to the father concerning this matter ». Then the blessed Abba Michael said to the bishops : « What do you say on this question? Shall we send a messenger to him, to hear his proposals? » But they said : « He is acting thus with guile deceitfully ». And Abba Moses said to them :



فقالوا هو يفعل هذا بمكر وخديعة فقال لهم انبا مويسيس يا ابهاتي في قلوبكم سبعة افكار كما هو مكتوب افكروا في امور لم تستطيعوا اقامتها لكن نجربهم فتقدم الي قس كان كاتبه والى انا البائس واضع هذه السيرة وانقذنا اليه لنسمع كلامه فلما وصلنا اليهم خرجوا للقائنا بفرح فلما جلسنا وخاطبه القس مينا من كلام الكتب لانه كان عالما فسمع منه كلام البطريرك وبدى بامانة ابائنا الثلاثمائة والثمنية عشر واتاسيوس وكيرلس وقرسالحال بايمان عظيمة مخوفة معه ومع قسطنطين اسقف مصر الملكى واعترفوا وقالوا قسطنطين اسقف مصر الملكى هذه امانتى قبل اليوم واومن بها الى النفس الاخيرة الاتحاد واحد الاله واحد رب واحد طبيعة واحدة وهو<sup>1</sup> السيّد يسوع المسيح ومن لا يؤمن هكذا فهو يهودى ومن يقول طبيعتين للواحد المسيح من بعد الاتحاد فهو غريب من الاب والابن والروح القدس ويكون نصيبه مع يودس الدافع فهذه امانتى فلما سمع<sup>P.156</sup> \* انسطاسيوس ذلك غضب ولم يقدر ان<sup>2</sup> يتكلم وكان منتظرا لما يجرى بعد هذا فمضينا الى

فمضوا المرسلين الى الابا واعلموهم بذلك فارسلوهم ثانيا add. ما تريد فقال 1. E om. to — 2. ABG om. يجيبوا خطوبتهم بهذا الاعتراض فلم يكتبوا وقال بطريرك الملك

O my fathers, in your hearts are seven thoughts, as it is written '1. Think of things that you cannot bring to pass. But let us try them ». Then Iba Michael ordered a priest who was his scribe, and me the sinner, the writer of this history, and sent us to the Chalcedonian patriarch to hear his words. So when we arrived, they came out to meet us with joy; and when we had taken our seats, and the priest Mennas had addressed Cosmas with words of Scripture, for he was learned, then Cosmas heard from him the words of the patriarch. For Mennas began with the creed of our fathers, the Three Hundred and Eighteen, and Athanasius and Cyril, and confirmed the matter with a great and terrible oath, before the Melkite patriarch and Constantine, the Melkite bishop of Misr; and they made their confession. And Constantine the Melkite bishop of Misr said : « This was my faith before to-day, and I will hold it to my last breath : one Union, one God, one Lord, one Nature, namely the Lord Jesus Christ. He who does not believe thus is a Jew; and he who says that there are Two Natures in the One Christ, after the Union, is a stranger to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and his lot will be with Judas the Traitor. This then is my creed ». But when Anastasius heard that, he was angry and could not speak, and he waited for what was to happen after this. Then we departed to the fathers, and told them all that had taken place, and so they sent us

1. Prov., xxvi, 25.



الآباء وقلنا لهم كلما جرى فعادونا<sup>1</sup> اليهم وقالوا لنا<sup>2</sup> قولوا لهم هذا الذي قلمتود تكتبونه في كتاب بخطوطكم<sup>3</sup> فلما عدنا اليهم قال قسما بطركهم عندي كلمة اخرى اريد ان اذكرها لكم فقال له القس لا تخف عنا شيئا من افكارك لان الله ينظر الى القلب ليس الى الوجه فقال اذا استقر الاتحاد اى شيء تفعلونه معي فقال له القس مينا عرفنا ما تريد فقال انا اريد اذا استقر الاتحاد ان تكون بيعتي ويعتكم واحدة بالاسكندرية واذا حضر ابوكم البطرك في ايام القداسات كنت معه فاذا اكمل الصلاة خرج كل منا الى موضعه ولا يمنعني احد ان احضر كل البيع كذلك<sup>4</sup> هو هكذا فقال له القس هذا كلام فيه خديعة فقال له قسما ما تظن انت فقال امضى الى ابي واعود لك بالجواب فلما سمعوا الاساقفة ذلك صرخ ابا مويسيس وقال سيدنا المسيح يوحنا ان لا نستحي لنا ابا في الارض والآن ان كان ما قالوه يرضيكم فانا اقول فقال له البطرك قل فقال ان

1. ABDG فعادوا. — 2. ABG om. with 2 foll. wds. — 3. ABDG بخطوطهم. — 4. E om. to بهذا الجواب للآباء فعلموا ان هذا منهم خديعة وبعد add. فلما جلسنا ذلك حضروا جميعا الى التصديق كل الاراضة حتى املا القسم فلما جلسا

back to them, saying : « This that you have said you shall write down in a letter in your own hand ». So when we returned to them, Cosmas their patriarch said : « I have another word which I desire to speak to you ». The priest answered : « Hide none of thy thoughts from us, for God looks at the heart, not at the face ». So he continued : « If unity be established, what will you do with me? » The priest Menas replied : « Make known to us what thou desirest ». Cosmas answered : « I desire, if unity be established, that my church and your church should be one at Alexandria. And when your father, the patriarch, is present on the days of liturgies, I should be with him; and when he had finished the prayers, each of us should go forth to his own place; and none should hinder me from visiting any of the churches; and so likewise with regard to him ». Then the priest said to him : « These are words containing deceit ». Cosmas answered : « What thinkest thou? » So he said : « I will depart to my father, and bring the answer back to thee ». Then when the bishops heard this, Abba Moses cried aloud and said : « Our Lord Christ charges us not to call any father upon earth. But now if you approve what they say, then I will speak ». The patriarch said to him : « Speak now ». So he said : « If he consent to be made by us bishop over the whole of Egypt, and to become our brother, not our father, since Christ will keep thy Paternity that thou mayest guard his holy Church, then we will do it ». Then they went to Cosmas

كان يرضى ان نجعله اسقفًا على كورة مصر كلها ويصير لنا اخا وليس ابا فان المسيح يحفظ لنا ابوتك لتحفظ بيعته المقدسة فعلنا فمضوا الى قسما واعلموه بهذا فغير وطابت نفسه فقال انسطاسيوس ان تجعلوني انا ايضا اسقفًا على كرسي ما فقال له القسما مينا اليس تعلم ان كل انسان يطلب درجة ثانية لا يصلح ان يكون اسقفًا واهل مصر يساعدونك على هذا الكلام فقال له انسطاسيوس ان كان ما تفعلون فلا تتبعوا ولا<sup>1</sup> تتكلم شيئًا من هذا فخرجنا من عندهم

ثم حضرنا جميعًا بعد هذا الى عند عبد الملك وكان قد كتب ذلك اليوم كتابا الى مصر واعمالها يامر ان يجمع اليه الكتّاب والاراحنة من كل بلد واحضرهم<sup>2</sup> وكان القسما مشحونًا بالناس حفلًا حتى لم يكن احد يسمع شيئًا من كثرة الاصوات فدخلنا نحن اياهم وحولنا خلق كثير فلما جلسنا انفرد قسطنطين الاسقف عنهم وجلس مع اساقفتنا وسألهم يقبلوه ويشركوه معهم ويعطوه كرسيًا وكانت الجموع واهل البلاد حولنا متطلّعين لمعرفة يستقرّ وينظرون اساقفة الارثوذكسيين والخلقدونيين فوثبوا قوم من الصعيديين على قسطنطين لما علموا انه خلقدوني ليطردوه حتى رموا الاساقفة الارثوذكسيون شيئًا من لباسهم واخاطبوا

1. ABDG om. — 2. DF فحضرهم.

and informed him of this their decision; and he rejoiced, and his soul was satisfied. And Anastasius said : « You will surely make me also bishop if some see ». But the priest Menmas answered : « Knowest thou not that no man who seeks another degree for himself is fit to be a bishop? But the people of Misr will assist thee in this matter ». So Anastasius said to him : « If you do not consent, then be not troubled nor speak at all of this matter ». Then we went out from their presence.

After this we all visited Abd al-Malik, who had written a letter at that time to all the provinces of Egypt, commanding that the scribes and officials from every town should assemble before him; and when he admitted them, the palace was crowded with people in such numbers that none could hear anything through the multitude of voices. So we too entered, surrounded by many people. Then, when we had taken our seats, the bishop Constantine separated himself from the Melkites and sat with our bishops, begging them to receive him as one of themselves, and give him a see; and the assembled multitude and the people of the country around us were observing us, wishing to know what would be settled, and looking at the bishops, both orthodox and Chalcedonian. But after a while some of the people from Upper Egypt rushed upon Constantine, when they learnt that he was a Chalcedonian, that they might drive him away, until the ortho-

معهم والا كادوا الصعيديون يقتلونه ثم<sup>١</sup> صرخوا الصعيديون قائلين ابعدوا الذئاب من وسط  
 الخراف اهربوا من السباع الضارية المفترة<sup>٢</sup> للنفوس اطرذوا الثعالب الذين يهلكون كرم<sup>٣</sup> P. 137  
 رب<sup>٤</sup> صباؤوت ابعدوا يودس من وسط التلاميذ تلاميذ المسيح لا تجعلوا ثيابكم تخلط  
 بهؤلاء الانجاس يا عبيد المسيح فعند ذلك اختفى قسما الى ان زال غضبهم ثم بعد سؤال  
 عظيم من ابائنا اقبلوا<sup>٥</sup> يتهدؤون قليلا فلما عرفوهم انه سأل ان يجعلود تاودسيوسيا فرحوا  
 وصرخوا في وسط القصر ان قسطنطين اعترف بالامانة المستقيمة امانة ابائنا الارثوذكسين ثم  
 حضر للموقت الارخن متولّي الاسكندرية ابراهيم الساحكى لانه كان جالسا في ناحية من  
 القصر ومعه جماعة من الهرطقة والشماس<sup>٦</sup> سرجيوس ولد البطرك ومعه اثنان من معلمى  
 الهرطقة فجروا وارادوا الهرب وان رجلا من اهل دمياط كان شريرا جدا فخطبته انا  
 الخاطي بكلمة سمعتها فوثب في وسط الجماعة ووقف وشتنى وجتدف على الشالوث

وفيما هم كذلك واذا واحد خلدوني تكلم كلمة تجديد<sup>٧</sup> add. كل من في القصر في  
 الرب A. 2. — فانشق ثوبه على ثلثة قطع وكل الحاضرين يشاهدوه وقالوا كل الجلس  
 ر. 4. Mss. om. — قبل ان اعدوا. 3. Mss. — الرب الصابوروت BDEG عبادوت

dox bishops cast some of their garments over him, and surrounded him among themselves; for otherwise the people of Upper Egypt might have killed him. Then the latter cried and said : « Remove the wolves from the midst of the sheep! Flee from the ravenous lions that devour souls! Drive away the foxes that destroy the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth! Remove Judas from among the disciples of Christ! Let not your garments touch these unclean ones, O servants of Christ! »

Meanwhile Cosmas hid himself until their anger had abated; and then, after much questioning of our fathers, the people began to be a little pacified. Moreover when our bishops made it known to the people that Constantine had prayed them to receive him among the Theodosians, they rejoiced and cried in the midst of the palace : « Constantine has confessed the right faith, the faith of our orthodox fathers ». Then suddenly Ibrahim al-Mâhiki, the official who was governor of Alexandria, appeared, for he had been sitting in an apartment of the palace, and with him a band of heretics, including the deacon Sergius, the patriarch's son, and two of the teachers of the heretics. So the people ran back and wished to flee. But there was a man of Damietta who had been exceedingly wicked, and for that reason I, the sinner, admonished him with a word that I had heard; and he leapt into the midst of the assembly, and stood and reviled me, and blasphemed the Holy Trinity. Then I and all those present saw his garment rent from



المقدس فحينئذ شاهدته وكل الحاضرين قد انشفت الثوب الذي عليه من فوق الى اسفل على ثلاث قطع فصرخ كل من في القصر المسلمون والنصارى لا امانة الا امانة الاب ابنا ميخائيل وكان<sup>1</sup> صراخ عظيم في القصر وسعوا الناس لينظروا<sup>2</sup> ما قد كان حتى ان النصارى والعسكريّة من كثرة زحامهم نالهم جراح وقتال فامر عبد الملك باخراج كل من في القصر وبالغداة امر القاضي ان يفصل النوبة وقال انجز حالهم ودعمهم ان<sup>3</sup> يمضوا فيجلس القاضي واصحاب الدواوين الكتّاب ووجود المملكة فلما جلسوا قالوا للبطررك ابنا ميخائيل تحلف ان هذه البيعة لك ولا بائك ملك فقال لهم البطررك شرعى يامرني ان لا احلف صادقا ولا كاذبا لكنني اكتب مسطورا واظهر الحق لك فيه فقال القاضي للمهراتقي قسما تحلف انت ان هذه البيعة لك واسلمها اليك فقال نعم انا احلف فحرك القاضي رأسه كالمستهزئ به وقال له اين لك شاهد بها بانها لك اذا حلفت ثم قال لاينا ابنا ميخائيل لك شاهد بان هذه

فامر الملك باخراج جميعهم ونفذ الحكم بينهم add. للبطررك ابنا ميخائيل 1. E om. — 2. Mss. ينظروا. — 3. Mss. om. فقال القاضي لابنا خيال

the top to the bottom in three pieces, and everyone in the palace cried, both Muslims and Christians : « There is no faith except the faith of the father, Abba Michael ». And there was a great shouting in the palace, and men rushed to see what had taken place, so that some of the people and the soldiers were injured or killed through the great press. Then Abd al-Malik commanded that all should be sent out of the palace.

And on the morrow he commanded the judge to decide the matter in question, saying : « Settle their affair, and let them depart. » Accordingly the judge sat down with the members of the Divans, namely the scribes and the chief personages of the government. When they had taken their seats, they said to the patriarch, Abba Michael : « Wilt thou swear that this church rightfully belongs to thee and thy fathers? » The patriarch answered : « Our Law commands me not to swear, whether truly or falsely ; but I will write a report, and declare the truth to thee therein ». Then the judge said to the heretic Cosmas : « Wilt thou swear that this church is thine, that I may give it over to thee? » So he replied : « Yea, I will swear ». Then the judge shook his head, as if mocking him, and said to him : « Where hast thou a witness to this statement that it belongs to thee, even if thou shalt swear to it? » Then he said to our father, Abba Michael : « Hast thou anyone to offer testimony that this church belonged to thy fathers? » He replied : « Yea, I have one who will be my witness of that fact, from the day that it was built until now ». The judge asked :

البيعة لابائك فقال نعم لى من يشهد لى بذلك من<sup>1</sup> يوم عمرت الى الآن فقال له  
كم<sup>2</sup> لها يوما منذ بنيت فقال ثلثمائة وخمسون سنة فقال له القاضى والشهود يعيشون الى  
اليوم من ذلك الزمان وانت تخاطبني بامثال عرَفنى الحق فاجاب وقال ان ابى تاوفيلس  
وطيماتاوس الذى بعده الذين بنوها وهم الذين يشهدون لى ان تاوفيلس الذى اسسها ورثب  
اسطواناتها وهذا اسمه مكتوبا عليها وتيسح وطيماتاوس اكسماها واسمه مكتوب عليها هؤلاء  
شهودى الى اليوم \* فارسل القاضى ثقاته ومعهم الكتاب والتراجمة وقرروا المكتوب عليها P. 158  
فوجدوه على ما ذكر ابا ميخائيل واستقضى القاضى صحة الخبر جيدا وكرر السؤال فيه  
فوجدوه صحيحا فلما وقف على صحة قوله وتحقق ذلك سلم البيعة لنا واطلقونا مبجلين  
مكرمين فسلمنا بيعتنا

وكان ابونا يوحنا البطارك بانطاكية الذى كان استقفا بينه وبين اساقفته مشاجرة عدة  
ايام ولم يستطع الصلح وكتب الى الملك كتباً وكتب سنوديقا ما وجد سبيلاً لانفاذها

ومذ كم لها من يوم ABDEG — 1. DE om. with foll. wd. add. مئذ. — 2. ABDEG يومكم لها منذ عمرت F. بنيت وقت D حين BEG

« How many days is it since it was built? » Abba Michael answered :  
« Three hundred and fifty years » So the judge said to him : « And do  
the witnesses live to this day from that time? Thou speakest to me in  
parables. Make the truth known to me ». Then the patriarch answered  
and said : « Verily my father Theophilus and his successor Timothy were  
the builders of this church, and it is they also who testify to me that  
Theophilus founded it and set up its rows of pillars, for there is his name  
written upon them; and, when he died, Timothy erected the remainder, since  
there is his name inscribed. These are my witnesses who testify to this  
day ». Thereupon the judge sent his confidential friends, accompanied by  
the secretaries and the interpreters, and they ascertained what was written  
upon the pillars, and found that it was as Abba Michael had declared. And  
the judge enquired carefully into the truth of the matter, and reiterated his  
questions concerning it, and discovered that the patriarch's account was  
correct. So, when he had tested the truth of his words and proved it, he  
delivered the church to us, and dismissed us with congratulations and  
honour. Thus we recovered our church once more.

Now our father John, patriarch of Antioch, who had been a bishop,  
had a dispute during many days with his bishops, and could not make peace  
with them; therefore he wrote letters to the prince. And he had written a  
synodical epistle, but had not been able to find means of sending it to Egypt



الا في ذلك الوقت فلما وصلوا وتسلم الاب ابنا ميخائيل من الرسل السنوديقا والكتب  
فقرأها وحزن جداً لاجل الخلف الذي بينه وبين اساقفته لانهم قالوا انه اسقف وليس  
هو بطرك وانهم لم يقدرُوا ان<sup>1</sup> يخاطبوه في ايام هشام بالبطرك ثم ان ابنا ميخائيل احضر  
جميع اكابر اساقفته بكورة مصر وقرئ عليهم الكتب فقالوا نحن ما نكتب الى هناك  
كتاباً ولا تنفذه لان هذا امر فيه صعوبة ان ارادوا ان<sup>2</sup> يخرجوه قال لهم السلطان لا لائمه  
اسقف وان كتبنا اليهم ان لا يخرجوه انقسمت الاساقفة كما قد كتبوا بل اجعل يا ابانا  
الامر باقياً على ما هو عليه ففعل ذلك

وانا<sup>3</sup> اريد الآن ان<sup>4</sup> اذكر يسيراً من كثير ممّا فعله الرب على يد الاسقف ابنا مويسيس  
وما اعطاه الرب من النبوة والشفاء من الامراض فآمنوا بقولي بقلب طاهر كنّا نحن<sup>5</sup>  
سائرين الى الاسكندرية ليقبل الكرسي المرقسي الانجيلي الاب ابنا ميخائيل وينزل  
الجمع المقدس ولما مشينا في مدينة وسيم المحبة للمسيح كان في البيعة انسان مفلوج

واما الافعال الذي فعلها add. مثل التلاميذ 1. Mss. om. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. E om. to  
ابنا مريسيس الاسقف بقوة الرب من كلام النبوة وشفاء الامراض ونقا البرص واخراج الشياطين  
ونحن. 4. Mss. om. — 5. Mss. نحن. مثل التلاميذ يعجز لسانى عن ذكر اليسير منها

till this time. So when the messengers arrived, and the Father Abba Michael had received the synodical and other letters from them, he read them, and was greatly distressed by the disagreement between the patriarch and his bishops. For they said that he was a mere bishop and no patriarch, and that they had not been able to give him the title of patriarch in the days of Hisham. Then Abba Michael summoned all the seniors among his bishops in the land of Egypt, and the letters were read to them. Thereupon they said : « We will not write a letter nor despatch it thither, for this is a difficult matter. If they desire to expel their patriarch, the prince will say to them : Nay, for he is a bishop. But if we write and advise them not to depose him, the bishops will be divided, as they have said in their letters. Rather leave the matter, Father, remaining as it was ». And accordingly he did so.

Now I desire to record a little out of much that the Lord did by the hand of the bishop Abba Moses, and concerning the gift of prophecy and of the healing of diseases which he received from the Lord. Therefore believe my words with a pure heart !

We were travelling to Alexandria in order that the Father Abba Michael might take possession of the evangelical throne of Mark, and the holy synod disembarked on the way. When we walked through the Christ-loving



اليدى والرجلين مولود كذلك كان عمره خمس عشرة سنة فظهر له الشهيد مارى جرجس وقال له ما يكون شفاؤك الا على يد الاسقف ابنا مويسيس فمسك ثياب ابى وكان الجمع حوله يسبقونه فصرخ وقال صلب يا ابى القديس على اعضائى المسفلوجة فصلب على يديه ورجليه وسرنا فلما عدنا بمشيئة الله خرج فى لقائنا يمشى ويقتفر مع اهل المدينة ويحدث بما كان فيه ويسجد الله ويشكر عبده الصالح الاسقف ونقضى البرص واخرج الشياطين وفعل افعالا عظيمة مثل التلاميذ

وكان فى تلك الايام قلق عظيم بالمشرق من اجل الاساقفة وجاءت حشود كثير على مروان والتقوا وسفكت دماء كثير بينهم ثم ان عبد الملك جمع بسحر مقدمى جيشه واعتقلهم سبعة ايام واعتقل ايضا كتاب الدولة ومقدمى البلاد والمواريث وطلب منهم رفع الحساب والقيام بما عليهم ثم احضر الاب ابنا ميخائيل الى مصر لاجل خراج بيعه فلما وصلنا اليه طلب منا<sup>1</sup> ما لا نقدر عليه \* فامر ان نعتقل وان ترمى فى رجل

\* P. 159

1. عند ما لا يقدر عليه وامر باعتقاله.

city of Wasîm, there was in the church a youth, who had been paralysed in his hands and feet from birth. He was now fifteen years old, and the martyr Saint George had appeared to him, and said : « Thou shalt not be healed except by the hand of the bishop, Abba Moses ». So this youth came, and would have touched my father's garment; but the multitude around him prevented him. Therefore he cried, saying : « Make the sign of the cross, my Father, over my paralysed limbs ». Then the bishop made the sign of the cross over his hands and feet, and we went on our way. But when we returned according to the will of God, that youth came out to meet us, walking and leaping with the people of the city, and recounting what had happened to him, and glorifying God, and thanking his good servant, the bishop. And this bishop also cleansed the lepers, and cast out devils, and did mighty works, like the Disciples.

Now there was in those days great trouble in the East on account of the bishops. Moreover at that time great hosts came against Marwân, and they met in battle; and much blood was shed among them. Then Abd al-Malik assembled the officers of his army at Miṣr, and imprisoned them for seven days, and also confined the secretaries of state, and the chiefs of the towns and superintendents of inherited property, and required them to send in their accounts, and to pay what they owed. Then he summoned the Father, Abba Michael, to Miṣr, in order that he might pay the taxes on his churches. But when we came before Abd al-Malik, he demanded of us

البطرك خشبة عظيمة وطوق حديد ثقيل في رقبته ولم يكن معه احد الا ابنا مويسيس اسقف وسيم وابنا تادرس اسقف مصر وابنا<sup>1</sup> ايلياس بولس ولد ابنا مويسيس بالروح وجعلونا في خزانة مظلمة لا<sup>2</sup> تنظر منها الشمس<sup>3</sup> وليس فيها طاق لانها كانت تفت<sup>4</sup> في حجر وكان ابونا البطرك تحت ضيق عظيم من التكبير<sup>5</sup> بالحديد من الحادي عشر من توت الى ثاني عشر بابة لم ينظر في هذد السنة شمساً وكان في الاعتقال معه ثلاثمائة رجل ونساء ايضاً معتقلات<sup>6</sup> في ضيق اكثر<sup>7</sup> من الرجال والحزن والبكاء والضيق العظيم عند اقتضاء النهار ويغلق المتولى للسجن علينا ويمضي ولا يعود الى سابع ساعة من النهار وكانوا المرضى والاعلاء يجيئون الى الاب البطرك الى السجن حتى يبارك عليهم فسروا<sup>8</sup> ومن<sup>9</sup> النصارى والمسلمين حتى البربر كانوا يجيئون اليه ويعترفون له بذنوبهم التي فعلوها وكذلك المسجونون منهم من يقول ان له في السجن ثلاث سنين ومنهم قوم لهم اربع<sup>10</sup>

1. DF om. with foll. wd. E om. to جعلونا add. وبعض تلاميذهم وجعلوهم. — 2. E om. to حجر. — 3. ABG شمس. — 4. Mss. نقر. — 5. E ثقل الحديد. — 6. Mss. معتقلين. — 7. E om. to من النهار add. شديد. — 8. F فيسيروا. — 9. Mss. om. و. — 10. ABDFG اربعين سنة.

what we could not pay, and therefore he commanded that we should be put in prison, and that a great block of wood should be fastened to the patriarch's foot, and a heavy iron collar to his neck. And there was nobody with him except Abba Moses, bishop of Wasîm, and Abba Theodore, bishop of Miṣr, and Abba Elias Paul, son of Abba Moses in the Spirit. Then they put us into a dark chamber, where we could not see the sun, and which had no window, for it was hewn in the rock. And our father, the patriarch, was greatly tormented through being thus loaded with iron, from the 11th of Tut to the 12th of Babah, seeing no sunlight all that time. While he was in the prison, there were besides him three hundred men; and there were women also imprisoned, in greater straits than the men; and there was sadness and weeping, and much distress at the end of the day, when the governor of the prison shut the door upon us, and went away; and he did not return till the seventh hour of the day. The sick used to come to the patriarch in prison, that he might bless them, and then they rejoiced; and Christians and Muslims, and even Berbers, came to him, and confessed their sins which they had committed; and so did the prisoners, some of whom said that they had been in prison three years, and others four. And he consoled them and exhorted them to patience, saying to them : « If you vow to God that you will not return to your former deeds, God will





ليس لهم خطيئة الى الفردوس موضع<sup>1</sup> الرحمة ثم سأله وقلت لما ذا اخرج الله الشيطان من السماء من قبل ان يخلق العالم ولا الناس فاجابني وقال يا ولدي ومن انا البائس الحقير عند هذا القول حتى تسألني عنه فاكثرت عليه اللجاج والطلبية في السؤال فقال لي قال القديس \* اغريغوريوس الثالوغوس ان الشيطان كان منذ اول ما خلقه الله يسعي باصحابه الملائكة الى الله وكان الله يمهله ويصبر عليه فلما خلق الله سماء جديدة وارض جديدة وخلق الانسان بصورته ومثاله وقد سبق في علم الله ان الشيطان محب للكبريا فامر ان ينظر الى آدم وحسن منظره فاخذ معه العسكر الذي قد جعله مقدماً عليه ومضى الى حيث آدم فلما نظره تعجب منه وقال لاصحابه اريد ان انصب لي كرسيًا على السحب وتكون الجبال العالية تحتي واكون مثل العلي فيكون العالم كله في قبضتي واملك عليه ثم انه صعد الى السماء فقال الله له اعجبك ما رأيت ورضيت بالعالم المخلوق لعلمه بضميره ثم قال له قد جعلتك رئيساً عليه وقال له هذا لئلا يسقط من المجد الذي

فقال له التلميذ add. ثم اني قلت له ايضا 1. E om.

Satan by their vain devices, and that Hell is full and Paradise empty; and so he takes the infants who are without sin to Paradise, the place of mercy. » Then I asked him : « Why did God expel Satan from Heaven before he created the world or men? » He answered me : « O my son, who am I, the vile sinner, to deal with this problem, that thou shouldst question me about it? » But as I persisted all the more in questioning him on this subject, he said to me : « The holy Gregory Theologus says that Satan was, from the time when he was first created, in the habit of slandering his companions the angels before God; but God granted him a term of trial and was patient with him. Then when God created a new heaven and a new earth, and formed man in his own image and likeness<sup>1</sup>, since it lay in God's foreknowledge that Satan loved pride, he bade him behold Adam and the beauty of his countenance. So Satan took with him the host over which God had made him leader, and went to the place where Adam was; and, when he saw it he was filled with admiration of it. And he said to his followers : I desire to set up for myself a throne upon the clouds, and the high mountains shall be beneath me, and I will be like the Most High; and the whole world shall be under my power, and I will rule over it. Then when he ascended again to heaven, God said to him : Admirest thou what thou hast seen, and art thou pleased with the world that has been created? For he knew his secret thoughts. Then God said to Satan : I have made

1. Gen., 1, 26.

كان فيه وكان هو يحفظ الشرّ وفكره فيه السوء ثم انه بعد ذلك تأمل فقال انا اريد ان اعرف كيف اللاهوت لكى اذا نزلت افعل ذلك ولا تبقى لى حاجة عند الله بعد هذا وهذا ما كان يهتم به واراد ان ينظر اللاهوت فدخل فى وسط الملائكة بسرعة فامر الله ربوة من قوّات الملائكة السماوية ان تحطه الى الجحيم الاسفل فى الظلمة البرانية هو وكل من معه هذا اظهره الله لاغريغوريس الشاولوغس وهو الذى وضع لنا ذلك والمجد لله الى ابد الابد امين ثم انى قلت له ايضا الله يصبر على هؤلاء الملوك الكفرة الذين يفعلون بنا هذه الفعال فى كل وقت ولا يطلقونا من هذا الرباط فقال لى تصبر يا ولدى وتقمّ اذا خرجنا من هاهنا وخلصنا فسنقع فيما هو اعظم من هذا فتصبر الآن فليس يأخذ احد اجره بغير تعب ومن يصبر الى المنتهى يخلص والذى يكون بعد هذا ستظره فليس فى هذين الملكين شىء من الخير فلما تمت سبعة عشر يوماً من الشهر المذكور انفاً ونحن فى ذلك الضيق فامر الملك باحضاره

thee lord over the world. And God said this to Satan in order that he might not fall from the glory in which he was. But Satan kept evil in his heart, and in his thoughts there was wickedness; and after that he considered and said : I desire to know the nature of the Godhead, so that when I go down to the world I may act accordingly, and may no longer have need of God. For this was the design that Satan had conceived. And, wishing to behold the Godhead, he entered into the midst of the Angels suddenly; but God commanded ten thousand of the heavenly angelic Powers to cast him down to the lowest Hell in outer darkness, him and all his companions. This is what God revealed to Gregory Theologus, who wrote it down for us. Glory be to God for ever and ever. Amen ».

Then I questioned the patriarch again, saying : « Will God have patience with these unbelieving rulers who commit these crimes against us at all times, and will not release us from these bonds? » He answered : « Be patient, my son, and be of good cheer. When we go forth from this place, we shall fall into worse misfortunes than this. Therefore be patient now, for none shall receive his reward without suffering; but he who endures to the end shall be saved. And thou wilt see what shall take place hereafter, for in these two rulers there is no good ».

Then when seventeen days of the before mentioned month were over, while we were still in this distress, the governor commanded that he should be brought before him. So we came into his presence, and he demanded the money of the patriarch, saying to him : « None of thy



فحضرنا<sup>1</sup> وطالبه بالمال وقال له بيعك كلها بغير خراج وانا مطالبك عنها بما يجب عليها وضيّق عليه فقال له اذا كان هكذا ائذن لى ان امضى الى الصعيد مهما دفع لى النصارى وساعدونى به احضرته لك فاطلقه وخرجنا من عنده وسرنا الى الصعيد فلدحنا برد عظيم الثلج فى الليل والحرّ فى النهار من الشمس وكانت كورة مصر هلكوا اهلها من الظلم والخسائر والخراج وتعب الاب انا ميخائيل فى طريقنا وشقى انه اشفى مرضى واعلاء كثيراً بصليبه فقط واخرج الارواح النجسة من الناس واعاد ح كثيراً كانوا حادوا عن الامانة الارثوذكسيّة واعانه الله وعدنا الى مصر ليلة الاحد<sup>2</sup> والعشرين من طوبة ليلة<sup>3</sup> نياحة السيدة العذراء مريم<sup>4</sup> وفى تلك الليلة حدث غدا عظيم من الله وكانت زلزلة عظيمة على الكورة وانهدمت دور كثير فى كل المدن يخلص منها احد ولا نفس واحدة وكذلك فى البحور غرقت مراكب كثيرة تلك ا

فلما حضروا قدومه طالبهم بالمال وقال له بيعت كلها بغير add. من الناس E om. to  
خارج فقال له الاب دعنى اتوجه الى الصعيد ومهما دفعوه لى النصارة من الصدقات احده  
اليك فاطلقهم وساروا الى الصعيد وقاسوا اتعاب كثيرة وكانت كورة مصر قد هلكوا اهلها  
— 2. E om. to. مرتمريم —. الظلم واما الاب انبا خيال اشفا مرضى كثير واخرج شيا  
DF عبيد.

arches pays taxes, and I require of thee that which is rightfully due from  
m. » And he pressed him sorely. Then the patriarch answered : « If it  
so, permit me to depart to Upper Egypt; and whatever the Christians  
give me and supply me with I will bring to thee. » Then the gover-  
released him, and we quitted his presence, and journeyed to Upper  
Egypt. At that time we suffered greatly from the cold; for there was snow  
night, and heat in the day-time from the sun. And the people of Egypt  
perished through oppression and poverty and taxation. And the father,  
Abba Michael, was fatigued during our journey, and suffered much. While  
travelled, he healed many that were sick, merely by making the sign  
the Cross; and he cast out unclean spirits from among the people, and  
converted many who had gone astray from the orthodox faith, for God  
blessed him. Then we returned to Misr on the night of the 21st of Tubah,  
the night on which our Lady, the Virgin Mary, went to her rest. And that  
night there came great wrath from God, for there was a great earthquake  
the land, and many houses were ruined in all the cities; and none was  
saved from them, not a single soul; and likewise on the sea many ships were  
broken on that night. This happened all over the East, from the city of Gaza  
to the furthest extremity of Persia. And they counted the cities that were



في جميع بلاد الشرق من مدينة غزّة الى آخر اعمال الفرس واحصوا المدن التي  
انهدمت تلك الليلة فكانت ستمائة مدينة وقرية ومات من الناس والبهائم ما لا يحصى  
عدده وكانت كورة مصر واعمالها سالمة سوى دمياط فقط ولم يكن بمصر الا خوف  
عظيم بغير موت ولا هدم وكانت الاخشاب التي في الابواب والحيطان تبرز من مواضعها  
تخرج وتعود بعد ساعتين وشهد لنا من نأمن اليه والى قوله انه لم يهلك من بيع  
الارثدكسين ولا مساكنهم في المشرق شيء بالجملة وكان الابا ميخائيل قد تقدم الى  
جميع سكان مصر ونواحيها بمداومة الصوم والصلاة فلما نظر ذلك الكافر عبد الملك  
ما جرى من غضب الله اخذ الذي تصدّق<sup>1</sup> به النصارى على البطررك منه واطلقه  
وقد<sup>2</sup> تركت كثيرا لم اكتبه لئلا تطول السيرة ويسل القارئ ولكن قد اضطررت الامر  
ان اذكر شيئا يسيرا لا تجب الغفلة عنه وذلك انه كان في<sup>3</sup> دوتقلا بلد من بلاد النوبة ملك  
اسمه مرقوريس وكان<sup>4</sup> يدعى قسطنطين الجديد لانه صار بافعاله الجميلة كاحد<sup>5</sup> التلاميذ

1. ABDEG صدق. — 2. E om. to بلاد add. بلاد كان الزمان. — 3. A  
F ملك في النوبة D في بلاد ملك النوبة في فوقلسا BG في ملك بلاد النوبة في فوقلسا  
كاحدى. — 4. E om. to التلاميذ add. افعاله جيدة. — 5. Mss.

wrecked that night, and they were six hundred cities and villages, with a vast destruction of men and beasts. But the land of Egypt was uninjured, except only Damietta. And at Misr there was only great fear, without any death or ruin of houses; for though the beams in the doorways and walls were moved out of their places, they went back again to their places after two hours. We were assured by one whose word we trust that none of the churches of the orthodox nor of their dwellings was destroyed throughout the East. But the father, Abba Michael, bade all the inhabitants of Misr and the neighbourhood prolong their fasting and prayers. So when the misbeliever, Abd al-Malik, saw what had taken place through the wrath of God, he accepted the alms given by the Christians to the patriarch, and released him.

Now I have omitted much without writing it down, that the history might not become too long and weary the reader, but I am constrained to record briefly a matter which must not be passed over. That is that there was at Dongola, a city of the Nubians, a king named Mercurius, who was called the New Constantine, for he became by his beautiful conduct like one of the Disciples; and the Lord gave him a son whom he named Zacharias. When king Mercurius died, Zacharias did not choose to become

ووهب له الرب ولدا سماه زخرياء فلما مات مرقوريوس الملك لم ييختر زخرياء  
يكون ملكا بل كان مشغولا بكلام الله وخلاص نفسه فرفض المملكة ويقدم<sup>1</sup> على  
المملكة قريبا له اسمه سيمون وكان ارتدكسيا فسلط طريق مرقوريوس الجيدة وم  
سيمون فعمد زخرياء الى شاب شجاع من القصر اسمه ابراهيم جعله ملكا وكان متكبرا  
شريرا وكان اسقف مدينة الملك يردعه ويعلمه فلا يلتفت اليه ولاجل ذلك وقع بين  
الملك والاسقف خصومة فكتب كتابا الى الاب البطرك ابنا ميخائيل يقول فيه ويقس  
انك اذا لم تقطع كيرياقوس والا جعلت كورتي كلها تعبد الاوثان لانه كتب عنه قو  
محالا وشهادات زور فلما وقف البطرك على ذلك كتب له كتب سلامة فلم يرش لك  
رجع كتب<sup>2</sup> كتبا<sup>3</sup> اخرى اشر من الاول بشهود زور وانفذها الى الاسكندرية م  
كيرياقوس الاسقف القديس فجمع الاب الاساقفة وعمل سنودس بمدينة الاسكندرية فل  
اجتمعوا اخرج الكتب وقرئت فعلموا ان كلما فيها محال ثم انهم قالوا كلمة لاجل مل  
الكورة لئلا يكون فساد من الشيطان هناك فسألوا الاسقف كيرياقوس ان يجلس

1. DF. — 2. D add. — 3. F om.

ing, but occupied himself with the word of God and the salvation of his  
ul, and gave up his rank as king, and appointed to the kingly office a  
nsmen of his named Simon, who was orthodox, and walked in the excel-  
at path of Mercurius. When Simon died, Zacharias adopted a valiant  
uth attached to the palace, named Abraham, and made him king; but he  
as proud and wicked. And the bishop of the capital city used to warn  
in and instruct him, but he paid no heed to him, and therefore a dispute  
ok place between the king and the bishop. So the king wrote a letter  
the father patriarch, Abba Michael, in which he said with an oath : « If  
ou do not excommunicate Cyriacus, I will make all my country worship  
ols ». For he had written concerning that bishop absurd calunnies and  
se testimonies. But when the patriarch had read this letter, he wrote  
ters of peace to the king. Yet the king was not satisfied, but wrote other  
ters worse than the first, full of false testimonies, and despatched them to  
exandria by Cyriacus, the holy bishop. So the father assembled the bi-  
ops, and formed a synod in the city of Alexandria. And when they had met  
gether, he produced the letters, which were read aloud; but the bishops  
cognised that their allegations were absurd. Then indeed they spoke a  
ord concerning the king of that country, fearing lest Satan should bring  
rruption upon it; and therefore they prayed the bishop Cyriacus to reside

أحد<sup>1</sup> ديارات الاسكندرية<sup>2</sup> الى ان يزول غضب الملك فلم يجب الى ذلك فلما رأوه<sup>3</sup> P. 162  
لا يسمع منهم قالوا امض الى حيث تريد لتقيم هناك ولم يطلقوا له القداس في كنائس  
مصر واقسموا الذي انقذه لهم الملك وكان اسمه يوانس<sup>2</sup> وقالوا لكيرياقوس ان كان هذا  
الامر ليس هو من الله فسوف تنظر ما يكون وتعود الى كرسيك دفعة اخرى لاننا لم  
نبعدك عن كرسيك بحرم لكن لاجل شر الملك وما اعتمده فلما نهضوا كل منهم الى  
موضعه ظهرت اعجوبة عظيمة كان لوح عظيم فوق كرسي البطريرك ابنا ميخائيل وفيه صورة  
يوحنا فم الذهب فبعد ازالتهم الاسقف عن كرسيه انقطعت الحبال من الصورة ونزلت  
في وسط الاساقفة ولم تزال تتحرك وتقفز حتى خرجت من وسطهم فمضوا واخذوها  
واعادوها الى مكانها الاول ولم تزال هكذا ثلث دفعات وكلما علقوها نزلت هكذا حتى  
مضت الى موضع من البيعة ووقفت هناك وكان ذلك الاسقف يشبه صورة يوحنا فم  
الذهب لان خديه كانا خاليين<sup>3</sup> من الشعر حتى كانه بغير لحية وهذه من صفات يوحنا

1. AB. — 2. ABDEFG. — 3. Mss. خال.

in one of the monasteries of Alexandria, until the wrath of the king should subside; but he refused to do that. So, when they saw that he would not listen to them, they said: « Depart whithersoever thou wilt, in order to abide there. » But they would not allow him to celebrate the Liturgy in the churches of Egypt. And they ordained him whom the king had sent to them, a man named John, saying to Cyriacus: « If this matter is not from God, thou wilt see what will happen, and wilt return to thy see once more. For we have not removed thee from thy see by excommunication, but on account of the wickedness of the king, and his evil intentions ».

But when they rose up to depart, each to his own place, there appeared a great wonder. For there was a great board over the throne of the patriarch, Abba Michael, on which was a painting of John Chrysostom; and, after the bishop had been removed from his see, the cords of the picture broke, and it fell into the midst of the bishops, and continued to move and leap until it had passed beyond them. Therefore they went and took it up, and restored it to its former place. Then it did the same thing a second and a third time; for as often as they hung it up it fell again, until it reached a certain place in the church and remained there. Now that bishop resembled the picture of John Chrysostom, for his cheeks were almost free from hair, so that he seemed to have no beard, and this was one of the characteristics of John Chrysostom's face. And the bishop Cyriacus was an old man, eighty



فم الذهب انه كان كذلك وكان الاسقف شيخا ابن ثمانين سنة في ذلك اليوم وكمنظره مثل ملاك الله ثم انصرفوا الاساقفة الى كورهم ومضى كرياقوس الى دير مديارات بلاد النوبة ويوانس<sup>1</sup> الاسقف الجديد مضى الى مدينة المملكة وشهد لنا ثقات المطر لم ينزل على تلك الكورة مدة ما كان بقى من حياة كرياقوس الاسقف وفي كسنة ياتى عليهم وباء والذين شهدوا عليه بالزور عميت عيونهم سريعا وكمل له من العمر مائة واربع سنين ثم سأل الله ان ينقله من الجسد فلما تيسح مضوا اهل كورته الى قبره وسألوه بدموع غزيرة بان يسأل الله ان ينزل عليهم المطر فكان ذلك حتى اخضب كورتهم وارتفع الوباء عنهم فلما نظر زخرياء الملك الى هذه الامور نقاه<sup>2</sup> ابراهيم الملك الى جزيرة في وسط البحر واقام ملكا اسمه مرقس عوضا منه لان زخرياء كان قد صار ابل الملوكة الى الآن ثم ان اصحاب مرقس مضوا سرا بمكر ليقتلوا<sup>3</sup> ابراهيم في النفي فلما علموا اصدقاء ابراهيم الملك بذلك مكروا بمرقس الملك وهو يصلى قدام الهيكل البيعة فقتلوه في سادس شهر من مملكته ثم اقاموا ملكا اسمه قرياقوس صديقا خيرا

1. ABDEG ويرنس. — 2. ABEG انفى. — 3. Mss. اب. — 4. ABEG يقتلوا.

years of age on that day; and his appearance was like that of an angel of God. Then the bishops dispersed to their own districts; and Cyriacus departed to one of the monasteries of Nubia, while John, the new bishop, went to the capital city. Now trustworthy persons have testified to me that no rain fell upon that city during the remainder of the life of Cyriacus, the bishop, and that every year the people were visited by a pestilence, and that those who bore false witness against him were suddenly struck blind. And he lived to be one hundred and four years old. Then he prayed God to remove him from the body; and, when he was dead, the people of his country visited his tomb, and prayed him with many tears to beseech God to send down rain upon them; and this took place so that their country was fertilized, and the pestilence ceased from them.

So when king Zacharias saw these things, he banished king Abraham to an island in the midst of the river, and appointed a king named Mark instead of him; for Zacharias had been father of the kings up to this time. Then the friends of Mark went secretly with guile, to slay Abraham in his place of exile. But, when the partisans of king Abraham learnt this, they conspired against king Mark; and, while he was praying in the church before the sanctuary, they slew him, in the sixth month of his reign. Then they set up a king named Cyriacus, an honest and virtuous man, who has remained king to the day on which I write this history.

وكان<sup>1</sup> باقيا الى يوم وضع هذه السيرة وكان<sup>2</sup> هذا الملك قد كوتب وقت كون الاب ابنا ميخائيل في الحبس ونحن معه ووصلت الكتب اليه وسمع عبد الملك فاخذه واعتقله ثم سار الملك من بلاد<sup>3</sup> النوبة يريد ديار مصر في عسكر عظيم فيه مائة الف فارس بمائة الف فرس ومائة الف جمل ولقد شاهد من اخبرنا بعينه ان الخيل التي تحتهم كانت تقاتل بايديها وارجلها في الحرب كما يقاتل فرسانها فوقها وكانوا خيلا قصارا مثل الحمير<sup>4</sup> فلما قربوا الى مصر ليسبوها ونزلوا في البركة المعروفة الى اليوم ببركة الحبش نهبوا وقتلوا وسبوا المسلمين وقد كانوا فعلوا ذلك بمسلمي الصعيد وكان الملك قبل وصوله الى مصر قد سير رسولا اسمه<sup>5</sup> الابرخس من كبراء المملكة الى عبد الملك يأمره ان يطلق البطرك فاخذه عبد الملك واعتقله مع البطرك فلما علم بمجيء الملك ووصوله الى مصر ولم تكن له قدرة على محاربته وخاف منه جدا اطلق رسوله الابرخس<sup>5</sup> من

1. E om. to السيرة. — 2. E om. to سار الملك add. ابنا خيال. — 3. ABG بلاد. — 4. E om. to عبد الملك add. وهو في الحبس فلما علم بذلك سار. — 5. E om. الى كبراء الملك والمملك.

Now letters had been sent to this king from Egypt, and had reached him while the father, Abba Michael, was in prison with us. And Abd al-Malik heard of these communications, and therefore he seized the patriarch, and kept him in custody. Then king Cyriacus marched forth from the land of the Nubians towards Egypt with a great army, including a hundred thousand horsemen, with a hundred thousand horses and a hundred thousand camels. And we were informed by one who had witnessed it with his own eyes that the horses which the Nubians rode used to fight with their forefeet and hindfeet in battle as their riders fought upon their backs, and that they were small horses, no higher than asses. And when they approached Misr that they might capture the city, and had encamped at the Pool known to this day as the Pool of the Ethiopians, they plundered and slew and made prisoners of the Muslims. And they had already treated the Muslims of Upper Egypt in like manner. And the king before he reached Misr had sent an envoy, called the Eparch, one of the great men of the kingdom, to Abd al-Malik, bidding him release the patriarch; but Abd al-Malik seized that envoy and imprisoned him with the patriarch. But when the governor heard of the arrival of the king before Misr, not having any means of resisting him, and being greatly afraid of him, he released his envoy, the Eparch, from prison. So the latter went forth to meet the king, having, previously made an engagement with Abd al-Malik, and sworn to



السجن فخرج في لقاء الملك بعد ان قرر<sup>1</sup> معه واستحلفه انه يرتد وعساكره الى بلادهم يدعه ان<sup>2</sup> يتقدم الى حصونه ولا يحاصره وكانوا المسلمون يسرقون النوبة ويبيعهم بمصر بعسكره بعد ان نهب من المسلمين شيئا كثيرا<sup>3</sup> لانه<sup>4</sup> اعلمه الابرخس ان البطريرك فرج<sup>5</sup> عنه واحسن عبد الملك اليه وهو يأمره ان يعود ويبارك عليه وكانوا<sup>6</sup> جماعة اولاد القيس<sup>7</sup> يعبدون وثنا يسمى سلقيطا فظفر بهم ملك النوبة فنهبهم وغنمهم عسكره انفذ عبد الملك الى البطريرك بان يكتب الى ملك النوبة فكتب له كتب سلامة ودعا له وبأمره عليه وعلى من معه وعاد بغير حرب وكان ذلك في سنة مائة<sup>8</sup> وثلاثين منذ<sup>9</sup> ظهور المسلمين وكان تحت يد كرياتقوس ملك النوبة ثلاثة عشر ملكا خباطين<sup>10</sup> والملك وكان<sup>11</sup> ملك المقرّة الحبشي الارثوذكسي وهو الملك العظيم الذي نزل عليه التاج من

ويعرف انه افرج على ملك المسلمين add. E om. — 1. DF om. with foll. wd. — 2. E om. to — 3. Mss. om. — 4. Mss. add. لما. — 5. Mss. افرج. — 6. D om. to — 7. Mss. العيس. — 8. Mss. اربع وستين. — 9. F من حيث. — 10. E وكان. — 11. Mss. وكان ملك الحبشة ارثوذكسي وهو الملك الكبير add. بلادهم وهو. — ملك المقرّة الحبشي ارثوذكسي

lucce the king to return with his army to his own country, and not to let n approach his fortresses nor besiege him. Now the Muslims were in the bit of kidnapping the Nubians, and selling them as slaves in Egypt. the king, after carrying off much plunder from the Muslims, led back s army, because the Eparch informed him that the patriarch had been relea- l, and had been kindly treated by Abd al-Malik, and himself bade the abians return homewards with his blessing.

Now many of the tribe of Al-Kais worshipped an idol named Salkit, and erefore the king of the Nubians conquered them and plundered them, d his army carried off the booty which they had taken from them. Then od al-Malik sent to the patriarch, bidding him write to the king of the bians. So Abba Michael wrote letters of peace to Cyriacus, in which he ayed for him, and blessed him and his followers; and the king returned thout fighting a battle. Now these events took place in the hundred and irtieth year after the foundation of the empire of the Muslims. And there ere under the supremacy of Cyriacus, king of the Nubians, thirteen kings, ling the kingdom and the country. He was the orthodox Ethiopian king Al-Mukurrah; and he was entitled the Great King, upon whom the



وملك الى اقاصى الارض القبطية لانه هو الملك اليونانى<sup>1</sup> رابع<sup>2</sup> ملوك الارض لا تقاومه مملكة ومملك<sup>3</sup> يروح عنده فى بلاده وهو تحت سلطان مرقس الانجيلي وحكم بطرك اليعاقة بمصر<sup>4</sup> عليه وعلى ملوك الحبش والنوبة جميعهم وعنده فى<sup>5</sup> بلاده اسقف ارتدكسي قسمه<sup>6</sup> البطرك مطراناً فصار يقسم له الاساقفة والكهنة فى تلك الكورة واذا مات المطران قسم<sup>7</sup> لهم بطرك<sup>8</sup> الاسكندرية غيرد مسن يختاره ويقسمه لهم وكان عند خروجنا<sup>9</sup> من الاعتقال اجتمع الينا<sup>10</sup> من الناس خلق كثير وسألوا<sup>11</sup> الاب البطرك ان يقدس لهم ويقربهم من يدى المقدسة بالجسد والدم العظيم<sup>12</sup> ومضوا معه الى بيعة الشهيدى سرجيوس وواخس وقدس لهم ذلك اليوم وناولهم من<sup>13</sup> السرائر المقدسة واوصاهم وعلمهم وجاء رجل يطلب ان<sup>14</sup> يتناول القربان من اول ما تقربوا الاخوة وهو يسعه ويعود ولا يدفع له قرباناً ولما سرح الشعب وصرف<sup>15</sup> الناس<sup>16</sup> بسلام حضر ذلك

1. F om. — 2. F الرابع add. من. — 3. DF om. to بلاده. — 4. ABDC بمصر. — 5. E om. with 2 foll. wds. add مطران. — 6. E om. to يقسمه لهم. — 7. Mss. اقسام. — 8. D البطرك الاسكندرية. — 9. E خروج انبا خيال. — 10. E اليد. — 11. E كان معهم رجل كلما يريد. — 12. F الكريمين. — 13. E om. to الاخوة add. وسألوا. — 14. Mss om. — 15. ABC واصرف D واجلس E وانصرفوا. — 16. E om. with foll. wd.

crown descended from Heaven; and he governed as far as the southern extremities of the earth, for he is the Greek king, fourth<sup>1</sup> of the kings of the earth; and none of the other kingdoms stands up against him, but their kings attend him when he passes through their territory. And he is under the jurisdiction of Mark the Evangelist, for the patriarch of the Jacobites in Egypt exercises authority over him, and over all the kings of the Abyssinians and the Nubians; and he has in his country an orthodox bishop whom the patriarch ordains as metropolitan, and who ordains for the king the bishops and the priests in that land. And when the metropolitan dies, the patriarch of Alexandria appoints another for him, whom he chooses, and ordains him for that people.

Now when we came out of prison, many people came together to us, and prayed the father patriarch to celebrate the Liturgy for them, and to give them with his holy hand the communion of the Body and the Precious Blood. So they conducted him to the church of the two Martyrs, Sergius and Bacchus; and he celebrated the Liturgy for them that day, and communicated to them the Holy Mysteries, and gave them an exhortation and instruction.

1. Daniel. vii. 17 ff; viii. 21 ff; x, 20; xi. 2, 5 ff.

الرجل الى الاب وهو يبكي فقال له اريد ان<sup>1</sup> تعلمنى لائى سبب يا ابى منعتنى من<sup>2</sup> القربا  
فاجابه الاب الروحانى وقال له يا ولدى انا ايضا خاطئ ما منعك القربان<sup>3</sup> الا السيئ  
المسيح هو الذى منعك ان تأخذ فإظهر الآن ما قد فعلته فى وسط هذه الجساع  
اخوتك<sup>4</sup> لئلا<sup>5</sup> يفعل احد منهم مثلك فعند ذلك صرخ وقال انا اسلك يا سيدي الار  
ان كانت خطيئة قد فعلتها فاغفرها لى فما اعود اليها فقال له الاب لا بد ان تعترف به  
فقال له انا كنت افطر فى بيتى واجيء بعد افطاري الى الكنيسة اتقرب وكذلك فعلت اليوم  
فلما<sup>6</sup> سمعت بك تقرب الشعب الارثوذكسى قلت فى قلبى امضى آخذ القربان من يد  
المقدسة وكان ذلك منى محبة مستحيية والآن فقد اظهرت لك ذلك ومنعتنى وفى صعيد  
مصر قوم كثير يفعلون هذا ولا يعلمون انها خطيئة فلما سمع الاب ذلك امر<sup>7</sup> ان تكتب  
الكتب الى كل مكان بان لا يتقرب احد من المؤمنين الا<sup>8</sup> وهو صائم ولا يتقرب دفعتين

1. Mss. om. — 2. D om. — 3. F om. — 4. D om. — 5. E om. to تعترى بها. —  
6. E om. to ومنعتنى. — 7. E كتب كتب. — 8. ABG om. to يتقرب E om. to واحد add.  
وهو منظر.

And there came a man seeking to communicate, as soon as the brethren be-  
gan to make their communion; but the patriarch refused him, and, though  
he returned, would not give him the oblation. And when Abba Michael  
had dismissed the congregation, and sent the people away in peace, that  
man appeared before the father, weeping, and said : « I desire thee, Father,  
to tell me for what cause thou didst refuse me communion ». The spiritual  
father answered and said to him : « My son, I also am a sinner. None but  
the Lord Christ refused thee communion. He it was who forbade thee to  
receive it. Therefore declare now what thou hast done in the midst of this  
assembly of thy brethren, lest any of them do like thee ». Then that man  
cried aloud, saying : « I pray thee, my Lord and Father, if it was a sin  
which I committed, forgive it me, for I will not be guilty of it again ». The  
father said to him : « Thou must confess it ». So he said to him : « I have  
been accustomed to break my fast in my own house, and to come after my  
breakfast to the church to communicate. Thus I did to-day. And afterwards  
when I heard that thou wouldst give communion to thy people, I said in  
my heart : I will go and receive the communion from his holy hand. And  
I did so out of love for thee in my humility. Now I have declared this to thee  
who didst refuse me. But in Upper Egypt there are many who do this  
without knowing that it is a sin ». When the Father heard that, he com-  
manded that letters should be written to every place, ordering that none of  
the faithful should communicate unless fasting, and that none should make

فى يوم واحد ثم بارك على ذلك الرجل ومضى يسجد الله صانع العجائب بتقديسيه ولم تجد ديار مصر طمأنينة<sup>١</sup> ولا راحة فى ايام مملكة عبد الملك لانه لم يكن من جنس ملوك الاسماعيليين الذين ملكوا عليهم مثله ومنع مع الديارات ما لا يجوز لبغضته فى النصارى وكما كان يشاء ان<sup>٢</sup> يعمل كذلك فعل والسيد المسيح الذى قلوب الملوك بيده رآه قلبه لسحبة ابا ميخائيل البطرك وكان يدعو الى قصره ونحن معه ويطالب منه ان<sup>٣</sup> يدعو له وكانت ابنته قد سكن فيها روح نجس وكان عمرها اربع سنين فسأل الاب البطرك ان يصلى عليها فاخذ زيتا وصلى عليه ودهنها به فخرج الشيطان منها للموقت فصار يحب النصارى لاجل محبته للاب البطرك وكان ايضا يحب الاساقفة ويكرمهم وكان ابونا ابا ميخائيل حلو الكلام حسن المنظر تام القامة نظيف اللباس ذا هيئة ووقار وكان<sup>٤</sup> كلامه مثل السيف على اهل المعاصى وتعليقه مثل السراج لاهل الصلاح والعفاف وكانت يد الله معه فى<sup>٥</sup> هذ الشدائد التى فعلها عبد الملك وكانت بيعة الاسكندرية تسبح بلاء

1. ABC طمأنينة E om. with foll. wd. - 2. Mss. om. - 3. E الدعاء. - 4. E om. to وكانت بيعة الاسكندرية بعير رخام ولا خشب فامتم. - 5. E om. to ميخائيل add. بها هذا الاب.

his communion twice in one day ». Then he gave his blessing to that man, who departed glorifying God, who does wonders by his saints.

But Egypt found no tranquillity nor rest during the government of Abd al-Malik, for not one of the family of the princes of the Ishmaelites who ruled over them was like him. And he did to the monasteries what was not lawful, because he hated the Christians; for as he pleased to do, so he did. Yet the Lord Christ, in whose hand are the hearts of princes, turned his heart to love Abba Michael the patriarch; therefore he invited him to his palace, and we accompanied him; and he begged the patriarch to pray for him. And the governor's daughter, who was four years old, was possessed by an unclean spirit, and so her father requested the patriarch to pray over her. Then Abba Michael took oil, and blessed it, and anointed her with it; and the devil went out of her immediately. Thus the governor began to love the Christians, because he loved the father patriarch; and he also loved the bishops, and showed them honour.

Now our father, Abba Michael, was sweet in speech, beautiful in countenance, perfect in stature, decent in his attire, well-formed and dignified; and his words were like a sword against the rebellious, and his teaching was like salt to people of virtue and modesty. And the hand of God was with him in those hardships which he endured through Abd al-Malik. And



عظيم في زمان الاكسندرس البطرك كان لما نزع منها رخامها وخشبها الجليل الذي ليس له ثمن فاهتم بها الاب ميخائيل وجدها واصاحها وبني غيرها من شرقي البلد ومن غربيه وتم<sup>1</sup> ما بناه في ايام حياته

ولما<sup>2</sup> كان في بعض الايام اراد الوالى بالاسكندرية ان يرمى مراكب الاسطول الى البحر وكانوا جماعة من الارثوذكسيين في بيعه السيّدة مرتريم نحو من عشرة الاف انسان<sup>3</sup> فنظر شاب من المسلمين مثال صورة السيّد المسيح على الصليب مصوّراً على الحائط وصاحب الحربة يطعنه فقال للنصارى يجربهم اى شيء هو هذا الذي على الصليب فقالوا له هي علامة الهنا المسيح على الصليب لخلّص العالم فعند ذلك اخذ قصب وصعد على الاسطوان الفوقانى وطعن الصورة في الجانب الآخر الايسر وهو مستهزئ بكلامه ويجدف وللوقت صارت صورة الشاب مبسوطة كأنّه مصلوب على مثال شبه الصور التى طعنها واحقه وجع عظيم حتى كأنّه قد طعن في جنبه مثلها والتصقت يده على

وفي دفعة كانوا جماعة من الشعب كثير بكنيسة add. انسان — 2. E om. to — 3. DF نفس. — العذرى مرتريم. — 1. F وكميل.

The church at Alexandria had suffered greatly in the time of the late patriarch Alexander, when its marble and glorious woodwork, which were priceless, were taken away from it. So the Father Michael provided money for it, and restored it, and improved it. And he built other churches to the east and west of the town, and his buildings were completed in his lifetime.

And on a certain day the governor of Alexandria desired to launch the ships of the fleet on the sea. And there was a congregation of the orthodox in the Church of our Lady Mary, of about ten thousand persons. And a young man of the Muslims saw, painted on the wall, a picture of the Lord Christ upon the Cross, while the soldier with the spear was piercing his side. So he said to the Christians, tempting them : « What is this man upon the Cross? » They answered : « This is the sign of our God Christ, who died upon the Cross for the salvation of the world. » Thereupon that young man took a rod, and mounted to the upper gallery, and pierced the picture in the other side, namely the left, mocking and blaspheming at the Christian's words. And immediately the form of the young man became stretched, as if he were himself crucified, after the likeness of the picture which he had pierced, and a great pain seized him, as if he had been pierced in the side in like manner, and his hand clove to the rod with which he had pierced it, and no man could take it out of his hand; and he remained fixed in the midst of the congregation, between heaven and

القصبة التي طعن بها ولم يقدر احد يخلصها من يده وصار معلقا في وسط الشعب بين السماء والارض فلم ينزل كذلك نهاده اجمع وهو يصرخ ويقول يا قوم طعنتم في جنبى فصرخوا المسلمون على النصارى بصوت عظيم مسجدين لله صانع العجائب وسالوهم ان يدعوا الله لخلصه فدعوا النصارى وقالوا كيرىاليصون عدة دفعوا فلم ينزل من مكانه الى ان قال<sup>1</sup> واحد من المسلمين له انتك ان لم تعترف بامانة النصارى وتقول ان هذه الصورة صورة المسيح ابن الله وتتكلم بما يقولونه ويعتقدونه مثلهم والا فما يخلصك تنزل ابدا فقبل قول ذلك الرجل المسلم واعترف انها صورة المسيح وقال انا نصراني وعلى دين المسيح اموت فيحينئذ نزل وسط الجماعة ومضى الى الديارات وتعمد هناك وكان الملك ذلك الزمان مروان وكانت مملكته من بلاد الفرس الى الاندلس وكانت يده ثقيلة جدا على جنده واقاموا<sup>2</sup> زمنا يتحاربون ويسفكون دماء بعضهم بعضا حتى كان يموت في يوم عشرون الفا وثلاثون الفا الى سبعين الفا ولا يهدؤون من الحرب مدة

1. اعترف انها صورة المسيح ابن الله add. امير — 2. E om. دفعات G دواع AB — 3. ABG رفايرا — 4. E om. to الحرب.

earth. So he continued all day, crying aloud : « O ye people, I am pierced in the side. » Then the Muslims cried to the Christians with a loud voice, glorifying God, the doer of wonders, and begged them to pray to God for the man's release. So the Christians prayed, saying *Kyrie eleison* many times. But that young man could not descend from the place where he was, until one of the Muslims said to him : « Verily unless thou shalt confess the faith of the Christians, and say that this picture is the likeness of Christ, the Son of God, and profess their creed, and believe like them, he will never let thee come down. » Then he accepted the words of that Muslim, and confessed that it was the picture of Christ, and said : « I am a Christian, and will die in the religion of Christ. » After that confession he descended into the midst of the assembly, and departed to the monasteries, and was baptized there.

Now the prince at that time was Marwân, who ruled from Persia to Spain. His hand was very heavy upon his soldiers, and for a time the Muslims fought one against the other, and shed one another's blood, so that on one day twenty thousand or thirty thousand or even seventy thousand were slain. And they did not cease from war during the seven years of Marwân's reign, because he had usurped the government over them. And in the seventh year a young man named Abd Allah, had a dream, in which the



سبع<sup>1</sup> سنين التي ملكها مروان لاجل انه اخذ ممالكهم وفي السنة السابعة<sup>2</sup> نظر شاب اسمه عبد الله مناما<sup>3</sup> وصوت من شخص يقول له ثلاث دفعات قاتل مروان قاتل<sup>4</sup> بالله تغلبه وكان الشاب عبد الله من البادية يسكن البرية في الخيم وكان ابود شيخا اسمه ابو مسلم فظهر له في المنام كما ظهر المشاب عبد الله وكتب الشيخ المنام وعلمه على باب الخيمة فلما رأوه المسلمون اجتمعوا<sup>5</sup> له ليعرفوا الخبر فاعلمهم فقالوا له نحن نساعدك واذا نصرك الله نحن نملكك علينا فاجتمع له عدة كثيرة من القبائل لما سمعوا بذلك وصار معه عشرون الف فارس ولكن لم يكن معهم سلاح فقطعوا جرائد من النخل وجعلوا عليها<sup>6</sup> الاسنة وخرجوا للقتال وقوة الله معهم فخرج اليهم مروان ومعه مائة الف مقاتل بالعدد والسلاح والزرود<sup>7</sup> والخوذ والتقوا فقسم عبد الله جيشه على فرقتين فلما رآهم مروان قال<sup>8</sup> لهم كما قال جلياث الجبار لداود خرجت للقائى مثل الكلب فاخرج مروان

1. ABEG تسعة DF تسع. — 2. E التاسعة. — 3. DF om. to عبد الله. — 4. E om. with foll. wd. add. الله على الله. وتوكل على الله. — 5. E استجمعوا به. — 6. E add. الحديد. — 7. Mss. الزرد. — 8. E om. to الكلب add. استهزأ بهم.

voice of a certain one said to him three times : « Fight against Marwân, fight. By God thou wilt overcome him. » This young man, Abd Allah, was a Bedouin, and lived in tents in the desert; and his father was an old man, named Abu Muslim, to whom the same vision came in a dream as to the young man, Abd Allah; and the old man wrote an account of the dream, and fastened it on the door of his tent. Therefore, when the Muslims saw it, they came together to him in order to know what had happened; and, when he told them, they said : « We will help thee; and, if God shall give thee the victory, we will make thee prince over us. » Accordingly, many of the tribes assembled to him, when they heard of this; and twenty thousand horsemen gathered together with him. But they had no weapons, and so they cut branches from the palm-trees, and fastened spear-heads to them, and went forth to fight, the power of God being with them. Thereupon Marwân came out against them, accompanied by a hundred thousand fighting men, well equipped, and provided with weapons and coats of mail and helmets; and the two armies met. Then Abd Allah divided his army into two parts; and when Marwân saw them, he said, as Goliath the giant said to David<sup>1</sup> : « Hast thou come out to meet me like a dog? » Then Marwân sent out against Abd Allah forty thousand horsemen in many-coloured gar-

1. 1 Kings, xvii, 43.



له اربعين الف فارس<sup>1</sup> بثياب ماثونة مدرعين<sup>2</sup> لابسين<sup>3</sup> الحديد<sup>4</sup> وكان اكثر عسكر عبد الله رجالة فقتلوههم بنصر الله حتى لم يسلم واحد منهم ونصرهم<sup>1</sup> الله عليهم كقول موسى النبي ان واحدا بنصر الله له يهزم اثنا وربعان عسكرا ونظر ابو مسلم ملاك الرب ويده قضيب ذهب وباعلاده صليب فهزم اعداءه وكان ينظر الموضع الذي يدنو منه الصليب يسقطون بين يديه امواتا فيأخذ اصحاب عبد الله وابي مسلم خيلهم وسلاحهم ثم اخرج لهم ايضا مروان اربعين الف فارس اخرى في رابع ساعة من النهار من خلف المحجر فاسلمهم الله في ايديهم واخذوا خيلهم وسلاحهم فلما نظر مروان ذلك انهزم وفعل خديعة وهو انه اخرج ماله وما يملكه من الاموال والاونى والمتاع وجعل الذهب في مزود وصار يبدده في الطريق وهو منهزم ومعه عشرون الف فارس التي بقيت معه ولم يعرف عبد الله وابو مسلم خديعته فلما تبعوه اشتغلوا بنهب المال والسلاح سبعة ايام فمضى مروان وعدى الثمرات وغرق جماعة من اصحابه وطرح النيران في المراكب ولم

1. ABDEFG om. — 2. E om. with foll. wd. add. بالسلاح. — 3. ABDEG بالحديد. — 4. E om. to عسكرا.

ments, wearing cuirasses and iron armour, whereas most of Abd Allah's soldiers were footmen. Yet Abd Allah's men slew Marwân's men with God's help, so that not one of them was saved; for God gave to the former the victory over the latter, as the prophet Moses says<sup>1</sup>: « One man, if God helps him, shall put to flight a thousand, and two shall terrify a host. »

And Abu Muslim saw the angel of the Lord, with a golden rod in his hand, on the top of which was a Cross, putting his enemies to flight: for, wherever the Cross approached, he saw them fall dead before it. So the followers of Abd Allah and Abu Muslim took the horses and weapons of the enemy.

Then Marwân again sent another forty thousand horsemen against them, at the fourth hour of the day, from behind rocks; but God delivered them into their hands, and they captured their horses and weapons. So, when Marwân saw that, he fled. And he executed the following stratagem. He brought out what he possessed of money and vessels and furniture, and put the gold in bags, and scattered it along the road, while he was fleeing, accompanied by twenty thousand horsemen, who remained with him. But Abd Allah and Abu Muslim did not understand his deceit, and so, as they pursued him, they busied themselves with seizing the money and the weapons for seven days, so that Marwân escaped and crossed the Euphrates.

1. Deut., xxxii. 30; cf. Lev., xxvi. 8; Jos., xiii. 10.

يصل الى البر الا هو في ثمانية الاف<sup>1</sup> رجل<sup>2</sup> فتقدم الشيخ ابو مسلم لعسكره بـ  
يعملوا صليبانا من كل نوع ويجعلوهم قدامهم وقال لهم ان هذا هو الذي اعطانا  
الغلبة به وهو الذي اخذ لنا المملكة وكانوا يزدادوا كثرة ويجتمع الناس اليهم من كل  
موضع يصلون<sup>3</sup> اليه من خراسان وبیت صيدا والفرات وبلاد الروم وكل من سمع من البر  
البعيدة وكل مدينة يملكونها يركزون اصحابهم فيها فلما مروان فكان يطرح النار في  
موضع يصله وهو منهزم فلما وصلوا ابو مسلم وعبد الله الى الفرات ونظروا الحريق  
المراكب لبسوا ثيابا سودا ولم يخلقوا رؤوسهم ولا اجتمعوا بنسائهم ولزموا الصـ  
والصلاة ستة شهور الى ان اسلم الله عدوهم في ايديهم ثم انهم استخدموا مراكب وعبر  
الفرات وتبعوا مروان وكانوا اذا وصلوا موضعا فيه نصارى يصلحون عليه علامة الصليب  
وكانوا يعملونه على خيامهم وثيابهم والمسلمون يلبسون ثيابا سودا ومن لم يكن بهاتين  
العلامتين قتلوه لان<sup>4</sup> اصحاب مروان كانوا فرسيين فكانوا لا يرون بذلك فكانوا

1. ABDFG om. — 2. ABDG رجال F add. غير. — 3. E om. to فيها. — 4. E om. to بهذه. — 5. E om. to الارض add. ويقتلوا الاطفال. — العلامة.

at many of his followers were drowned, and he set fire to the boats, and  
he reached the shore but he and eight thousand men with him.

So the old man Abu Muslim bade his soldiers make crosses of every  
kind, and place them on their breasts, saying to them : « By means of  
this sign God has given us the victory, and it has conquered the empire for  
us. » And his followers multiplied, for men came to them from every place  
whence they arrived : from Khorassan and Sidon and the Euphrates and  
the land of the Romans; and all that heard of them in distant lands. And  
in every city which they captured, their followers established a camp.

But as for Marwân, he set fire to every place that he reached in his  
flight. When Abu Muslim and Abd Allah came to the Euphrates, and  
saw the burnt boats, they put on black garments, and left their heads  
shaven, and neglected their wives, and continued to fast and pray for  
six months, until God gave their enemy into their hands. Then they took  
the boats that they could get, and crossed the Euphrates, and pursued  
Marwân. And when they reached a place where there were Christians,  
they marked it out by the sign of the Cross, which they also had marked  
on their tents and garments. And the Muslims among them wore black  
garments. And him who was without these two signs they put to death,  
because the followers of Marwân were Persians, and therefore did not  
approve of these things. And so, when they found them, they killed them.

وجدوهم قتلوهم وشقوا بطونهم وكانون يشقون بطون نساءهم الجبالى ويقتلون الاطفال ويقولون ما ندع لهم من<sup>1</sup> يسئل على الارض

ثم دخل مروان الى بيت مال المملكة يعنى دمشق لانها كانت كرسى مملكة بنى مئة واخرج منه مالا كثيرا وجواهر وذخائر واحرق الباقي بالنار وكان يفعل هذا حتى احرق سبع كور فلما سمع عبد الملك صاحب مصر الخبر خاف ان يخرج مروان الى الحرب فكتب اليه كتابا بمكر يدعوه الى مصر ويقول له فيه ليس لاعدائك مدخل اليها فسار وكان يقتل مقدمى البلاد والكور التى يعبر عليها ويأخذ اموالهم وكذلك كان يفعل فى ديارات الرهبان اخربها واخذ اموالهم وكان باعمال فلسطين دير طاهر نظيف ويقرى آلفا<sup>2</sup> من عابرى<sup>3</sup> الطريق وكان فيه الف راهب وكان<sup>4</sup> اسم ذلك الدير دير موت ويسمى بلغة القبط دير ابا هرمانوس<sup>5</sup> وهو الذى اصلح فيه مكسيموس ودوماديوس اخوه<sup>6</sup> هناك اولا وهو الذى اخذ طومس لاون ومضى الى قبور ابائه ومعه جنود الملك وصاح

1. Mss. om. — 2. Mss. الالف. — 3. ABDG عابري. — 4. E om. to القبط add. وكان يسما. — 5. ABDEG ابر هرمانوس F ابر هرمانوس. — 6. E om.

and ripped them open. And they used to rip open their pregnant wives, and kill the babes, saying : « We will not leave them offspring to go about the world as beggars. »

Then Marwân went into the public treasury at Damascus, for that was the capital of the Omeyyads, and brought forth much money and jewels and treasures, and burnt the rest with fire. And he went on doing thus, till he had laid waste seven provinces with fire. When Abd al-Malik, the governor of Egypt, heard the news, he feared that Marwân would summon him to fight, and therefore he wrote to him a letter with guile, inviting him to Egypt, and saying : « Thy enemies cannot enter this country. » Accordingly, Marwân marched thither, slaying the chiefs of the towns and provinces through which he passed, and seizing their money. So also he did in the monasteries of the monks, which he wrecked and robbed of their money. And there was in Palestine a clean and decent monastery, which entertained thousands of travellers, and contained a thousand monks; and it was called *Dair Mût*, and in Coptic, the Monastery of Abba Harmanus. Maximus and his brother Domitius were first received here; and it was Abba Harmanus who took the Tome of Leo, and went to the tombs of his fathers, accompanied by the soldiers of the prince, and cried over their tombs with a loud voice, saying : « Think not that you are asleep, and that this does not concern you! As the Lord lives, if you answer me not, I will



على قبورهم بصوت عظيم وقال لا تظنوا انكم نيام وايس لكم امر حتى هو الرب  
لم تجاوبوني لاجرجن عظامكم واحرقها بالنار عرفوني ما ترون هل اقبل طوموس لا  
او امانة نيقية فقولوا اى علانية سرعة فاجابود كلهم من فم واحد وصرخوا وقال  
ملعون لاون الكافر الاسد المفترس للنفوس وطوموسه الطمث وملعون مرقيان الكاهن  
وباخارية السرذولة وملعون مجمع خلقدونية الستائة وثلاثون اسقفيا المخالفين وملعون  
كل من يقبلهم وملعون من يجعل المسيح ابن الله طبيعتين بعد الاتحاد فلما سمع  
الطوباني ابا هرمانوس سقط على الارض فلما نظره الامير الواصل بالطوموس وسع  
كلامهم له حلق رأسه وصار راهبا وجماعة معه ثم استحق الشهادة بعد ذلك لان مرقيا  
الملك لما بلغه عنه ما فعل انفذ فقتله ومن ذلك الزمان جماعة من الارثوذكسيين باقوا  
في هذا الدير الجليل<sup>2</sup> ولما وصل مروان الى هذا الدير المذكور طالبهم بمال مبالغه ثا  
وزنات<sup>3</sup> وانزل<sup>4</sup> على رئيس الدير والذي<sup>5</sup> معه عذابا شديدا وقتلهم<sup>6</sup> ونهب الدير وخر

1. E om. to الجليل. — 2. F om. to الدير. — 3. E add. مال. — 4. E om. to شديدا.  
5. Mss. والذين. — 6. F وقتلهم.

take out your bones and burn them with fire. Tell me what you think.  
shall I receive the Tome of Leo, or the Faith of Nicaea? Tell me plainly  
and speedily. » Then they all answered with one voice, crying and saying :  
Cursed be Leo, the misbeliever, the soul-devouring lion, and his foul  
tome! And cursed be Marcian, the misbeliever, and the vile Pulcheria!  
and cursed be the Council of Chalcedon, the six hundred and thirty here-  
tical bishops; and cursed be all that receive them. And cursed be those  
that make Christ the Son of God into Two Natures after the Union. » So,  
when the blessed Abba Harmanus heard this, he fell upon the ground.  
and when the noble who brought the Tome saw him, and heard their  
words addressed to him, he shaved his head, and became a monk with many  
others. Afterwards this saint was counted worthy of martyrdom; for when  
Marcian, the prince, was informed of what he had done, he sent and put  
him to death. And since that time there has been a body of the orthodox  
remaining in that glorious monastery. So when Marwân arrived at the  
foresaid monastery, he demanded of them a sum of money amounting to  
three weights; and he severely chastised the superior of the monastery  
and his assistant, for he killed those two; and he plundered the monastery,  
and continued his march, accompanied by his army. Then, when they were  
at a short distance from the monastery, there was a hermit upon a pillar, a  
very old man, who had been there many years, an orthodox Theodosian.

ومعه جيشه فلما بعدوا عن الدير<sup>1</sup> قليلاً كان هناك حبيس على عمود شيخ كبير له فيه عدة سنين وكان ارتدكسيّاً تاودوسيوسياً فقال بعض اصحاب مروان ان هذا الشيخ الراهب كلما يقوله حقّ ويصحّ وجاء اليه فقال<sup>2</sup> له ما ذا يجرى على<sup>3</sup> فقال له الشيخ بصوت<sup>4</sup> خفى كصوت ارميا النبي اذا قلت لك الحق انت تقتلني ولكن انا اقول ما اظهره الله لى والذي قال الله لى عنك بالكيل الذى كنت به يكال لك كما انك جعلت الاممات بغير اولاد كذلك تصير امك بغير اولاد ويكون مسلكك مخوفاً جداً لكلمن يشاهدك ويستأسرون اولادك ونسأوك وكلمن لك ويأخذ ملكك الذى يتبعك الآن ولا يأخذ احد من جنسك الملك الى الابد ويهزمونك اعداؤك الى<sup>5</sup> ان تصل الى ارسنويتس<sup>6</sup> الى الكلاوبطرة يحل بك هذا كله فى هذه السنة فى شهر مسرى فلما سمع ذلك مروان امر بهدم العمود وانزل الشيخ منه فاحرقه بالنار وهو حتى

ثم وصل الى مصر فى عشرين يوماً من شهر بؤونة فى سنة اربع مائة وسبع وستين للشهداء وكان قبل ان تجرى هذه الامور قد عصى على عبد الملك قوم من البشمور

1. E الطريق. — 2. E رساله. — 3. AEG عليه. — 4. E om. to عنك. — 5. E om. to ابرابيس. — 6. Mss. كله.

So one of Marwân's friends said : « Verily all that this old monk says comes to pass, for he speaks the truth. » And he came up to that hermit, and asked him what would be his fate. So the old man said in a low voice, like the voice of Jeremias the prophet<sup>1</sup> : « If I tell thee the truth, thou wilt slay me; yet will I declare what God has revealed to me. That which God has told me of thee is this. With the measure with which thou hast measured it shall be measured to thee. As thou hast made mothers childless, so shall thy mother be childless. And thy path shall be very terrible to all that behold thee; for thy children and thy wives and all that are thine shall be taken captive; and he who is now pursuing thee shall take thy empire, and none of thy family shall reign after thee for ever. And thine enemies shall put thee to flight, until thou comest to Arsinoites, to Cleopatra. All this shall befall thee this year in the month of Misri. » When Marwân heard this, he commanded that the pillar should be overthrown; and he brought down the old man, and burnt him alive in the fire.

Then Marwân arrived in Egypt on the twentieth day of the month of Baunah, in the year 467 of the Martyrs. And before these things happened, some of the Bashmurites had rebelled against Abd al-Malik, under their

1. Jer., i. 6.

ومقدمهم<sup>1</sup> مينا بن بغيرة وقوم آخر من شبرا بسنبوط ومسكوا تلك الكورة ولم يعط  
خراجا ولا لصاحب ديوان مصر الى ان افتقدهم الرب وكان يعطيهم الظفر فخرج اليه  
عبد الملك بعسكر فهزمود بقوة الله وقتلوههم بحد السيف وانفذ عسكرا آخر واسطلم  
في البحر وبقوة الله هزموهم وقتلوههم ولما وصل مروان الى مصر عرفوه جميع ذلك  
فكتب لهم كتباً واماناً فلم يقبلوه فانفذ لهم عسكراً كثيراً من مسلمي مصر ومم  
وصل صحبته من الشام فلم<sup>2</sup> يقدر العسكر ان<sup>3</sup> يصل اليهم بالجملة لانهم<sup>4</sup> تحصنوا  
مواضع الوحلات التي لا يقدر ان<sup>5</sup> يصل<sup>6</sup> اليها سوى رجل<sup>7</sup> رجلاً فاذا زلت رجله  
الطريق غطس في اللوث<sup>8</sup> وهلك وكانوا العساكر يحرسونهم من برا فيخرجون لهم  
الليل البشامة من طرق يعرفونها يتلصصون عليهم ويقتلون من قدروا على قتله ويسرقون  
اموالهم وخيلهم فيسطول عليهم الامر فيرحلون عنهم

1. E om. to الكورة. — 2. E فلم يقدرُوا يصلوا. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. F add. قد. —  
5. Mss. om. — 6. ABG om. to اليها E يسلكها. — 7. ABDEG رجل رجل F راجل راجل.  
8. Mss. اللوث.

ader Mennas, son of Apacyrus, besides other insurgents, inhabitants of  
ubra near Sanbat. And they seized that province, and refused to pay  
xes to Abd al-Malik or to the chief of the Divan of Miṣr; and at last  
e Lord visited them, and gave them the victory. For Abd al-Malik  
ought out an army against them, but they put him to flight by the power  
God, and slew his soldiers with the edge of the sword. And he despat-  
ed another army, and a fleet of ships on the river, and by the power of  
od they put all his men to flight or slew them. And when Marwān reached  
gypt, all this was made known to him. So he wrote letters and a decree  
pardon for those rebels; but as they would not accept him, he despat-  
ed against them a great army of Egyptian Muslims, and of those who  
me in his company from Syria. But this army could not reach them at  
, because they fortified themselves in marshy places, which could only  
approached by men marching in single file; and if a man's foot slipped  
om the path, he would sink into the mud and perish. And as the troops  
atched the Bashmurites from a distance, the latter marched out against  
em at night by ways which they knew, and took the soldiers by surprise,  
d killed those whom they could, and carried off their goods and their  
rses; and as the troops grew tired of these attacks, they marched away  
d left them.



ثم وصل عبد الله الملك<sup>1</sup> بعساكر عظيمة الى اعمال دمشق فقسم عسكره مع اميرين شجاعين يستنى احدهما صالحا بن علي<sup>2</sup> والآخر ابا<sup>3</sup> عون صديقه وقال لهما<sup>4</sup> اذا وجدتما<sup>5</sup> مروان واخذتما<sup>6</sup> قدمتكما ملكين<sup>7</sup> وابو عون اعطيه مصر ثم سير مع صالح ستين ألف فارس وستين اميراً وسلم لابي عون اربعين ألف فارس واربع مائة قائد فوصلوا الى دمشق وكان واليها صهر مروان زوج ابنته الكبيرة فخرج اليهما<sup>8</sup> طائعا فابقياد<sup>9</sup> علي ولايته وتوجّها الى مصر وعند وصولهما الى غزة قالوا لهما<sup>10</sup> اهلها لم يلبسوا اهل دمشق السواد ولا أدوا<sup>11</sup> لكم طاعة فعادوا بغضب وقتلوا جماعة كثيرة من اكابر اهل دمشق وقتلوا واليها صهر مروان واسروا ابنة مروان ولما بلغ الخبر مروان عرض<sup>12</sup> عسكره فوجد من وصل معه ثمانية الاف فامر الرعيّة قائلاً كلمن لا يدخل في ديني ويصلي صلاتي ويتبع رأيي من اهل مصر قتلته وصلبته ومن دخل معي في ديني

1. E om. — 2. Mss. عمرى. — 3. A بارون BG بارون DF بارون E بارون and so below. — 4. ABEG لهما. — 5. ABC وجدتم. — 6. Mss. واخذتما. — 7. Mss. ملكا. — 8. F اليهم. — 9. Mss. فابقياد. — 10. ABDEG لهما. — 11. ABDEG ودوا. — 12. Mss. اعرض.

Then Abd Allah, the prince, arrived with a great army in the province of Damascus, and divided his troops between two brave commanders, one of whom was named Şâlih, son of Ali, and the other Abu Aun, his friend, saying to them : « If you shall find Marwân and capture him, I will promote you two to be princes; and to Abu Aun I will give Egypt. » Then he sent with Şâlih sixty thousand horsemen and sixty captains; and he gave to Abu Aun forty thousand horsemen and four hundred officers. So the two arrived at Damascus, the governor of which was Marwân's son-in-law, having married his eldest daughter; but, as he submitted to them, they retained him in office. Then they marched on to Egypt. When they arrived at Gaza, the inhabitants told them : « The people of Damascus have not put on the black, nor remained obedient to you. » So they returned in wrath, and slew a great number of the chiefs of the people of Damascus, and killed the governor, Marwân's son-in-law, and took the daughter of Marwân prisoner. And when the news reached Marwân, he reviewed his troops, and found that those who had come with him were eight thousand in number. Then he gave orders to his subjects, the natives of the land, saying : « If any of the people of Egypt refuse to enter into my religion, and to pray as I do, and to adopt my creed, I will slay him and impale his body. But whoever shall enter with me into my religion I will clothe with a robe of honour, and I will mount him upon a horse, and will place his name in my

خلعت عليه واركبته واتيت اسمه في ديوانى واغنيته فتبعه الف انسان سرعة وصلى  
صلاته فدفع لكل واحد عشرة دنانير ثم اجتمع اليه الفان من مسلمى مصر سوى من  
قد اطلقه من الحبس ومن كان خدمه من اجناد عسكر المملكة وانفذ ابن اخته الى  
الاسكندرية ومعه مقدم من مقدمى عسكره وامر ان ياخذ الاسماعيليين بان يصلوا صلاته  
وكان بالاسكندرية رئيس مقدم المسلمين اسمه الاسود قد اجتمع له خلق كثير عنده  
ما كانوا المسلمون يقاتلون الروم وكان قد تقدم مروان الى الذين انفذهم اليها بان  
يقتلوه هو وعشرة مقدمين له من اجل انه لم يصل اليه الى مصر وكان للاسود صديقه  
بمصر عند مروان جليسا له فسمع ذلك فكتب الى الاسود يعرفه بما كان قبل وصوله  
الى الاسكندرية فلما علموا اهل الاسكندرية ذلك حلفوا للاسود وصاروا هو وهم  
قلبا واحدا فلما وصل رسول مروان ومن معه قبضوهم ورموهم في السجن وحشروهم  
الاسود جمعا كثيرا من الاسكندرية ومريوط<sup>1</sup> والبحيرة<sup>2</sup> من المسلمين الذين في تلك النواحي  
وجعلوهم خارجا عن صور الاسكندرية لحفظ الطرقات فلما علموا مروان ذلك انفذ

1. E om. with foll. wd. — 2. ABG om. و.

Divan, and make him rich. » In consequence of these words he was soon  
followed by a thousand persons, who recited his prayer; and accordingly he  
gave to each one ten dinars. Then two thousand Muslims of Egypt joined  
him, besides those whom he had released from prison, and those who served  
him of the troops of the army of the empire. And he sent his sister's son  
to Alexandria, accompanied by one of the chiefs of his army, and com-  
manded him to enlist the Ishmaelites, on condition that they recited his pra-  
yer. For there was at Alexandria a chief man and leader of the Muslims,  
named Al-Aswād, to whom many men had gathered while the Muslims were  
fighting the Romans; and Marwān had commanded those whom he sent  
thither to kill him and ten of his officers, because he had not come to him  
at Miṣr; but Al-Aswād had a friend at Miṣr in attendance on Marwān and  
an associate of his, who heard of this and wrote to Al-Aswād to make known  
to him what had been done, before those men arrived at Alexandria.  
When the Alexandrians learnt what Marwān intended, they swore fidelity  
to Al-Aswād; and he and they became of one heart, and so when Mar-  
wān's envoy and his companions arrived, the Alexandrians arrested them,  
and cast them into prison. Al-Aswād gathered a large body, from Alexan-  
dria and Maryūt and Al-Buḥairah, of Muslims who lived in those districts,  
and placed them outside the wall of Alexandria to keep the roads. There-  
fore when Marwān was informed, he sent a great army under an Amir and

عسكرا عظيما صحبة امير مقدم اسمه كوزارا وكان يشبه الوحش في <sup>1</sup> خلقه وخلقه وكان شجاعا ومعه خمس مائة مقاتل وتقدم اليهم بان يخربوا الاسكندرية فنزلوا في موضع يسمى <sup>2</sup> باقوم بعيدا من الاسكندرية فلما سمع الاسود ارسل اليهم اخاد ومعه خمس مائة رجل ليتحققوا الخبر فلما نظروهم اصحاب مروان ظنوا انه عسكر من البلد وليس فيها من يقاتلهم سواهم فنهضوا اليهم وقتلوا اكثرهم وانهزم بقيتهم عائدين الى البلد وهم يتبعونهم فلما وصلوا الى الاسود ومن <sup>3</sup> معه صرخوا قائلين قد اخذت مدينتنا فانهزموا جميعهم وكان عددهم ثلثين الفا وهرب الاسود واختفى ودخل عسكر مروان المدينة مع كوزارا وملكها وقتل منها جماعة ونهب اراختتها واستأسر اولادهم ونسأؤهم واخذ كلما لهم واخذ الاب ابنا ميخائيل وقال له كيف مكنت اولادك النصراني ان <sup>4</sup> يقاتلونا يعنى عن البشامرة وخاطبه بكلام كثير والستس منه مالا فلم يكن معه شيء فاودعه السجن <sup>5</sup> وجعل رجليه فيهما طوبة حديد وكان تلاميذه وبعض كهنته لما جرى <sup>6</sup> بالاسكندرية

1. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 2. EF om. with foll. wd. — 3. E om. to الفأ. — 4. Mss. om. — 5. F الاعتقال. — 6. E وجعل رجليه في طوبة حديد. — 7. F add. ذلك الامر.

chief, named Kauzârâ, who was like a wild beast in form and character, and of great courage, and with him were five hundred fighting men; and Marwân commanded them to lay Alexandria waste. So they encamped at a place named Bâkûm at a distance from Alexandria. When Al-Aswâd heard this, he sent against them his brother and five hundred men with him, to reconnoitre; and when Marwân's followers saw them, they thought that they were an army from the town, and that there was none left therein who would fight them except these. So they rose up against them, and killed most of them, and the remainder fled and returned to the city, while the enemy pursued them. When they reached Al-Aswâd and his companions, they cried saying: « Our city is taken. » So they all fled, their number being thirty thousand, and Al-Aswâd escaped and hid himself. And Marwân's army entered the city with Kauzârâ, and took possession of it, and killed many of the inhabitants, and plundered its officials, and their children and wives were taken prisoners, and their goods were seized. And the Father Abba Michael was captured; and Kauzârâ said to him: « How couldst thou permit thy children, the Christians, to fight against us? » By this he meant the Bashmurites. And he reproved the patriarch with many words, and demanded money of him. But, as Abba Michael had nothing, he put him in prison, and fastened a mass of iron to his feet. And the patriarch's



هربوا ولم يبق منهم سوى ابا ميناس القس الاقنوم الذي<sup>1</sup> لبيعة ماري مرقس الانجس  
التلميذ وولاتينوس الشماس كاتب القلاية وبارتولوماوس الراهب السمندى لانهم  
قد ربطوا معه ثم انه اخذ قسما بطرك الملكية وجعل رجله مع رجلي ابينا البطرك  
في الحديد فبعد خمسة ايام احضر قسما من شعبه وبيعه الف<sup>2</sup> دينار ودفعتها لكون  
فيخلاه وانفذ الى ابينا وقال له افعل هكذا واخليك فاجابه ان ما في بيعتي شيء  
اجعل نفسي عوض المال فما اردت فافعل فتي وضيق عليه حينئذ الى تمام تسعة  
فاحضره اليه ومسك يده وجذبه على وجهه وطرحه على ركبتيه وكان في يده قضيب  
فضربه به مائتي دفعة على رأسه بكل قوته وحيله وكان السيد المسيح معينه وحاف  
لم ينله من ذلك شيء ثم امر بضرب عنقه وكانوا يجذونه<sup>3</sup> مثل الخروف الساكت<sup>4</sup>  
بعدوا عن ذلك الكافر قليلا انزل قلسوته على وجهه حتى تؤخذ رأسه ثم انه

1. E om. to اخذ add. واثنين معه ثم انهم اخذوا. — 2. ABDEFG الالف دنانير. — 3. BG  
وكشفوا قلسوته لتؤخذ add. تؤخذ. — 4. E om. to فاجذبه. —

disciples and some of his priests had fled on account of what had happened  
Alexandria, and none remained save Abba Mennas, the priest, who was  
the oconomus of the church of Saint Mark the Evangelist and Disciple, and  
Valentinus, the deacon and secretary of the Cell, and Bartholomew, the  
monk of Samannûd; for they were bound together with Abba Michael. Then  
Kauzârâ also seized Cosmas, patriarch of the Melkites, and put his feet in  
the stocks, together with the feet of our father and patriarch. But after  
seven days, Cosmas raised from his congregation and his church the sum of  
a thousand dinars, and paid them to Kauzârâ, who thereupon released him.  
And Kauzârâ sent to our father, and said to him : « Do likewise, and I will  
release thee. » But he answered : « There is nothing in my church;  
therefore I give myself instead of the money, and thou must do with me  
what thou wilt. » Then he pressed him sore, till the end of nine days.  
After that he sent for him, and laid his hand upon him, and dragged him  
on his face, and threw him on his knees. And there was a rod in his  
hand, so he struck him with it two hundred times on his head with all his  
might and main. But the Lord Christ was Abba Michael's helper and  
protected him, so that he suffered no hurt. Then Kauzârâ commanded that  
the patriarch's head should be cut off; and they dragged him along like a  
dumb sheep. And when they had gone a short distance from that misbe-  
haver, Abba Michael drew down his cap over his face, so that his head  
might be taken off, and then he readily with joy stretched out his neck.

رقبته سرعة بفرح ومَدَّ السَّيْفَ يده وجَرَّدَ السَّيْفَ وصاح قائلاً آخذ رأسه كما جبرت  
عاداته ان يستأذن عليه ثلث دفعات ثم استأذن ثانی دفعته وهو يأذن له ثم طرح الله في  
قلبه وقال ما فائدتنا في قتل هذا الشيخ وقد كان منع البشامرة عن قتالنا وكتب اليهم  
فما قبلوا منه لكن نحماته معنا الى رشيد ونده<sup>1</sup> ايضاً ان<sup>2</sup> يكتب لهم ويقول ان كلنا  
حاج إلى لاجلكم فامر بتخليته

فلما بلغ الخبر البشامرة خرجوا لاولئك الذين كانوا يحاصرونهم فقتلوهم وطردوهم  
وهم مسيرة يومين والذي خلاص من الموت مضى الى مروان وعرفه الذي جرى عليهم  
ووصل الخبر الى مروان بان اعداءه قد قربوا منه وقتلوا صهره زوج ابنته والى دمشق  
فكتب مع الذين انهزموا اليه من عند البشموريين كتابا يقول لهم تعالوا التي سرعة  
فقد احتجت اليكم وكل بلد تصلون اليه انهبوا واقتلوا اهلهم فساروا اولئك الكفرة الى  
الصعيد وقتلوا جماعة من الاراخنة ونهبوا اموالهم وسبوا حريمهم واهاليهم واولادهم

1. ABDEFG. ونجعله. — 2. Mss. om.

And the swordsman put forth his hand, and drew his sword, and cried, saying : « Shall I take off his head? » For it was according to custom that he should ask permission three times. And, when he asked permission for the second time, the Amir gave it to him. Then God put a thought into Kauzârâ's heart, and he said : « How does it profit us to kill this old man? For he forbad the Bashmurites to fight with us, and wrote to them, but they would not listen to him. Rather let us carry him with us to Rosetta, and make him write to them again, and tell them that all that which has happened to him is on their account. » So Kauzârâ commanded that the patriarch should be released.

When the Bashmurites heard of these events, they attacked those who were besieging them, and slew them or routed them, they being at a distance of a two days' journey. And those who escaped death went to Marwân, and made known to him what had happened to them. And when Marwân learnt that his enemies were coming after him, and had killed his son-in-law, his daughter's husband, the governor of Damascus, he sent a letter by those who had fled to him in order to escape from the Bashmurites, saying to his followers : « Come to me speedily, for I have need of you. And pillage every town that you reach, and slay the inhabitants ». Therefore those miscreants marched into Upper Egypt, and killed many of the officials, and carried off their goods, and took captive their wives and servants and children. And they burnt the monasteries of the monks, and carried off the



واحرقوا ديارات الرهبان واخذوا الرهبانات حتى<sup>1</sup> وصلوا الى الشرق<sup>2</sup> وكان<sup>3</sup> هناك دير  
رهبانات عذارى كن فيه عرائس للمسيح وعدتهن ثلثون عذراء فملكوهن عسكر  
مروان وكان فيهم صبية عذراء دخلت الى الدير وهى ابنة ثلث سنين فلما نظروها  
بهتوا من حسننها وقالوا ما شأمدنا قط فى بنى آدم صورة مثل هذه فاخذوها واخرجوا  
من وسط اخواتها وتشاوروا فيما يفعلونه فيها فمنهم من قال نتقارع عليها ومنهم من  
قال نمضى بها الى الملك وفيما هم يقولون هذا قالت لهم الصبية اين هو مقدمكم اعلم  
بشئ يساوى اموالاً وتخلونى فانا عابدة لله وما يحل لكم ان<sup>4</sup> تفسدوا عبادتى بل انا  
علمتكم بذلك الشئ الذى يحصل لكم فيه اموال ترتونى الى ديرى فقال لها مقدمهم  
انا هو فقالت له ابائى كانوا قوماً مقاتلين شجعاناً اقوياء دفعوا لى دواء كانوا يدهنون به  
اذا خرجوا للقتال فلا يعمل الحديد فيهم شيئاً وتصير السيوف والرماح مثل الشمع  
قدامهم فان خلّيت سبيلى دفعته لك وان كنت لا تصدّق كلامى فانا ادهن رقبتى قدّامك

1. DF om. to الشرق. — 2. ABG شرقى. — 3. F وعبروا بدير. — 4. Mss. om.

nuns, until they came to the Eastern district. And there was in those  
parts a convent of nuns, virgins who lived there as the brides of Christ,  
thirty in number. So Marwân's troops took them prisoners. And there was  
among them a young maiden, who had entered the convent when she was  
three years old; and when they saw her they marvelled at her beauty,  
saying : « We have never beheld among human beings a form like hers. »  
So they took her, and removed her from the midst of her sisters, and con-  
sulted together as to what they should do with regard to her, some saying :  
« Let us cast lots for her, » and others : « Let us take her to the prince. »  
And, while they were saying these things, the maiden asked of them :  
« Where is your leader, that I may let him know of something that is worth  
money, so that you may let me go? For I am a servant of God, and it  
is not lawful for you to profane my service. But, if I make known to you  
that thing by which you shall gain money, you will send me back to my  
convent. » So their commander answered her, saying : « I am he. » She  
said to him : « My fathers were fighting men, brave and strong, and gave  
me a medicament, with which they used to anoint themselves when they  
went out to fight, so that iron did them no hurt, but swords and spears be-  
came like wax candles before them. If then thou wilt let me go free, I will  
give this drug to thee. And if thou dost not believe my words, I will  
anoint my neck in thy presence; then bring the best sword that thy men  
have, and let the strongest among them strike me, and I shall not be cut at



وجب اجود سيف يكون مع رجالك ودع اقوى من فيهم ان<sup>1</sup> يضربني فلا يقطع فتى شىء  
تتعلم صحة قولى وانما<sup>2</sup> قالت ذلك لانها<sup>3</sup> رأت<sup>4</sup> ان تموت بالسيف ولا يلتصق بها نجاسات  
الكفار ولا يتنجس جسدها الطاهر بهم ثم دخلت بيتها<sup>5</sup> فاخرجت برنيّة فيها زيت قد  
صلّى عليه القديسون وكان محفوظاً عندها فدهنت به رقبتها ووجهها وجميع جسدها  
وصلت تركب على ركبها ومدّت عنقها فظنّوا الجهال ان الامر صحيح ولم يعلموا ما  
فى قلبها ثم قالت لهم من كان فيكم قويّاً وسيفه ماضٍ قاطع فيظهر قوّته فى فانكم  
تروون مجد الله فى هذا الدواء عند ذلك وثب شابّ شجاع بسيف يفتخر به فسترت  
وجهها بلبينها وطأمت رأسها وقالت له اضرب بقوّتك كلها ولا تبالي فضرب القديسة  
الشهيدة فطارت رأسها فعلموا حينئذ ما فعلت وانما خدعتهم فندموا وحزنوا حزناً  
عظيماً ووقع عليهم خوف شديد ولم يلتفتوا بعدئذا لاحدى من الرهبانات العذارى بل  
تركوهنّ ومضوا وهم يمجّدون الله

ثم<sup>6</sup> كتب مروان الى كوزارا الذى كان قد انقذه الى الاسكندرية بان يسرع اليه

1. Mss. om. — 2. E om. to بهم. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. F لموت. — 5. E قلايتها. —  
6. E om. to وبعد ذلك عاد كوزارا الى رشيد add. قرب.

all, so that thou mayest know the truth of my words. » But she only said this because she desired to die by the sword, that she might not be contaminated by the defilements of those miscreants, nor her pure body be polluted by them. Then she entered her chamber, and brought out a phial containing oil, which the holy men had blessed, and which was preserved in her possession; and she anointed her neck and face and all her body with it, and prayed kneeling upon her knees, and stretched out her neck. So those ignorant men thought that the thing was true, and knew not what was in her heart. Then she said to them : « Let him that is strong among you, and has a sharp sword, display his strength upon me; for you will see the glory of God in this medicament. » Thereupon a young man sprang forward with a sword of which he was proud. And she covered her face with her pallium, and laid down her head, saying : « Strike with all thy might, and spare not. » So he struck at the holy martyr, and her head fell. Then they recognised what her aim had been, and that she had eluded them; and so they repented and were exceedingly sad, and great fear overwhelmed them. And after her they touched no more of the nuns and virgins, but left them in peace and departed glorifying God.

Then Marwân wrote to Kauzârâ, whom he had despatched to Alexan-

وَلَا يَتَأَخَّرُ عَنْهُ فَلَمَّا سَارَ إِلَى رَشِيدِ أَعْلَمُوهُ أَنَّ الْبِشْمُورِيَّةَ قَدْ قَتَلُوا الْمُسْلِمِينَ الَّذِينَ كَانُوا فِيهَا وَآخَرَبُوهَا وَاحْرَقُوهَا بِالنَّارِ وَأَنَّ الْعَدُوَّ قَدْ قَرَّبَ فَسَلَّمَ الْآبُ الْبَطْرِكُ لِأَحَدِ الْأُمَرَاءِ لِيُوصِلَهُ إِلَى مَرْوَانَ ثُمَّ أَنِّي سَرْتُ وَاعْلَمْتُ أَبِي أَبَا مُوَيْسِسَ الْخَبَرَ لَمَّا فِيهِ مِنَ النَّبِوَّةِ الَّتِي أَعْطَاهُ اللَّهُ أَيَّاهَا وَالْعَجَائِبُ فَصَدَّقُونِي فِيمَا أَقُولُ فَقَدْ أَبْصَرْتُ بَعْنِي وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ قَبْلَ وَصُولِ مَرْوَانَ إِلَى مِصْرَ لَمْ يَكُنْ هُنَاكَ قِتَالٌ أَعْلَمُ بِنَبِوَّةِ مِنَ اللَّهِ مَا يَكُونُ مِنَ الْمُلُوكِ وَدَوَّجِي عَلَى الْبَيْعِ وَالشَّعْبِ الْمُؤْمِنِ الْمَسِيحِيِّ قَالُوا لَهُ فِي الرُّؤْيَا اسْتَعِدَّ فَإِنَّكَ تَكُونُ مِنَ الْآبَاءِ فِي الْقِتَالِ وَفِي تِلْكَ السَّنَةِ كَانَ يَكْثُرُ صَلَوَاتُهُ وَتَعَبُّدُهُ وَنَوْمُهُ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ نَهْيًا وَلِيًّا وَمَدَاوِمَةَ الصَّلَاةِ وَالْحُزْنَ وَالْبُكَاءَ وَالدَّمُوعَ الْغَزِيرَةَ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتُهُ أَنَا الْبَائِسُ كُنْتُ أَسْأَلُهُ وَاتَضَرَّعَ إِلَيْهِ أَنْ يَعْلَمَنِي السَّبَبَ الَّذِي يَفْعَلُ ذَلِكَ بِنَفْسِهِ لِأَجَلِهِ وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ الْإِسْأَلُ الْقَدِيسَ يَبْغِضُ الْمَجْدَ الْفَارِغَ وَيَقُولُ لِي يَا وَلَدِي ذُنُوبِي كَثِيرَةٌ وَإِذَا ذَكَرْتُهَا بِكَيْفٍ وَنَدَمْتُ وَقَدَّمْتُ الصَّلَاةَ لِلَّهِ أَسْأَلُهُ الْغُفْرَانَ وَكَانَ فَنِي أَنَا الْخَاطِيئُ يَسِيرُ مِنَ الْإِدْلَالِ عَلَيْهِ

فَسَبَقْتُهُ أَحَدَ تَلَامِيذِهِ وَاعْلَمُ أَنَّ أَبَا مُوَيْسِسَ الْخَبَرَ وَكَانَ هَذَا الْآبُ add. هُوَ يَحْدِثُنِي 1. E om. to علم بالامر قبل وقوعه وقبل وصول مروان وكان يكثر الصلاة والطلبة الى الله في كل وقت.

tria, bidding him hasten to him without delay; but, when he reached Rosetta, he was informed that the Bashmurites had slain the Muslims in the town and laid it waste, and burnt it with fire, and also that the enemy was at hand. So he delivered the father patriarch to one of the officers, that he might conduct him to Marwân. Then I journeyed and informed my father, Abba Moses, of what had taken place, on account of the power of prophecy which God had given him, and the miracles which he worked. Therefore ye must believe truly in that which I am about to say, for I saw it with my own eyes. That is that before Marwân came to Egypt, and before there was any fighting there, Abba Moses had made known, by revelation from God, what would become of the princes, and what would happen to the churches and faithful people of Christ. For it was said to him in vision : « Prepare, for thou wilt be with the fathers in the battle. » And that year he multiplied his prayers and devotions and sleepings upon the ground day and night, and his continuance in prayer and sadness and weeping and copious tears. So when I, the sinner, saw him, I begged and implored him to tell me the cause of his doing thus with himself. Now that holy father hated vain glory, and he said to me : « O my son, my sins are many; and, when I remember them, I weep and repent, and offer prayers to God, praying to him for pardon. » But since I, the sinner, enjoyed some freedom with Abba Moses, because I attended him night and day,

لملازمتي له ليلاً ونهاراً ولاجل ذلك مسكت قدميه وقبلتتهما ودموعى تجري عليهما  
وقلت ما اقوم ولا ارفع وجهي حتى تعرفنى حقيقة هذا الامر فقال لى اذا كان لا  
بد لك من ذلك فتكون مشاركاً لى انت ايضا لانه لم يبق لاحد فى ايام هذه المملكة  
خلاص وخاصة<sup>1</sup> ما يجرى على البيعة من الشعب لكنى اعلم ان السيد المسيح ما يتركها  
الى التمام وانها تخلص من التعب وهذه المملكة تبسود وجميع جيوشها وتكون بعدها  
مملكة جديدة فسمعت منه من هذا وغيره كثيرا وانا اعلم ان كل كلمة يقولها حق  
وتتم فى وقتها وبقيت متطلعا لذلك ولما يأتى بعده ومن بعد ذلك اليوم وقع الطرد على  
مروان ومملكته ووصل الى مصر كما تقدم القول وكنت متفكرا وقائلا ما الذى  
يجرى على بيعة الله فى زمان الصلح والهدوء وغيره وفيما هو يحدثنى واذا الاب  
البطرك قد وصل وصحبته الجند الى باب البيعة المقدسة بمدينة وسيم صباح يوم الاحد  
العشر من ابيب فلما ابصرهم ابى القديس مويسيس قال لى \* يا ولدى هذا اليوم الذى  
انا منتظره الذى قلت لك قد حضر والعيان أجود من السماع والآن من اراد ان

فلما ابى مريسيس add. واخبروا ان — 2. E om. to — وبخاصة BG وبخاصة ADE  
وكملوا خدمة القديس وفلولهم الاب بيده وكانوا ينظروا النار صاعدة فى الفسطاط كان

I grasped his feet and kissed them, and my tears ran over them, and I said :  
« I will not rise nor lift my face until thou shalt make known to me the  
truth of this matter. » — So he answered : « If thou must know, thou also  
wilt share my lot with me ; — for none will be safe in the days of this govern-  
ment ; — above all in the harm that the people will do to the Church. — But  
I know that the Lord Christ will not abandon her finally, but that she will be  
delivered from her trouble. — For this government will perish with all its  
armies, and there will be a new government after it. » — Thus I heard much  
from him of these and other matters. — And I know that every word he said  
was true and is fulfilled in its season ; and I continued to meditate on this  
and what would come after it. — And after that day, Marwân and his govern-  
ment were driven out, and he came to Egypt, as has been related. — For  
I was pondering and wondering what would happen to the Church of God  
in the time of peace and prosperity, and other things ; and while he was  
conversing with me, behold, the father patriarch arrived, escorted by the  
soldiers, at the door of the holy church in the city of Wasîm, on the morning  
of Sunday, the 10th of Abîb. — When my holy father Moses saw them, he said

\* P. 172 to me : \* « My son, this day which I was expecting, and of which I spoke  
to thee, has arrived, and seeing is better than hearing. — Now therefore let  
him who is willing to give up his life follow me. — I rejoice to day, because



يبدل نفسه فيتبعني وانا افرح اليوم لان لي زمان اشتهى هذا اقول انني ما استحق ان  
اسفك دمي الدنس عوضا من الدم الزكى المسفوك عنا لكن عظيم هو الحزن الذي  
في قلبي لان جيل القديسين قد اضمحل وافتقرنا جدا اذ لا نجد انسانا يشاركنا في  
هذه الخدمة هكذا كما شهدت في زمان المجمع وكان ابي موسى مع ما كان عليه  
من الصوم والصلاة والصالح الكثير<sup>2</sup> يقول ويلى انا الخاطى انا اعتقد ان المسيح ما  
يتخلّى عني لكن يعينني وكانوا الجند يقلقونا ثم تقرّبنا من يد الاب الجليل ابا ميخائيل  
البطرك القديس والشهيد المختار ونظرنا النار صاعدة في الفسطاط واخبرونا ان مروان  
احرق مخازن غلّة وقطن وتبن ومخازن<sup>3</sup> الشعير فلما علموا الجند بهذا اقلقونا<sup>4</sup> كثيرا  
وصرخوا علينا بضجر عظيم وجعل ابي موسى يده على يدي ولبس ثوبا ووزرته  
وترك جميع ما في بيعته وخرج ولم يكن احد مع البطرك من الاساقفة ولا من اولاد البيعة  
سواي<sup>5</sup> وحدي وقارئ واحد من بيعة القديس ابي مقار اسمه يعقوب كان من اهل بلبس  
وامر مروان ان يضرب البوق بمصر والنداء ثلاثة ايام ويقول انه بعد ثلاثة ايام ان

1. ABDG om. — 2. F الزائد. — 3. E om. with foll. wd. — 4. E om. to بلبس add.

سوا. مسكنتى وحدي 5. F. اقلقوهم للمسيح.

I have long desired this, although I confess that I am not worthy to shed my impure blood in return for the pure blood shed for us. But great is the sadness in my heart, because the generation of the saints is scattered, and we are become exceedingly poor, since we cannot find a man to share with us in this ministry, as I bore witness at the time of the synod. » And my father Moses, in spite of his fasting and prayer and virtue, said : « Woe to me, the sinner ! I believe that Christ will not forsake me, but will help me. » After this the soldiers began to molest us. Then we received the holy communion from the hand of the glorious father, Abba Michael, the holy patriarch and chosen martyr. Meanwhile we saw flames ascending from Al-Fustât ; and we were informed that Marwân had set fire to the storehouses of provisions and cotton and straw and to the supplies of barley. So, when the soldiers learnt this, they troubled us much, and cried out upon us with great indignation. And my father Moses laid his arm on mine, and put on an outer garment, and I supported him, and he left all that was in his church, and went out. And there was not one of the bishops or ecclesiastics with the patriarch save me alone and one reader of the church of Saint Macarius, named James, a native of Bilbais.

Now Marwân had commanded that the trumpet should be sounded at Misr, and a proclamation made during three days, saying : « If after three

وجدت بمصر انسانا او دابة متخلفة قتلته لاني اضرب جميع الفسطاط بالنار فعدوا الناس كلهم الى الجزيرة<sup>1</sup> والجزيرة<sup>2</sup> وغيرها وهرب جميع الناس في السراكب حتى<sup>3</sup> البنات السخدرات اللاتي<sup>4</sup> لم يخرجن قط خرجن اليها مع اهاليهن وتركوا الناس جميع اموالهم<sup>5</sup> وضرب النار من قبلى مصر الى بحريها حتى انتهت<sup>6</sup> الى الجامع الكبير الذى للمسلمين ووقع في البحر من الناس والبهائم ما لا يحصى عدده بحسب<sup>7</sup> انهم لم يجدوا من يعدو بهم لما هربوا من النار وكان الاخ يهرب من اخيه والصديق من صديقه والاعمى لا يجد من يقوده والمفلوج والضعيف والشيخ الثانى والعجوز التى لا نهضة لها جميع هؤلاء احترقوا بالنار وكانوا الناس مطروحين في الشوارع والازقة والغيطان في اعسال الجزيرة كالاموات مسا حل بهم تحت شقاء عظيم وجوع وعطش ولا يجدون ما يقتاتون به من كثرة الخلق وكانت الغلات التى بمصر قد احرقها مروان ففسدوا الجند الى كوزارا واسمه<sup>8</sup> في نسخة اخرى حوثة<sup>9</sup> فاعلوه بوصولنا<sup>10</sup> فامر واحدا اسمه ازرق ان يأخذنا<sup>11</sup> عنده

1. AD om. — 2. AD الجزيرة BEG om. — 3. E om. to اهاليهم. — 4. Mss. DF التى — 5. E om. انتهى. — 6. Mss. انتهى. — 7. E add. وعشائهم. — 8. E add. بعشائهم. — 9. E om. to حوثة. — 10. Mss. كثر and so throughout. — 11. E يأخذهم. — 12. E بوصول الارباب. — 13. E بعشائهم. — 14. E بعشائهم. — 15. E بعشائهم. — 16. E بعشائهم. — 17. E بعشائهم. — 18. E بعشائهم. — 19. E بعشائهم. — 20. E بعشائهم. — 21. E بعشائهم. — 22. E بعشائهم. — 23. E بعشائهم. — 24. E بعشائهم. — 25. E بعشائهم. — 26. E بعشائهم. — 27. E بعشائهم. — 28. E بعشائهم. — 29. E بعشائهم. — 30. E بعشائهم. — 31. E بعشائهم. — 32. E بعشائهم. — 33. E بعشائهم. — 34. E بعشائهم. — 35. E بعشائهم. — 36. E بعشائهم. — 37. E بعشائهم. — 38. E بعشائهم. — 39. E بعشائهم. — 40. E بعشائهم. — 41. E بعشائهم. — 42. E بعشائهم. — 43. E بعشائهم. — 44. E بعشائهم. — 45. E بعشائهم. — 46. E بعشائهم. — 47. E بعشائهم. — 48. E بعشائهم. — 49. E بعشائهم. — 50. E بعشائهم. — 51. E بعشائهم. — 52. E بعشائهم. — 53. E بعشائهم. — 54. E بعشائهم. — 55. E بعشائهم. — 56. E بعشائهم. — 57. E بعشائهم. — 58. E بعشائهم. — 59. E بعشائهم. — 60. E بعشائهم. — 61. E بعشائهم. — 62. E بعشائهم. — 63. E بعشائهم. — 64. E بعشائهم. — 65. E بعشائهم. — 66. E بعشائهم. — 67. E بعشائهم. — 68. E بعشائهم. — 69. E بعشائهم. — 70. E بعشائهم. — 71. E بعشائهم. — 72. E بعشائهم. — 73. E بعشائهم. — 74. E بعشائهم. — 75. E بعشائهم. — 76. E بعشائهم. — 77. E بعشائهم. — 78. E بعشائهم. — 79. E بعشائهم. — 80. E بعشائهم. — 81. E بعشائهم. — 82. E بعشائهم. — 83. E بعشائهم. — 84. E بعشائهم. — 85. E بعشائهم. — 86. E بعشائهم. — 87. E بعشائهم. — 88. E بعشائهم. — 89. E بعشائهم. — 90. E بعشائهم. — 91. E بعشائهم. — 92. E بعشائهم. — 93. E بعشائهم. — 94. E بعشائهم. — 95. E بعشائهم. — 96. E بعشائهم. — 97. E بعشائهم. — 98. E بعشائهم. — 99. E بعشائهم. — 100. E بعشائهم.

days I find man or beast remaining in Miṣr, I will put that man or that beast to death, for I will set fire to the whole city of Al-Fustāt. » — So all the people passed over to Al-Gizah and the Island and other parts, escaping in the boats; even the carefully guarded girls, who had never been out of doors, went away with their families; and the people left all their goods behind. And the caliph caused Miṣr to be set on fire from the south to the north, until it reached the Great Mosque of the Muslims. And a countless number of men and beasts were drowned in the river, because they could find none to carry them across, when they fled from the fire. For brother fled from brother, and friend from friend; and the blind found none to lead him; and the cripple and the paralytic and the sick and the old man about to die and the aged woman unable to move, — all these were burnt in the fire. And people were lying in the streets and lanes and gardens in the district of Al-Gizah like corpses, in consequence of all that they had suffered in their great misery and hunger and thirst. And they found no food on account of the multitude of people; for Marwān had burnt the supplies of provisions in Miṣr.

So the soldiers went to Kauzārā, whose name in another copy is Hau-



حتى يدبر رأيه ثم اعلم مروان ان اعداء الخراسانيين قد وصلوا الى الفرماء فانضم  
قوما الى بحرى فى السراكب الى كل كورة ليحرقوا كل مركب يجدونه فى البحر ففعلوا  
ذلك وارسل قوما آخرين فى البر وتقدم اليهم بحرق المدن والكور والكروم والسوان  
وكلما يجدونه فساروا حتى وصلوا اتريب فهبطوا بحرقها وكان هناك خمسة بحور  
تجرى الى الغرب سوى خلدجان كانت تجرى من البحر المسنى حيحون وهو بحر النيل  
وظن مروان انه يقيم فى الوجه الغربى والخراسانيون فى الوجه الشرقى وانهم اذا وجدوا  
خرابا رجعوا لكونه خاليا من الناس والبهائم والغلات والمستغلات ولا يجدون فيه ما يقدر  
بأودهم ولا مراكب يعدون فيها اليه فلا يستقر بهم المقام فيرجعون على اعقابهم فاعلم  
بقرب وصول اعدائه وان فى البحر مواضع مخاضات يتواصلون فيها اليه فعرفود فانضم  
اعداد الذين سيّروهم الى اتريب ولم يحرقوها لانهم عادوا اليه سرعة وفى ثامن عشر  
من ايب سنة اربع مائة وسبعين للشهداء احرق<sup>1</sup> حصنا<sup>2</sup> فى مصر فى<sup>3</sup> تلك الليلة لا

والضغطات 3. E om. — 2. EF حصن مصر. — 1. ABG واحرق.

arah, and reported our arrival to him; and he commanded a man named  
zrak to take charge of us, until he should settle what was to be done.  
At that time Marwân was informed that his enemies, the Khorassanians,  
had arrived at Al-Faramâ. So he sent troops in boats to the north to every  
district, that they might burn all the boats that they found on the river;  
and this purpose they carried out. And he despatched other troops by land,  
with orders to burn the cities and villages and vineyards and water-wheels  
and every thing that they could find. So they marched on till they reached  
Atrib, which they were minded to burn. And there were there five streams  
of water running westwards, besides canals flowing from the river called  
'Nehon', which is the River Nile. And Marwân thought that he could remain  
on the western side of the Nile, while the Khorassanians were on the eastern  
bank, and that, when they found the country laid waste, they would retire,  
because it was empty of men and beasts and provisions and stores, and that  
they would not find in the land anything to repay their trouble, nor boats by  
which they might cross over to him, and so that they would not remain  
there, but would turn upon their heels. But afterwards he learnt that his  
enemies were approaching near, and that there were fords in the river by  
which they might reach him. And when this was made known to him, he  
sent a messenger to bring back those whom he had despatched to Atrib; and  
therefore they did not burn that town, because they returned speedily to

1. Gen., ii, 13; Eccli., xxiv, 27 (Vulg. 37; also Jer., ii, 18, Sept.).



عدا في المراكب هو وجميع عسكره فنزل على شطّ البحر حتى احرق الحصن ولم يحرق المراكب التي كانت معه في برّ الغرب وكانوا الجند يحضرون اليه في كل يوم فيقول لهم احتفظوا بالمراكب وفي كل موضع يمضي اليه يسوقنا معه ونحن تحت تعب عظيم من كثرة الخلق والدوابّ والزحام والضغوطات<sup>1</sup>

وعند غروب الشمس في اليوم التاسع عشر من ابيب وصلوا الخراسانيون الى مصر وشاهدتهم من<sup>2</sup> البرّ الغربى فامر باجتماع اصحابه في تلك الليلة ثم تواصلوا الخراسانيون الى مصر بالغداة وهم يشتمون مروان واولاده شتما قبيحا وتكاثروا جدّا وضربوا خيامهم قبلى الفسطاط في موضع يعرف بالاصطبل وافترشوا الى الجبل وشطّ<sup>3</sup> البحر كان اولهم وآخرهم من الفرما الى غزّة وكانوا<sup>4</sup> هؤلاء الطوالع ونزل مروان ساعة في ليلة العشرين من ابيب وكان سائرا على الطريق وامر باحضارنا لانه كان مستلنا حنقا وغضبا علينا ممّا

1. DF om. — 2. E برّ في البحر. — 3. F غزّة الى الفرما. — 4. E om. to باحضارنا add. ومن معه. — 5. E om. to يدده اليمين add. ومن معه. — 6. E om. to لا يحزنون على ما جرا للاب ومن معه.

him. And on the 18th of Abib, in the year 470 of the Martyrs, Marwân burnt a fort at Miṣr on that night. For he crossed in the boats, he and all his army, and encamped on the bank of the river until he had burnt the fort. But he did not burn the boats which were with him on the western bank. And when the soldiers came to him every day, he said to them : « Take care of the boats. » And wherever he marched he took us about with him, we being in great distress through the multitude of people and beasts, and the crowd and throng.

And at sunset, on the 18th of Abib, the Khorassanians reached Miṣr, and he beheld them from the western bank; and he commanded his followers to assemble that night. The Khorassanians marched into Miṣr next day, heaping foul insults upon Marwân and his sons. These strangers formed a vast host, and they pitched their tents to the north of Al-Fuṣṭāṭ, at a place called the Stable; and their camp extended from that spot to the mountains. Thus their vanguard were on the bank of the Nile, while their rearguard reached from Al-Faramâ to Gaza; for these who had arrived at Miṣr were their scouts.

When Marwân encamped for a time during the night of the 20th of Abib, being then on the march, he ordered that we should be brought before him; for he was filled with anger and wrath against us on account of what

حكى له عَنَّا حوثرة فما اعظم الحزن والهَمَّ اللذين<sup>1</sup> نزلنا بنا في تلك الساعة وانا لم  
تفكرت فيما كان اخاف وارتعدت مَن لا يبكى اذا نظر ما جرى علينا ومن  
يحزن لما اصابنا لانه تم علينا قول داءود النبي في المزمور 31 اذ يقول معارفى وقفوا  
منى بعيدا هرب كل من كان معنا وحولنا من التلاميذ وغيرهم ولم يبق معنا سوى القس  
مينا ارشيبابا<sup>2</sup> بيعة ابي سرجة والاغومنس ثيدر الذى استحق الاسقفية بعد ذلك  
والشَّاس كاتب البطرِك لانه كان بمصر هؤلاء تركوا نساءهم واولادهم ومالهم وتبعونا  
قائلين نحن نموت معكم فلما رأى الاب ميخائيل حسن سريرتهم بارك عليهم وامرهم  
ان يعودوا ولا يتبعونا فلم يفعلوا ثم مشوا معنا وكنت انا لابسا اسكسيم الرهبان بغير  
استحقاق وكان ابي موييسس الاسقف يمسك يد الاب الشمال وانا امسك يد اليمين  
P. 174\* فلما وصلنا الى خيمته خرج الينا<sup>3</sup> السياف وهو<sup>3</sup> مخوف جدًّا فعاد معنا بامر الملك فلم

نحاس 3. E om. to — ارشى B ارشى بابا ADEFG. — الذين F الذى ABDG. —  
واخذ الاب وادخله الى الملك مروان واما انبا موييسس الاسقف والاثنين التلاميذ dd.  
اسلموهم الى جند اشرار فطرحوا انبا موييسس على ركبتيه وضربوه بدبابيس حديد.

Jautharah had told him of us. How great were the grief and the anxiety  
which settled upon us at that hour! When I think upon what took place,  
fear and tremble for those who would not weep if they beheld what  
happened to us, nor grieve for what we underwent. For the words of David  
the Prophet, in the 37th Psalm, were fulfilled upon us, where he says<sup>1</sup> :  
« My acquaintances stood far from me. » All the disciples that had been  
around us fled with the others, and none remained with us save the priest  
Mennas, archpriest of the church of Saint Sergius, and the hegumen Theo-  
lore, who was afterwards counted worthy to be made a bishop, and the  
deacon who was the patriarch's secretary, because he had been at Misr.  
These had left their wives and children and goods, and followed us, saying :  
« We will die with you. » So, when the Father Michael saw the goodness  
of their thoughts, he blessed them, and bade them return and not follow us,  
but this they would not do; and they continued to march with us. And I  
was wearing the habit of the monks, although unworthy. And my Father  
Moses, the bishop, took the father's left arm, and I took his right arm.

And when we arrived at Marwân's tent, the swordsman came out to us,  
and he was very terrible; and he conducted us within by order of the prince.  
So when Marwân beheld us, he said : « Which of you is the patriarch? »

1. Ps. xxxviii; 12 (Sept. xxxvii).

نظر إلينا قال من هو فيكم البطرك ققيل له هذا فأمر أن يقدموه إليه وسلموا أبى إلى جند ياكلون لحوم الناس وافردونا ناحية ثم طرح الأب أنبا موسى على ركبته ورفعوا رجله إلى فوق وضربوه بدبابيس نحاس على أجنابه وعلى رقبته وكانوا يقولون له اعطنا برطيلاً ونخلّيك فلم<sup>1</sup> يقل لهم كلمة واحدة لأنه ما يعرف ما يقولون له إلا ما كنت أنا أفهمه من كلامهم واقوله له<sup>2</sup> كلمة بعد كلمة وكان ساجداً على الأرض يصلى ويشكر ويدعو إلى الله أن يجعله مستحقاً أن يتألم من أجل بيعة الله ولم يخاطبني أنا بل غبطة واحدة لأنهم كانوا ينظرون لباسي زرياً وكان الأب القديس أنبا ميخائيل البطرك قائماً ووجهه إلى مروان وكان ينظر نحو مصر وينظر أعداءه والخراسانيون ينظرون إليه والمصريون على شاطئ البحر جميعهم يشتمون مروان كما قلنا انما وإذا بواحد من الخراسانيين رمى بنشابة إلى البر الغربي ونحن ننظره وكانوا بقية النصارى بمصر قالوا للخراسانيين هذا أبونا البطرك عند مروان الكافر وما ندرى ما يصنع به وكانوا البشامرة قد لقوهم من

1. E om. to زرياً add. جعل مستحق لذلك.  
 — 2. ABDG لهم.

When he was told which was he, he commanded that they should bring the patriarch forward before him; and they delivered my father to soldiers who were devourers of men's flesh; but they set us apart on one side. Then the father, Abba Moses, was thrown upon his knees, and they lifted up his feet, and beat him with brazen clubs upon his sides and neck, saying to him : « Give us money, and we will release thee. » But he answered not a word, for he knew not what they said to him, except what I understood of their words, and repeated to him word by word. And he was prostrate on the ground, thanking God and praying him to make him worthy to suffer for the Church of God. And the officer did not address a single syllable to me, for they considered my dress disgraceful. Now the holy father, Abba Michael, the patriarch, was standing with his face towards Marwân, whose eyes were turned towards Miṣr, where he saw his enemies; while the Khorassanians were looking in his direction, and all the people of Miṣr on the bank of the Nile were insulting Marwân, as we said before. And behold, one of the Khorassanians shot an arrow towards the western bank, while we were looking at him. And those that were left of the Christians at Miṣr said to the Khorassanians : « There is our father, the patriarch, standing before Marwân, the misbeliever; and we know not what he will do with him. » The Bashmurites also had met the Khorassanians at Al-Faramâ and said to them : « Marwân has seized our patriarch, with intent to kill



الفرما وقالوا للخراسانيين ان بطركنا قد اخذه مروان ليقتله بسبب اننا قاتلناه وقتلنا عسكره قبل مجيئكم وكان حوثة الكافر عند مروان يقول له هذا البطرك كان يقول<sup>1</sup> تقوّوا فان الله ينزع السلاكة من مروان ويسلمها لاعدائه ومثل هذا كثيرا فلما سمع مروان هذا قال<sup>2</sup> ترجمانه للاب البطرك انت بطرك الاسكندرية وذلك عن قول مروان فقال انا عبدك نعم وانا<sup>3</sup> سمعت منه هذا لاني كنت قريبا منه فقال له مروان قل لي انت رئيس اعداء مذهبنا فاجابه البطرك القديس وقال ما انا رئيس اشرار بل اخيار وشعبي ليس يعمل سوءا لكن التعب اهلكهم حتى اباعوا اولادهم ولم<sup>4</sup> اسمع بعد هذا كلمة اخرى من فمه ثم امر مروان الاعوان الذين يمسكونه ان يمدّوا اليه ايديهم بسرعة وينتفوا شعر لحيته من عارضيه ورموا شعره في البحر وانا انظره بعيني يعوم على الماء وكانت لحيته كبيرة حسنة نازلة على صدره مثل لحية يعقوب اسرائيل وكانوا الخراسانيون في البسر الشرقي ينظرون<sup>5</sup> ما يعمل به فلو<sup>6</sup> وجدوا سبيلا يعدون الى مروان لكانوا يقتلونه لما رأوه

1. E add. للبشارة. — 2. E لسان الترجمان. — 3. E om. to منه. — 4. E om. to الماء add. فامر بان ينتفوا شعر لحيته ففعلوا ذلك ورموها البحر. — 5. So in Mss. — 6. E om. to قلبه add. وكانوا يودوا انهم يعدوا الى عند مروان.

him, because we fought against the prince, and slew his soldiers before you came. » Meanwhile Hautharah, the misbeliever, was with Marwân, and was saying to him : « This patriarch said : Be of good courage, for God will take away the government from Marwân, and deliver it to his enemies. » And many words like this were uttered by him. So when Marwân heard these accusations, his interpreter said to the father patriarch : « Art thou the patriarch of Alexandria? » For that was Marwân's question. Abba Michael answered : « Yea, I am thy servant. » And I heard him say this, because I was near him. So Marwân said to him : « Tell me, art thou the chief of the enemies of our religion? » Then the holy patriarch answered and said : « I am not the chief of wicked men, but of good men; and my people do not work evil, but they have been ruined by troubles, so that they have even been forced to offer their children for sale. » After that, I did not hear another word from his mouth. Then Marwân commanded the officials who were holding him to stretch forth their hands to him forthwith, and pull out the hair of his beard from his cheeks; and they cast his hair into the river, and I saw it with my own eyes floating on the water. Now his beard had been full and handsome, flowing over his breast like the beard of Jacob Israel. And the Khorassanians on the eastern bank were observing what Marwân did to the patriarch; and if they had found means of crossing over

من ظلمه وقساوة قلبه ولكن لم يجدوا مراكب يعدون فيها بالجملة ولم يكن البحر زاد شيئاً الى اول مسرى وكان البحر الغربى قد نشف بغير ماء والبحر الآخر الشرقى كان فيه مواضع قلّة مخاضات ولم يكونوا الخراسانيون يعرفونهم وكان مروان قد<sup>1</sup> حرس عليها لمعرفته<sup>2</sup> بها ولا<sup>3</sup> يقرب مركب من ناحية الغرب الى مصر ثم جازت<sup>4</sup> الساعة السادسة<sup>5</sup> P. 175 \* ذلك اليوم والاب البطرك قائم بين يديه امرد بغير لحية وابى موسى في العقوبة التي ذكرناها اولاً الى الوقت المذكور ففتح الرب محبّ البشر عينى قلبه ونظرا الشهيدين سرجيوس وواخس ونعمة الله حائطة بهما في شبه فارسين من جند الملك عدوا البحر وهما راكبان<sup>6</sup> خيولهما ولم يشاهدهما احد سواه وحده حتى وقفنا<sup>7</sup> مقابل وجه مروان فقالا<sup>8</sup> له ما قعادك هاهنا وقد عدوا اعداؤك الى الغرب ولم<sup>8</sup> يشاهدهما احد الا ابى الاسقف ابنا موسى ومروان لا غير وكان الاب البطرك مع الاعوان يعذبونه ثم غابا الشهيدين القديسان

1. E جعل عليها حراس. — 2. E om. to مصر. — 3. F لا تعدى مركب من. — 4. ABDG om. و E فنظروا. — 5. So G; ABDE ركاب F راكبين. — 6. Mss. وقفنا. — 7. Mss. فقالا. — 8. E om. to القديسان.

to Marwân, they would have killed him because of the tyranny and hardness of heart which they saw in him; but they could not find any boats at all in which to cross. The river, however, did not rise at all before the 1st of Mişri; and the western branch had sunk so low as to be without water; and in the other branch, namely the eastern, there were a few places that could be forded, but the Khorassanians did not know them; and Marwân guarded them because he knew of them; and no boat from the western bank approached Mişr.

The sixth hour passed that day while the father patriarch was standing before Marwân beardless with bare cheeks. And while my father Moses was all the time undergoing the torments which we have mentioned before, the Lord opened the eyes of his heart, and he beheld the two martyrs, Sergius and Bacchus, with the grace of God surrounding them, in the likeness of two horsemen of the army of the prince; and they crossed the river, riding their horses, while no man saw them but he alone, until they stood opposite to Marwân, and said to him: « Why dost thou sit here paralysed, when thine enemies have crossed over to the west? » But no man beheld those two, except my father, the bishop Abba Moses, and Marwân, and no other. For the father patriarch was still in the hands of the officials, and they were tormenting him. Then the two holy martyrs disappeared.



وَأَمْرُ أَنْ يُحْفَظَ الْآبَا E وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ يُحْفَظْنَا ABG — 2. ABDEG om. — 1. BEG وَرَكِبَ —  
وَكَانَ قَدْ F فَجَاءُوا بَعْضَ اسَاقِنَةِ E D وَكَانَ ABG — 5. فَاقَامَا بَقِيَّةَ يَوْمَيْهِمَا ذَلِكَ E — 4.  
نَعَمْ — 8. E om. to بِأَحْضَارِهِمْ — 7. E om. add. مَعَهُ بِالْأَبِ وَمِنْ — 6. E om. to جَاءَا  
وَقَالَ لِبَقِيَّةِ الْإِبْهَاتِ أَقِيمُوا مَكَانَكُمْ فَلَمْ يَرْعُوا أَنبَا مُوَيْسَسَ يَفَارِقُ الْآبَ add. الْخَادِمَ لِرَبِّهِ  
— 9. Mss. om. الْبَطْرِكُ وَمِنْ شِدَّةِ مَنَازِعَتِهِ مَعَ السَّيَّانِ جَاءَ رَسُولُ أَخِي

And Marwân forthwith broke up his camp, and commanded the troops to follow him, ordering that we should be kept till the morrow. Thus we remained the rest of that day on the bank of the river, exposed to the sun, in consequence of the command which the caliph had given to the soldiers, until I thought that my father would not live till sunset, after the severe torment which they had inflicted upon him. Then, on the morrow early, we were visited by bishops, and monks from Wadi Habîb, who had come to see what had been done to us; and subsequently they remained with us. Then Marwân appeared, for he was riding; and he took his seat, and commanded that we should be brought before him early in the morning. So when the sun rose he summoned a swordsman, and sent for our father, Abba Michael, alone, that the officer might bring him into his presence. Accordingly the swordsman took his hand and led him in, saying to us : « Stand here till he calls you ». But my father, Abba Moses, cried out, saying : « As the Lord lives, I will never be separated from my father, but will follow him whithersoever they take him ! » Then I also hastened with them, in order to find out what would become of them. But, when the swordsman saw me, he said : « The prince ordered that the patriarch alone should enter. » The bishop said to him : « I have told thee that I cannot



فغضب السيّاف<sup>1</sup> وقال له بحق<sup>2</sup> ما يجوز مخالفة الملك وانت فما تسمع وكان في يده دبوس نحاس يكون وزنه عشرين رطلاً فشال الدبوس ليضرب ابي على رأسه فتقدم رأسه اليه فلما اراد ان يضربه صاحوا عليه جماعة من اصحابه المستخدمين ولم يدعوه ان<sup>3</sup> يضربه وكان جميع العسكر يقولون بلسانهم<sup>4</sup> ولغتهم حقاً ان هذا الاسقف نعم الخادم لرّبّه ثم جاء رسول اتى<sup>5</sup> قائلاً ادخلوا بحبيبتهم فقد استدعاهم الملك فدخلنا جميعاً فكان مروان جالساً على شاطئ البحر فتقدم اولاً الاب الطوباني وحده كما امر مروان ووقفه بين يديه نهاره اجمع نحو<sup>6</sup> عشر ساعات ووجهه اليه وكان قلبه عند المسيح ويبدأ مبسوطتان وجوارحه تدعو ويصلّب على وجهه ولا يخاف من الملك لبغضه<sup>7</sup> لعلامة<sup>8</sup> الصليب فلم يخاطبه بكلمة واحدة وكان<sup>9</sup> حوله عدة سيوف مسلّوة والأت<sup>10</sup> الحرب فلما نحن فامر P 176.

1. G add. السيّاف. — 2. ABC بحق. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. DF om. — 5. E om. to يوجهه اليه add. الاب الطوباني. — 6. DF add. من. — 7. EDF لبغضه. — 8. ABDG om. ل. — 9. E om. to مع الناس add. مع الناس. — 10. Mss. والة. —
- يستدعهم الكل وكان مروان على شاطئ البحر فاقام الاب الطوباني وحده كما امر مروان ووقفه بين يديه نهاره اجمع نحو عشر ساعات ووجهه اليه وكان قلبه عند المسيح ويبدأ مبسوطتان وجوارحه تدعو ويصلّب على وجهه ولا يخاف من الملك لبغضه لعلامة الصليب فلم يخاطبه بكلمة واحدة وكان حوله عدة سيوف مسلّوة والأت الحرب فلما نحن فامر P 176.

be separated at all from my father, for I only came here for his sake; therefore do whatever thou desirest, but I will never be parted from him. » Then the swordsman was angry and said to him in fury : « It is not lawful to disobey the prince; yet thou wilt not hearken ». Now he had in his hand a brazen club, which weighed twenty pounds, and he raised it to strike my father upon the head; and he offered his head to him. But when he was about to strike him, a body of his companions, who were in attendance, cried out upon him, and would not let him strike. And all the soldiers said in their language and speech : « Verily what an excellent servant this bishop is to his master! » Then there came a messenger saying : « Bring them all in, for the prince summons them. » So we all entered; and found Marwan sitting on the bank of the river. Then first the blessed father went forward alone, as Marwân ordered; and the prince made him stand before him all that day for about ten hours, confronting him; but the patriarch's heart was with Christ, while his hands were stretched out, and his very limbs seemed to pray; and he made the sign of the cross over his face, without fear of the prince who hated the sign of the cross. And the caliph did not address a single word to him; and there were around him many drawn swords and weapons of war.

ان يجعلونا على يساره في ناحية مفردة وامر ايضا باحضارنا وتسليمنا الى قوم اخريين غير الذين جابونا من الاسكندرية فسلمونا الى قوم كانتهم<sup>1</sup> الوحوش<sup>2</sup> وامر رجلاً من اصحابه مقدم رجال عنده اسمه يزيد كان شجاعاً اكثر من كل من عنده ان يتسلمنا وكان عدتنا في ذلك اليوم عشرة سوى الاب البطرك ابنا ميخائيل فجعل مع<sup>3</sup> كل<sup>4</sup> واحد منا ثلاثة من الجند وضيقوا علينا جداً فلما حميت الشمس اعد لنا ذلك الامير آلات<sup>5</sup> العذاب مختلفة<sup>6</sup> لانهم لم يتفقوا على قتلة يقتلونا بها ثم سألنا انا وابي موسى الاب البطرك ان يقول علينا صلاة التحليل كقانون البيعة ففعل ذلك ثم قلنا على بعضنا بعضاً وصغيرة يقول للكبير ان وجدت رحمة عند المسيح اذكرني وحوّلنا وجوهنا الى الشرق وصلينا والناس ينظرون<sup>7</sup> الينا من البر الشرقي والغربي وجماعة من المسلمين يكون علينا وكار ولد مروان الكبير اسمه عبد الله باكياً علينا ايضاً مع الناس فتطلع مروان الى البر الشرقي فرأى الخراسانيين في كثرة فقلق لذلك وكان يقول كيف اقاتلهم ولم يدر ما

1. BG مثل الوحوش. — 2. A الوحش. — 3. ABFG om. — 4. F لكل. — 5. So E; ABDEFG آلة. — 6. ABDEFG مختلفة E المختلفة. — 7. So in ABFG; D ينظروا.

As for us, Marwân commanded his men to set us on his left hand in a place apart; and again he ordered that we should be brought forward and delivered to certain soldiers, other than those who had conducted us from Alexandria; so they handed us over to men who were like wild beasts. And he bade one of his companions take charge of us, namely Yazîd, a leader of certain men with him, who was braver than any other of his followers. Our number on that day was ten, besides the father patriarch, Abba Michael; and Yazîd put with each one of us three soldiers, who oppressed us sorely. Then, when the sun was burning, that officer prepared for us various instruments of torture; for they had not agreed as to what kind of death they should make us suffer; upon which I and my father Moses begged the father patriarch to say over us the Prayer of Absolution, according to the canon of the church; and so he did. Afterwards we prayed one for another, and the younger of us said to the elder : « If thou shalt find mercy with Christ, remember me. » And we turned our faces to the East and prayed, while the people were looking at us from the eastern bank, and also on the western side, and many of the Muslims wept for us; and Marwân's eldest son, named Abd Allah, was weeping for us also, together with the people.

Then Marwân lifted up his eyes towards the eastern bank, and saw





1. F يطاع Mss. add. على ابيد. — 2. ABDG الى ان. — 3. ABG DEF om. —  
4. BEFG اصحاب. — 5. E om. to add. منا الى الاعتقال وامر ان. — 6. E om. to  
فكانوا تحت عتيق عظيم وكان الاب حزين add. اردنا ان نفطر. — 7. A طسوا BD  
طسوا E طسوا G طسوا. — 8. Mss. ابو. — 9. ABG الكرسي البسراط F الكرسي  
البسراط. — 10. E طسوا G طسوا. — 11. Mss. ابو. — 12. E طسوا G طسوا.

the Lord beheld our secret thoughts and our faith, and he put into the heart of Abd Allah, the elder son of Marwân, the wish to intercede with his father, Marwân, weeping with copious tears; for he begged his father to let us go, saying : « Behold, thou seest our enemies surrounding us; while we are preparing, if things go hard with us, to escape to the land of the Blacks, who are, as we have been told, the spiritual children of this old man; so that, if thou slayest him, they will not welcome us, but they also will rise up against us and slay us. » When Marwân had heard these words of his son, we were taken back to prison. Now there were in that place four prisons. So, when they brought us into the prison, they made us fast with wood and iron, and we were in great distress. And the first to be fettered with iron was the holy father and patriarch; and after him the bishop, Abba Moses, and I, his son John, the poor sinner and deacon, upon whom he had laid his holy hand without any merit of mine. Then followed the bishop of Tunbuda, Abba Mennas, the patriarch's secretary, and Abba Zacharias, bishop of Atrib, and his spiritual son, the bishop of Buṣîr, whose name was Peter, and who had recently taken possession of his see, and the deacon George, the son of the spiritual father who received the see of Al-Basrâṭ, and Athanasius, archpriest of the church of Saint Macarius, and Abba

السرّاط واتناسيوس ارشيبابا بيعة ابي مقار وَاَبَا يَعْقُوبَ الَّذِي اسْتَحْتَّ اَيْضًا اسْتَقْفِيَّةَ سَنَجَارَ وَاخُوهُ الرُّوحَانِي وَلَدَ الْاَبِ بطرس من سَمْنُودَ وَنَحْنُ الْاَحَدَ عَشَرَ جَعَلُوْا فِي رَجُلٍ كُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنَا طَوْبَةَ حَدِيدٍ ثَقِيْلَةً جَدًّا يَكُوْنُ وَزْنُهَا نِصْفُ خَنْجُوْرٍ وَجَعَلُوْا خَلْفَ ثَلَاثَةِ اَبْوَابٍ خَشَبٍ لَيْسَ ضَوْءٌ وَلَا هَوَاءٌ وَلَا رَاحَةٌ وَكُنَّا وَاحِدٌ يَنْظُرُ اِلَى الشَّرْقِ وَوَاحِدٌ يَنْظُرُ اِلَى الْغَرْبِ وَكَانَ يَغْشَانَا الضِّيقُ اَكْثَرَ مِنْ الْحَدِيدِ حَتَّى قَارَبْنَا الْمَوْتَ مِنَ الضَّغْطَةِ وَالرِّبَاطِ بِغَيْرِ رَحْمَةٍ وَامَرَ ذَلِكَ الْمَلِكُ الْكَافِرُ مَرْوَانَ اَنْ يَضِيقَ عَلَيْنَا وَكَانَ الْاَبُ حَزِينًا عَلَيْنَا اَكْثَرَ مِنْ هَمِّهِ بِنَفْسِهِ وَكَانَ يَشْجَعُنَا بِكَلَامِ اللّٰهِ وَالْقَوَانِيْنِ الْمَقْدَسَةِ الَّتِي لَا بَائِنَا الْمَقْدَمِيْنَ وَكَذَلِكَ مَا كَانَ أَحَدٌ مِّنَّا يَخْفَى عَنْ الْآخَرِ شَيْئًا وَكُنَّا كُلُّنَا نَفْسًا وَاحِدَةً كَمَا قَالَ بُولُسُ مُنْتَظِرِيْنَ الْأَمْرَ وَنَسْتَلِ اللّٰهَ اِنْ يَأْتِي بِهِ سُرْعَةً لِنَجْعَلَ نَفُوسَنَا عَنْ الشَّعْبِ لئَلَّا يَهْلِكَ وَاحِدٌ مِنْهُمْ وَكَانَ الْاَبُ اِذَا تَكَلَّمَ يَتَكَلَّمُ بِمَنْطِقِ رُوحَانِيٍّ كَأَنَّهَا قِيْتَارَةٌ يَخْرُجُ مِنْ فِيهِ نَسِيمُ الْحَيَاةِ بِتَسَالِيْحٍ رُوحَانِيَّةٍ وَكَانَ مُوَاصِلًا الصِّيَامِ وَالصَّلَاةِ نَهَارًا وَلَيْلًا فَلَمَّا اَبَى مُوَبْسِيْسُ فَاوُلَ سَاعَةً دَخَلُوا بَنَاءَ السِّجْنِ وَقَيَّدُونَا تَتَبَى لَنَا وَقَالَ مَا يَقْتُلُونَا فِي مِثْلِ الدَّفْعَةِ وَلَا نَخْرُجُ مِنْ

James, who was also counted worthy of the bishopric of Sanjâr, and his spiritual brother, the son of the Father Peter of Samamûd. And they fastened to the feet of each one of us eleven a mass of iron, exceedingly heavy, weighing half a *khunjâr*; and they put us behind three wooden doors without light or air or means of rest, one looking to the east and another to the west; and the narrow space in which we were oppressed us more than the iron, so that we almost died from crowding, and the gaolers were pitiless; for that misbelieving prince, Marwân, had given orders that we should be closely confined. And our father's sadness on our account was greater than his care for himself; but he encouraged us with the word of God and the holy canons of our ancient fathers. So not one of us hid anything from the others, but we were all one soul, as Paul says<sup>1</sup>, awaiting the end; and we prayed God to send it quickly, that we might lay down our lives for the people, rather than that one of them should perish. When the father discoursed to us, he spoke a spiritual language like the music of a harp, while the breath of life came forth from his mouth with spiritual praises; and he persevered in fasting and in prayer day and night.

As for my father Moses, in the first hour after they brought us into the prison and put us in fetters he prophesied to us, saying : « They will not

1. Rom., xii. 16; xv. 5; I Cor., i, 10; II Cor., xiii, 11; Phil., ii, 2; iv, 2, etc.



الاعتقال ومروان في<sup>1</sup> الحياة وكان كما قال وكنتا اذا اردنا ان نطهر كان انسان يعرف بابن كسطس ينفذ لنا<sup>2</sup> ما نطهر عليه وليس عندنا سعة ناكل ولا تقدر ان نلتفت يمينا ولا شمالاً من الضيق وكان غلاء عظيم في بر الجيزة من كثرة الخلق وكان القمح لا يوجد بالجملة والشعير كذلك بعد<sup>3</sup> ان كان بيع الويبة بثمان عظيم وعند الضيقة صار الملح بسعره الاول<sup>4</sup>

ثم ان مروان بعد تلك البلايا التي فعلها في كل مكان امر من معه ان يقتلوا ويأسروا وينهبوا ففعلوا ذلك وانفذ الى الصعيد وقتل جماعة النصارى وكان<sup>5</sup> المتولّى لهذا الامر من قبله رجلاً يسمى مروان بن عبد العزيز الذي بنى حلوان واخربوا من منف الى مدينة تاوضوسيا<sup>6</sup> فلما اراد الرب ينتقم منهم لم يصبر عليهم بعد ما افسدوا واستباحوا من النساء وافسدوا من العذارى كثيراً فجاءوا قوم يعرفون مخاض البحر \* P. 178 \* فعرفوا الخراسانيين بها ودلّوهم عليها وعدوا بهم الى بر الغرب وجعلوا عسكرهم اربعة

لهم ما يظفروا به وكان غلاء عظيم باقليم. الاول add. E om. — 2. DF add. حال. — 3. ABC الويبة كان وبلغ بعدان DF om. to الاول. — 4. Mss. اولا. — 5. E om. — 6. A تاوضوسا B تاوضوسا add. من العذارى كثيراً to تاوضوسيا.

slay us this time; yet we shall not be released from the prison as long as Marwān is alive.» And it was as he said. And when we wished to break our fast, a man named Ibn Kusṭus sent to us provisions for breakfast; but we had no room to eat, and could not turn to the right or left on account of the narrow space. And there was a great dearth in the district of Al-Gizah through the multitude of people; for wheat was not to be found at all, nor barley, after a *waibah* had been sold at a high price; but in spite of the distress salt was sold at the usual rate.

Then Marwān, after these troubles which he had brought upon every place, ordered his followers to slay and take prisoners and pillage; and they obeyed him. And he sent to Upper Egypt, and slew all the Christians there; the leader of that business being a man named Marwān, son of Abd al-Aziz the founder of Hulwān. And they laid waste the country from Memphis to the city of Theodosia.

But when the Lord desired to take vengeance upon them, he endured them no longer, after the crimes which they had committed in corrupting and violating women, and polluting many of the virgins. Accordingly there came some men who knew the fords of the river, and made them known to the Khorassanians, whom they guided thither, thus conducting them across to the western bank. And the Khorassanians divided their army





شبيب وجمع الآباء الرهبان القديسين واستحبوا الصوم والصلاة في البيعة ليلة ونهار  
 صارحين للسيد المسيح ان يظفر اليها ويكشف خربنا وما الناس فيه من السبي والقتل  
 والنهب وضجيج الصغار والكبار فسمعهم الله الكريم وانار عاينهم الخراسانيين فعد  
 ابو عون وجيشه الى بر الغرب فلما نظرد حوثة وجيشه اصحاب مروان انهزموا فتبعوهم  
 وقتلوهم ولم يزالوا يقتلون منهم الى ان وصلوا وادي شبيب بصاوات القديسين وعد  
 عسكر الخراسانيين في اليوم الذي اجتمعوا فيه الرهبان الى البيعة وكان يوم سبت آخر  
 يوم من ابيب وقتلوا خلقا كثيرا من عسكر مروان ولم يبق معه من ثمانية الاف خرج  
 بها من مصر سوى اربع مائة رجل فقط فلما علم مروان ان عسكرهم قد انقسم على  
 اربعة اجزاء انهزم قبل تعديتهم بيومين وحمل نساء وامواله وهرب في خفية وقتل من  
 اصحاب يزيد ثلثمائة لانه انهزم من شطنوف يريد جبل وسيم فقتلوه رجاله وقتلوا  
 فرسه الذي كان تحته ومضوا الى اولئك وحالفوهم وكانا ولدا مروان في الجيزة لما

ذلك وان لم يبق من عسكر سوى اربع مائة add. اجزا 2. E om. to — 1. Mss. بارون. — 3. E om. to add. حالفوهم — تنس. تبع اوليك.

assembled all the holy fathers and monks; and they began to fast and pray in the church night and day, crying to the Lord Christ to look upon us, and to take away our misery and all that men were suffering by captivity and slaughter and pillage, and to put a stop to the lamentations of young and old. So the gracious God heard them, and raised up the Khorassanians to help them: for Abu Aun crossed the river with his army to the western bank; and when Hautharah and his troops, Marwân's followers, saw him, they took to flight. And the Khorassanians pursued and fought them, and did not cease slaughtering them until they reached Wadi Habib, in answer to the prayers of the saints; for the army of the Khorassanians crossed over the river on the day on which the monks assembled in the church, which was Saturday, the last day of Abib. And they slew so many of Marwân's army, that of eight thousand men whom he led out of Miṣr only four hundred survived and no more.

When Marwân learnt that his enemy's troops had been divided into four parts, he fled two days before they crossed the river, carrying his wives and his goods with him; and thus he escaped secretly. And of the followers of Yazîd three hundred were slain, for he fled from Shaṭnûf in the direction of Mount Wasim; and then his own men killed him, and killed his horse that he rode, and went over to the other party, and swore allegiance to them.

هرب ابوهما ولم يعلما الى وجه توجه اليه لانه كان انفذ الصغير بحرى جزيرة النزهات وكان كثير الشر مثل ابيه واما الكبير عبد الله فان ابائنا كانوا يدعون له ان لا يقع في تجربة ولا بلاء لاجل ما فعله معهم وهكذا كان واما الصغير فكان عمره خمس عشرة سنة فانهزم الى النزهات<sup>1</sup> ومعه اربع مائة فارس<sup>2</sup> فوجد زيتا يسمى زيت الكلاب P. 179 في خوابى رخام فاقلبه على البحر واطلق النار على النزهات ولاحق مروان اباة واطلاق كل من في الحبوس التى كانت هناك ولم<sup>3</sup> يطلقونا بل اراد ان يحرقنا بالنار فدخل في وسط مراكب الاسطول ليحرقها واذا بصوت يصرخ بقوة هو ذا اعداؤك قد جاؤوا فهرب سرعة هو ومن معه والذين بقوا في النزهات من اهلها اطفؤوا النار واطلقونا<sup>4</sup> عند غروب الشمس من الاعتقال والحديد<sup>5</sup> فى ارجلنا الله يشهد ان قوما من المسلمين كانوا ركاب خيلهم نزلوا من عليها وفكوا الحديد عنا واخذوا ثياب النساء لبسوها واخفوا في المخازن والمخادع من خوف ذلك الصوت المهول الذى سمعوه واخذونا نحين

1. E بطلق الابيات واطلق النار في وسط مراكب add. ليحرقهم — 2. E om. to. خيال. — 3. E باطلقوا الابيات — 4. E om. to. واطلقنا. — 5. E ليحرقهم واطلق الاب ومن معه. عومنون.

But the two sons of Marwan were at Al-Gizah when their father fled, and they knew not whither he had gone. For he had sent his younger son to the north of the Island of An-Nuzahât; and he was very wicked like his father. But as for the elder, Abd Allah, our fathers had prayed for him that he might not meet with trials nor troubles because of what he had done for them; and so it was. Now the younger son was fifteen years old; and he fled to An-Nuzahât, accompanied by four hundred horsemen; and he found there a certain oil, called dogs' oil, in marble jars, and he upset it into the river; and after setting fire to An-Nuzahât, he joined his father Marwân. And although he released those that were in the prisons at that place, we were not released, but he wished to burn us in the fire. Then he went into the midst of the boats of the fleet to burn them; and a voice was heard, crying mightily: « Behold, thy enemies are come! » So he and his companions fled quickly. And those who remained at An-Nuzahât of its inhabitants extinguished the fire, and set us free at sunset from the prison, and released us from the irons on our feet. God be witness that some of the Muslims who were on horseback dismounted, and took off the iron from us; and men took women's dresses and put them on, and hid themselves in the storehouses and cellars, through fear of that terrible voice which they had heard. And they took us and led us away to Saint Peter's church at Al-



مضوا بنا الى ماري بطرس في الجيزة وكان يمشي معنا قوم مومنون وكانت ليلة الاحد الاول من مسرى

ولم يكن في بحر الجيزة ماء بالجملة<sup>1</sup> لانه<sup>1</sup> نشف بامر الله ولم يزد الماء ولم يتحرك بالجملة الى يوم عدونا<sup>2</sup> فيه بارجلنا فلما علموا الخراسانيون ان اولئك انهمروا ركبوا المراكب تلك الليلة وعدوا الى الجيزة وركبوا خيلهم وتبعوا مروان وكل من اتوه بغير اللباس الاسود قتلوه وفي<sup>3</sup> تلك الليلة جاء الى القبة اول الجيش الذين عدوا مع ابي<sup>4</sup> عون من شطنوف وسيوفهم مجهزة في ايديهم وهم مدرعين بالحديد كلهم يقتاتلون مروان لياخذوه فلم تتم نحن ولا غفونا في تلك الليلة فاقاموا ثلاثة ايام وثلاثة ليال يتواصلون<sup>5</sup> اول مسرى ويسيرون ونحن ننظرهم<sup>6</sup> عسكرياً واحداً من الجبل الى البحر فطلب حوثة اماناً فلم يقبلوه وقالوا اذا لم تعطنا<sup>7</sup> عدو الله مروان والا فما لك منا امان فمضى وقبض مروان ومكر به وقال له هوذا اعداؤنا قد قربوا منا قم<sup>8</sup> ناخذ<sup>9</sup>

1. E om. to بارجلنا. — 2. Mss. عدينا. — 3. E om. to البحر. — 4. Mss. بارون. — 5. DF om. with 2 foll. wds. — 6. ABG add. الا. — 7. E تسلم لنا. — 8. ABEG قوم. — 9. ADEG خذ F تاخذ DF om.

Gizah, while some of the faithful walked with us, it being the night of the first Sunday in Misri.

Now there was no water at all in the canal of Al-Gizah, for it was dried up by God's command; nor did the water rise or stir at all until the day when we crossed over it on our feet. And when the Khorassanians learnt that their enemy had fled, they embarked in the boats that night and crossed to Al-Gizah, taking their horses also on board. So they pursued Marwân. And every man that they met, who was not wearing the black garments, they put to death. And that night the van of the army, which had crossed with Abu Aun from Shaṭnûf, came southwards with their drawn swords in their hands, and all wearing iron cuirasses, purposing to fight Marwân and to capture him. And as for us, we felt no inclination to sleep that night. For the Khorassanians stayed three days and three nights, joining their forces at the beginning of Misri, and marching onwards; while we beheld them as one host from the mountains to the river. Then Hautharah begged for a safe-conduct; but they would not accept him, saying : « If thou wilt not deliver to us the enemy of God, Marwân, thou shalt have no safe-conduct from us. » So he departed and took Marwân, and acted deceitfully with him, saying : « Behold, our enemies have drawn near to us. Arise, let us take our women and children and goods, and let us embark





حلوان وكلما كان فيها وشقوا بطون النساء واخذوا<sup>1</sup> كلما كان في حلوان من امو  
مصر وقتل الفرسيون<sup>2</sup> اصحاب مروان بالسيف واخذوا كلما لهم وحملاؤهم<sup>3</sup> في مراكب  
الملك وزاد النيل بعد ان كان البحر قد نشف حتى عدوا الخراسانيون الى بر الجبل  
واهلكوا مروان ثم رجع<sup>4</sup> زاد من اول<sup>5</sup> يوم من<sup>6</sup> مسرى وكان يزيد في كل يوم نجح  
الذراع حتى انتهى الى ثمنى عشرة ذراعا تلك السنة ولاجل ذلك كانوا الناس يقولون  
ان يد الرب مع الخراسانيين وكانوا اذا وجدوا قوما عليهم علامة الصليب يخففون عنهم  
الخراج ويرفقون بهم ويعملون معهم الخير في جميع البلاد وصلبوا<sup>7</sup> مروان منكسا به  
ان قتلوه لانهم اخذوه في موضع يسمى دواتون<sup>8</sup> ونحن نشاهده وقطعوا رأس وزير  
ولما سابلوا عنا اولئك الملوك مقدّموا الخراسانيين ومضينا اليهم فيخلون الاب القديس  
الشهيد ابنا ميخائيل واكرموه كرامة عظيمة وكانت لحيته قد تجددت وطاعت<sup>9</sup> احسن

1. E om. to راجع add. وبعد ذلك زاد النيل. — 2. F om. add. كل. — 3. Mss.  
وحملاؤهم. — 4. DEF om. — 5. D om. E من اول مسرى. — 6. AD في. — 7. E om. to  
— 8. DF. — 9. E om. to اخر add. خراج. — 9. E om. to اخر. — 9. E om. to اخر. — 9. E om. to اخر.  
البشارة من الخرا.

escaped. And the Khorassanians took possession of Hulwân and all that  
was therein, and slew the women, and seized all the money of Egypt that  
was at Hulwân. And the Persians, Marwân's followers, were slain with  
the sword; and the enemy seized all that belonged to them, and carried it  
away in the prince's boats.

And now the Nile began to rise, although it had been sinking till the  
Khorassanians had crossed over to the bank of Al-Gizah, and had destroyed  
Marwân. After that it increased again, from the first day of Misri, and rose  
every day about a cubit, till finally it reached eighteen cubits that year, for  
which reason men said that the hand of God was with the Khorassanians.  
Whenever the latter found men bearing the sign of the cross, they lightened  
their taxes, and behaved kindly to them, and did good to them, in whatever  
part of the country they might be.

But they impaled Marwân head downwards, after they had killed him.  
For they took him prisoner at a place called Dâwatun, and we were wit-  
nesses of this event; and they cut off the head of his vizier. And when  
those princes, the leaders of the Khorassanians, inquired after us, we went to  
them; and they set the holy father and martyr, Abba Michael, free, and  
honoured him greatly. And his beard had grown again and was more



كانت عليه بقدرة السيد المسيح ومجدنا الله وجميع من نظر وشهد الخبر وقال الاب  
ابا ميخائيل اننى رأيت شخصا وانا فى الاعتقال مسح يده على وجهى فطلعت لحييتى  
احسن ممّا كانت ولما التمس الاب ابا ميخائيل من الملك رزق البيع فى جميع الكور  
فعل له ما طلبه منه واما البشامرة فانه سامحهم بالخراج ودفع لهم خراجا آخر وكان  
مروان قد احرق جميع الكتب وحساب الدواوين ولم<sup>1</sup> يكونوا يعرفون مبلغ الارتفاعات  
ولا الغيرة وكان بمصر فى ايامهم امر عظيم ومضى صالح وجيشه الى فلسطين  
ولما<sup>2</sup> اطلقنا مضى كل واحد منا الى موضعه وابو عون تولى مصر وبعد قليل  
وصل<sup>3</sup> رجلان من<sup>4</sup> اصحاب الدواوين<sup>5</sup> الى مصر من عند الملك وكانا مسلمين وكان<sup>6</sup> اسم  
احدهما عطاء<sup>7</sup> بن شرحبيل والاخر سفي وكانا بعيدين من معرفة الله فاحضر لهما ابو عون  
جميع حساب مصر واعادها الى ما كانت عليه مع مروان وبعد<sup>8</sup> ان كانا قد طردا من

1. E om. to عظيم. — 2. E om. to موضعه. — 3. ABEG وصلوا رجلين D وصلوا رجلين  
من اصحاب الملك مسلمين add. مسلمين. — 4. ABDEG om. F om. to وصل رجلين F  
وصل رجلين. — 5. Mss. دواوين. — 6. E om. to الله add. الرحمة. — 7. Mss.  
قليلين. — 8. E om. to الملك.

comely than before, by the power of the Lord Christ; and we and all who had witnessed these occurrences glorified God. And the father, Abba Michael said : « Verily I saw a personage while I was in prison, who touched my face with his hand, and my beard grew again handsomer than it had been before. » — When the father, Abba Michael, requested of the governor to protect the property of the churches in all the provinces, he complied with his request. — And as for the Bashmurites, he made them free of taxation, and gave them other revenues as a gift. — Now Marwân had burnt all the books and accounts of the Divâns, so that they did not know the amount of the revenues, whether paid in cash or in kind. — In those days great events took place in Egypt; but Şalih departed with his army to Palestine.

When we were set free, each one of us departed to his own place. — And Abu Aun was made governor of Egypt. — And a short time afterwards there came to Egypt two men, officials of the divâns, sent by the prince. They were Muslims, and one of them was named Aṭā, son of Shurahbil, and the other Safi; and they were far from the knowledge of God. — And Abu Aun laid before them all the accounts of Egypt, and brought the country back into the state in which it had been under Marwân. — Although they were driven away from the palace, the prince sent them back; and they imposed two fresh

القصر اعادهما الملك فجعلهما مكسين على الوجه البحرى ومكسا واحدا على الوجه القبطى وذلك فى ثانى سنة الامن والصلاح فى المملكة وعلمها الملك وعرفاد بلايا عظيمة من اجل بغضتهما لنا نحن النصارى ومحبتتهما للفضة فاعطيا السلطان ليفعل ما ارادا وكما ارتفع مصر بعد اقطاعات<sup>1</sup> الاجناد ونفقات دار السلطان وما يحتاج اليه لتدير المملكة ما يفضل بعد ذلك ويحمل الى بيت المال مالا جملا فى كل سنة مائتى الف<sup>2</sup> دينار<sup>3</sup> سوى النفقات والكلف وما قدّمنا ذكره ولما كان فى ثالث سنة من مملكة الخراسانيين اضعفوا الخراج واكملوه على النصارى ولم<sup>4</sup> يوفوا لهم بما وعدوهم ونسيا الكتاب المذكوران هما<sup>4</sup> والخراسانيون ان الله الذى اعطاهم الملك ورفضوا الصليب المقدس الذى اعطاهم الظفر وكتب عبد الله الملك الى جميع مملكته ان كل من يصير على دينه ويصير كصلاته<sup>5</sup> يكون بغير جزية فمن عظم الخراج والكلف<sup>6</sup> عليهم انكر كثير من الامة

1. E om. to سنة كل add. جامكية العسكر ونفقة دار السلطان. — 2. Mss. add. a second. — 3. E om. to الملك. — 4. ABG ان الله هم والخراسانيين الذى اعطاهم الملك. — 5. DEF صلانه. — 6. E الكلف. — 7. E التبع.

ties upon Lower Egypt, and one upon Upper Egypt. This was in the second year of security and prosperous government. And they instructed the governor, and taught him how to cause great trouble, through their hatred of the Christians, and their love of money; for authority was given to them to do what they would. Now of the revenue of Egypt, after deducting the soldiers' pay, and the expenses of the government offices, and what was needed to carry on the administration, what remained over and was carried to the Public Treasury altogether every year amounted to two hundred \* P. 181 thousand' dinars, apart from the necessary outlay and expenses and what we have already mentioned. And in the third year of the rule of the Khorassanians they doubled the taxes, and exacted them from the Christians, and could not fulfil their promises to them. For the two secretaries aforesaid and the Khorassanians forgot that it was God who had given them the government, and neglected the holy Cross which had gained them the victory. And Abd Allah, the prince, sent letters over the whole of his empire, declaring that every one who would adopt his religion, and pray according to his way, should be exempted from the poll-tax. So in consequence of the cruel exactions and burdens imposed upon them, many of the rich and poor denied their faith of Christ, and followed Abd Allah. Then the father patriarch,

1. The copyists have added another word, making it 200,000,000.

والفقراء دين المسيح وتبعوه فمضى الاب بطرك ابنا ميخائيل الى ابى عون الوالى وخاطبه بسبب البلايا التى فعلت بمصر من بعد فعل الخير الذى<sup>1</sup> اضمره فقال له الملك امر بذلك لان قوم سوء شهدوا له قائلين ان وجدوا اهل مصر راحة سنة واحدة نافقوا عليك وحاربوك كما حاربوا البشامرة مروان فسأله ان يفعل خيرا مع بيع الاسكندرية فى خراج ما يزرع برسمها<sup>2</sup> فقط فامر ابو عون الوالى ذينك الكاتبين وقال<sup>3</sup> لهما ما اراده البطرك افعلاه له فلم يقبل منه وكانا يميلان قلبه الى سوء فاقام الاب البطرك وابى ابنا مويسيس معه وانا<sup>4</sup> الحقير اكثر من شهر ملازمين القصر نراى<sup>5</sup> هؤلاء الكافرين وكان هناك شيخ اسماعيلى ينظر الينا<sup>6</sup> فى كل يوم على تلك القضية وكان حائفا من الله فحدث ابانا<sup>7</sup> ابنا ميخائيل حديثا قائلا مثل ما افترقنا نحن العباد المسلمين انا اعلم انكم سوف تكونون مثلنا فقال له الاب صدقت وانا اريدك<sup>8</sup> ان<sup>9</sup> تعلمنى معنى قولك فقال له الشيخ كنت وانا صبي قد سلمنى ابواى الى صديقين تاجرين<sup>10</sup> اسماعيليين

1. E om. with foll. wd. — 2. Mss. برسمهم. — 3. E om. to add. ان بفعل للبطرك. — 4. E om. with foll. wd. — 5. Mss. برأى. — 6. E الاب. — 7. E om. — 8. E ارى. — 9. BEG om. — 10. Mss. تجار.

Abba Michael, went to Abu Aun, the governor, and addressed him with reference to the troubles which had been caused in Egypt, instead of the good administration which he had purposed; and he answered: « The prince gave those orders because wicked men bore witness to him, saying: If the people of Egypt find rest for one year, they will conspire against thee, and make war upon thee, as the Bashmurites made war upon Marwân. » Then Abba Michael prayed the governor to relieve the churches of Alexandria by lightening the taxes on the land which is cultivated for them only; so Abu Aun gave orders to those two secretaries, telling them to do what the patriarch desired; yet they would not obey him, but began to incline his heart to evil. So the father patriarch, and my father, Abba Moses, with him, and I, the mean one, remained for more than a month attending at the palace and interviewing those miscreants. And there was there an old Ishmaelite, who beheld us daily at this business; and he feared God. And he related a story to our father, Abba Michael, saying: « As we, the Muslims who serve God, have grown poor, so I know that you also will be like us. » The father said to him: « Thou speakest truly; but I desire a fuller explanation of the meaning of thy speech. » So the old man replied:

« In my youth, my parents entrusted me to two friends, Ishmaelite merchants, that I might carry goods with them to Africa, to sell them there.



لأَمْضَى مَعَهُمَا بِتِجَارَةٍ إِلَى افْرِيقِيَّةَ ابْيَعَهَا فَلَمَّا سَرْنَا إِلَى الْخَمْسِ مَدَنٍ وَكَانَتْ الْجَمَالَ مَوْقَرَةً  
بِتَحْفٍ مِصْرَ وَالْمَشْرِقَ نَزَلْنَا عَلَى بَرَكَةِ مَاءٍ عَمِيقَةٍ جَدًّا وَكَانَ فِي وَسْطِ كُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِّنَّا  
كَيْسٌ فِيهِ أَرْبَعُ مِائَةِ دِينَارٍ فَمِنْ تَعَبِ الطَّرِيقِ وَالْحَرِّ تَعَرَّى أَحَدُنَا لِيَنْزِلَ الْمَاءَ<sup>1</sup> يَسْتَحِمُّ فَطَرَحَ  
هَمِيَانَهُ إِلَى رَفِيقِهِ لِيُمْسِكَهُ إِلَى حِينَ صَعُودِهِ مِنَ الْمَاءِ فَسَقَطَ الْهَمِيَانُ مِنْ يَدِهِ فِي الْمَاءِ وَلَمْ  
يَعْلَمْ بِذَلِكَ أَحَدٌ فَتَعَرَّى الرَّجُلُ الَّذِي وَقَعَ مِنْهُ وَنَزَلَ فِي طَلَبِهِ فَلَمْ يَجِدْهُ فِطْلَعَ ذَلِكَ  
الرَّجُلُ وَدَفَعَ لِرَفِيقِهِ هَمِيَانَهُ عَوْضَهُ وَلَمْ يَعْلَمْهُ أَنَّ ضَاعَ مِنْهُ وَمَضَيْنَا إِلَى افْرِيقِيَّةَ وَابْعَا تِجَارَتِنَا  
وَاشْتَرَيْنَا غَيْرَهَا مِمَّا يَصْلَحُ لِمِصْرَ فَقَالَ الْكَبِيرُ<sup>2</sup> لِلصَّغِيرِ اعْطِنِي الْأَرْبَعَ مِائَةَ دِينَارٍ الَّتِي مَعَكَ  
لِابْتِاعِ بِهَا تِجَارَةً فَقَالَ لَهُ مَا ابْتِغَاكَ يَكْفِينَا فِي هَذِهِ الدَّفْعَةِ وَلِجِّ عَلَيْهِ فَلَمْ يَقُلْ لَهُ الْخَبِيرُ  
فَاشْتَرَى بِالْأَرْبَعِ مِائَةِ دِينَارٍ الَّتِي كَانَتْ مَعَهُ بَضَاعَةً فَلَمَّا عَدْنَا<sup>3</sup> إِلَى الْبَرَكَةِ فَعَلَ<sup>4</sup> مَا فَعَلَ أَوَّلًا<sup>1</sup>  
وَتَعَرَّى الْكَبِيرُ الَّذِي كَانَتْ لَهُ الدَّنَانِيرُ وَضَاعَتْ مِنْهُ وَنَزَلَ يَسْتَحِمُّ فَوَجَدَ الْهَمِيَانُ الَّذِي كَانَ

1. E <sup>استخدم</sup> في الماء. — 2. F om. with foll. wd. add. صاحب الهميان الذي ضاع. — 3. E add. ووصلنا. — 4. ABG <sup>وفعل</sup> E om. ارفقده الذي اعطاه هميانا وام يعلد بالقصة الى.

When we had journeyed as far as the Five Cities, with our camels laden with the rarities of Egypt and the East, we halted by a lake that was very deep. And each one of us had tied to his belt a purse, containing four hundred dinars. And in consequence of the fatigue of the journey and the heat, one of us stripped off his clothes, that he might go down into the water and bathe. So he threw his belt to his comrade, that he might keep it until he came up from the water; but it slipped from his friend's hand into the water unnoticed by anyone else. The man who had dropped it stripped himself, and went down to seek it, but could not find it. So when he came up again, he gave his comrade his own girdle, instead of that which was lost, without telling him that it was lost. And we journeyed onward into Africa, where we sold our merchandise, and bought other wares suitable for Egypt. Then the elder of my companions said to the younger: Give me the four hundred dinars which thou hast, that I may buy merchandise with them. But he answered: What we have bought is enough for us this time. And though the other insisted, he did not tell him what had happened. So the other bought certain goods with the four hundred dinars which he had. When we returned to the lake, the same thing happened as before; for the elder, to whom the lost money belonged, stripped himself and went down to bathe. And he found his belt, which had been lost; and when he looked at it, he recognised it as his own. So he said to his friend:

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ضاع منه فلما نظر اليه عرف انه هميانه فقال لصديقه اعلمنى ما جرى عليك<sup>1</sup> فعرفه ما كان من حديثه وكيف ضاع منه فلم يقل له الآخر اننى وجدته حتى وصلوا الى مصر وباعوا التجارة فدفع الكبير للصغير ربح الاربع مائة دينار واوصلها اليه وقال له الله اعطاك هذا المال لك والربح يجب ان يكون لك فلما فعل ذلك خاطبه رفيقه فيما بينهما واشتهر الامر الى الحاكم وجماعة الناس تعجبوا من ذلك واخذ كل واحد منهما شيئاً من ماله وصدقه على الفقراء وانفردا للعبادة وتبعتهما انا<sup>2</sup> ولم يبع واحد منا ولم نشتر والآن ايها الرجل القديس فهو ذا ترى كل احد كيف هو محب للظلم وقد جعلوا السوء تاجاً على رؤوسهم وانت<sup>3</sup> مشاهد هذا وتعلم انه صحيح ولما حدثنا ذلك تفرقنا الى مواضعنا فلم<sup>4</sup> يصبر الله على الخراسانيين فاثار عليهم الحروب من كل موضع فالاول<sup>5</sup> عبد الرحمن بن حبيب اخو الاسود المذكور اولاً ملك افريقية فانفذ عبد الله الملك عساكر الى افريقية ليأخذوها وذلك فى السنة الرابعة من مملكته وفى سنة اربع مائة وسبعين للشهداء سار من

فاخبره بما كان ولما رجعا الى مصر دفع له ربح الاربعماية دينار. add. فهو ذا 1. E om. to مواضعنا 2. ABDG om. — 3. E om. to مواضعنا 4. AD لم F ولم — 5. E om. to بالعطش.

Tell me what thou hast done. Then his friend made known to him what had happened, and how he had dropped the girdle. But the other did not tell him that he had found it, until they arrived at Miṣr, and sold their wares. Then the elder gave to the younger the interest of the four hundred dinars as well as the principal, saying to him : God gives thee this money of thine, and thou must also have the interest of it. When he had done this, his comrade discussed with him what had taken place between them; and the thing became known to the governor, and all men marvelled thereat. And both of them took some of their money, and gave it as alms to the poor; and after that they devoted themselves entirely to religion, and I imitated them; and not one of us either sells or buys any more. But at the present day, O holy man, behold, thou seest how all men love injustice, and have set evil as a crown upon their heads; and thou art a witness to this, and knowest that it is true. »

When he had related this tale to us, we departed to our own places. And God did not endure the Khorassanians, but raised up wars against them from every side. First there was Abd ar-Rahman, son of Ḥabīb, brother of Al-Aswād before mentioned, who seized Africa. For Abd Allah, the prince, sent troops to Africa in order to take it, in the fourth year of his



مصر من اول شهر ابيب ولم يجسروا على الوصول الى افريقية بل اقاموا في البر  
وهلك اكثرهم بالعطش واهلك الله عبد الله في تلك السنة وجلس ولده مكانه ووقع بمصر  
قتال عظيم بين صالح وبين اخيه الذي<sup>1</sup> جلس ملكاً<sup>2</sup> ثم انفذ صالحاً الى مصر  
يطلب عسكره ويستنقذه من<sup>3</sup> يد اخيه<sup>4</sup> ثم انه اعاد العسكر الذي كان سيّره الى افريقية  
ودخل الى مصر في تاسع عشر يوم من بابة وسار الى فلسطين ليقاتلوا اخا صالح وك  
ابو عون هناك فقتل من عسكره خلق كثير وكانت الحروب بينهم قائمة لم تنقط  
وجازاهم الله عوض السوء الذي فعلوه بارض مصر وافنى بعضهم بعضاً بغير<sup>5</sup> يد غريب  
ولم يزلوا يقتتلوا حتى مضى صالح الى الملك الكبير في العراق ورجع ابو عون الى مصر  
وهرب اخو صالح فلم يظهر بعد ان افنوا العساكر بينهم

ثم تبيح ابنا يوحنا بطرك انطاكية بعد ان اقام مصالِحاً الاساقفة ثلث سنين ومنع  
الماء ان يطلع وابو عون بمصر وجميعاً ما وصل الى اربع عشرة ذراعاً ووقف<sup>6</sup> وكان الم

1. E om. to كثير add. — 2. ABDG add. نارون. — 3. D على. — 4. F om. ABDEFG add. نارون. — 5. E om. to بينهم. — 6. F om. to ذراعاً.

reign; and in the year 470 of the Martyrs he marched from Egypt at the  
beginning of the month of Abib. Yet his army did not dare to enter Africa,  
but remained in the desert, where most of them perished with thirst. And  
in that year God destroyed Abd Allah, and his son sat upon the throne  
instead of him. And great fighting took place in Egypt between Ṣāliḥ and  
his brother, who now began to govern. Then the prince sent Ṣāliḥ into  
Egypt to seek his troops, and rescue them from the hand of his brother.  
Then he brought back the army which he had sent into Africa, and en-  
tered Miṣr on the 19th of Babah. And he marched to Palestine, that they  
might fight Ṣāliḥ's brother. And Abu Aun was there also; and many of his  
soldiers were killed. And the war continued between them without interrup-  
tion, for God requited them for the evil which they had done in the land  
of Egypt; and they destroyed one another without the interference of a  
stranger, and did not cease fighting until Ṣāliḥ went away to the sovereign  
prince in Al-Irak, and Abu Aun returned to Egypt, and Ṣāliḥ's brother fled,  
and did not appear again, after they had destroyed the troops between them.

At that time Abba John, patriarch of Antioch, went to his rest, after  
he had continued in reconciliation with the bishops for three years. And  
God hindered the water from rising while Abu Aun was in Egypt; for its



الذى<sup>1</sup> يستحبّه السلطان للخراج ست عشرة ذراعا وانما منع الله الماء من اجل ذنبت  
الرجلين الكاتبين اللذين يشبهان الدجال في افعاله وكان منع الماء بارادة الله ليظهر عجائبه  
التي اظهرها كل زمان وصحة دين النصرانية وكانوا<sup>2</sup> الاساقفة وصلوا من كراسيمهم الى<sup>3</sup> P. 181  
البطرك ليجتمعوا عند البطرك في عيد الصليب كما جرت العادة ان يجتمعوا عنده ويكون  
لهم مجمع دفعتين في السنة ومضى اسقف مصر وغيره واظهر الله ذلك الابي الاسقف ابنا  
موسيس وامروا ان لا يمضى الى المجمع بالاسكندرية احد كما جرت العادة تلك السنة  
فجمع الاساقفة بها عند البطرك ولما كان السابع عشر من توت يوم عيد الصليب المجيد  
جمع كهنة الجيزة والنزهات واكثر اهل الفسطاط والكبير والصغير من شعبه وحملوا الانجيل  
ومباخر البخور ودخلنا<sup>4</sup> الى البيعة الكبيرة القتاليكون<sup>5</sup> التي على اسم القديس بطرس وكان  
اساسها في البحر ولم تكن البيعة تسع الناس من كثرتهم حتى انهم كانوا في الغيطان  
والمواضع ورفع البطرك الصليب وكان معه ابنا مينا اسقف منف والانجيل<sup>6</sup> المقدس معه

- 1. الذي يستحق عليه الخراج للسلطان E: الذي يستحبّه السلطان الخراج ABDG.  
2. وذلك اند كان في تلك السنة حضر الاب البطرك add. بها عند البطرك E om. to.  
3. E om. ABG القتاليكي DF القتاليكي. — 4. E om. add. ودخلنا. — 5. E om. to add. ووقفنا. القتاليكي.  
6. وخرجوا ووقفنا.

highest level was below fourteen cubits, where it stopped, whereas the height required by the government for its revenue was sixteen cubits. But God only held back the water on account of those two secretaries, who were like Anti-christ in their deeds. And this check to the water took place by God's will, that he might show his wonders which he manifests at all times, and prove the truth of the Christian religion. The bishops had come from their sees to the patriarch, that they might meet together in his presence at the Feast of the Cross, according to their custom of assembling before him and forming a synod twice in the year. So the bishop of Misr and the others went to him. Now God had revealed this matter to my father the bishop, Abba Moses. And orders were given that none should go that year to Alexandria for the synod according to custom. So the bishops assembled at Misr before the patriarch. And on the 17th of Tut, the day of the Feast of the glorious Cross, the clergy of Al-Gizah and An-Nuzahât assembled with most of the people of Al-Fustât, and the old and the young of the laity: and they bore the gospels, and censers with incense. And we entered into the great church, the Catholicon, named after Saint Peter, the foundations of which were laid in the river. But the church could not contain the people through their multitude, so that they stood in the fields and places

ويخرجنا جميعنا ونحن حاملون الصليب والانجيل المقدس ووقفنا على شاطئ البحر قبل طلوع الشمس وصلّى الاب بطريرك وابا مينا الاسقف ولم ينزل الشعب صارخين كيريا يصون الى ثلث ساعات من النهار حتى بهت جميع الجمع من اليهود والمسلمين وغيرهم من صراخنا الى الله سبحانه وتعالى فسمع جل اسمه الكريم وطلع البحر وزاد ذراعاً واحدة<sup>1</sup> ومجد كل احد الله وشكره ولما<sup>2</sup> اتصل الخبر بابي عون تعجب وخاف وجميع عسكره وطرح الله في قلبه ان قال لجيشه ولاهل مصر نريد ان نعرف اى الاديان هو الدين الصحيح فامر ان يجتمعوا المسلمون المقيمون بمصر ويخرجوا الى الجبل الشرقي بمصر فاجتمعوا الصغار والكبار والشيوخ والشباب والعبيد والاحرار ولم يبق احد من اهل الديانة ومملكته واقاموا<sup>3</sup> الناس<sup>4</sup> مجتمعين من نصف الليل الى اربع ساعات من النهار وصلوا وتضرعوا الى الله ويقولون هكذا يا الله الواحد الذى لا نظير له يا خالق السماء والارض انت تعلم اننا لا نشرك بك ولا نعبد معك احداً ولا نقول مثل النصارى ان لك ولداً ولا انك مولود.

1. Mss. واحد. — 2. ABG لما. — 3. ABDG om. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 4. ABDG والناس.

round. And the patriarch lifted up the cross; while beside him stood Abba Mennas, bishop of Memphis, bearing the holy gospel. And he led us all forth, carrying crosses and books of the gospels; and we stopped upon the bank of the river, it being before sunrise. And the father patriarch prayed, and Abba Mennas, the bishop, prayed; and the people did not cease to cry *Kyrie eleison* until the third hour of the day, so that multitudes of the Jews and Muslims and others marvelled at our cries to God, the Glorious and Exalted. And he heard us, praised is his glorious name! For the river rose and increased by one cubit; and all glorified and gave thanks to God. And when the news reached Abu Aun, he marvelled and feared, he and all his troops. And by God's inspiration he said to his soldiers and to the people of Misr: « We desire to know which of the religions is the true one ». So he gave orders that the Muslims dwelling at Misr should assemble, and go forth to the mountain to the east of Misr. Therefore they gathered together, small and great, old and young, slaves and freemen; and not one of the people of his faith and religion was left; and the multitude were assembling from midnight till the fourth hour of the day. And they prayed and offered supplications to God, saying thus: « O God, the Only One, who hast no fellow, O Creator of heaven and earth, thou knowest that we associate no other with thee, and worship none besides thee, and that we say not, as the Christians do, that thou hast a Son, or that thou wast

بل نوحّدك ونعبّدك بالتوحيد نريد ان ننظر عجائبك اليوم التى انت عاملها لنعلم وتتحقق  
 أنّه ليس دين مثل ديننا الذى ورثناه من ابائنا ونسألك ان تفعل معنا اعجوبة كما فعلت  
 بالنصارى امس الذين هم اعداؤنا واعداء مذهبنا الذين يجعلون معك الالهة آخر مولوداً<sup>1</sup> منك  
 من البدى ويسمّونه المسيح المولود من مريم ويقولون انه ابنك وروح القدس وانت ثالثهم  
 وكلاماً كثيراً ونسألك ان تصنع لنا علامة وآية فى هذا الماء وفيما هم فى ذلك واذا رجل  
 من قيّاسى الماء يجرى فقال لهم الذى زاد الماء امس<sup>\*</sup> نقصه اليوم فليحقهم حزن عظيم<sup>2</sup>  
 ولم<sup>3</sup> يعلم ما يقول ومضوا الناس الى مواضعهم بكأبة<sup>3</sup> عظيمة ثم امر ان يجذب اهل مصر  
 فامر المنادى ان ينادى بخروج المسلمين الى الجبل ليصلوا وبالغداة خرج جميعهم  
 واليهود والسمرّة خرجوا ثانى يوم فلم يزد الماء ولا نقص بل ثبت على ما كان عليه فبقى  
 ابو عون الوالى تحت كأبة ولم يؤمن وقال حتى انتظر آخر الامر وبقي حائراً يقول بصلاة

رفى الغد add. ولا يصلى — 3. E om. to يقول. — 2. DEF om. to الماء. — 1. E om. to الماء. —  
 امر الالى بخروج اليهود والسمرّة للصلاة فلم يزيد الماء وفى ثالث يوم لم يدع احداً من  
 الطوائف يخرج للصلاة.

born, but we confess thee to be One, and worship thee in Unity. We desire  
 this day to see thy wonders, which thou dost work, that we may know  
 and prove that there is no religion like ours, which we inherit from our  
 fathers: and we pray thee to work a miracle for us, as thou didst yesterday  
 for the Christians, who are our enemies and the enemies of our creed, for  
 they set beside thee another God, begotten by thee from the beginning, whom  
 they call Christ born of Mary, saying that he is thy Son, with the Holy  
 Ghost, and that thou art the Third of them, with many such doctrines. We  
<sup>\* P. 184</sup> pray thee to give us a sign and miracle in this water. » And while they  
 were thus employed, behold, one of the men who measure the water ran  
 up and said to them : « The water has sunk just as much as it rose yes-  
 terday. » Then great sadness came upon them, and the governor knew not  
 what to say; and the people went away to their own places in great grief.

Then Abu Aun ordered that the people of Miṣr should be tried, and had  
 the crier proclaim that the Muslims were to go out to the mountain to pray.  
 And on the morrow they all issued forth. And the Jews and the Samari-  
 tans went out the second day; but the water neither rose nor sank, but  
 remained as it was. So Abu Aun, the governor, remained in sadness and  
 without faith. But he said : « So that I may see the end of the matter »;  
 and he remained in perplexity, saying : « By the prayers of the Christians  
 the water rose, and at our prayers it sank. » Then he ordered on the third



النصارى زاد الماء وصلاتنا نقص فتقدم في اليوم الثالث ان لا يخرج احد بالجملة ولا يطلع احد الى الجبل ولا يصلى ولم يزد الماء في الثلاثة ايام شيئا وبعد ذلك امر باحضار النصارى الذين<sup>1</sup> بالفسطاط وقبائل لم نذكر اسماءهم وتقدم الى ابنا موسى ان يصلى هو وشعبه فصلوا الصلاة وشكروا الله الى سادس ساعة من النهار ونزلوا طافوا بمصر واتوا الى ساحل البحر وصلوا بقيّة النهار وفي تلك الليلة زاد البحر ثلث اذرع حتى صار على رأس سبع عشرة ذراعاً ففرحوا الناس كلهم فرحاً عظيماً وشكروا الله ومجدوا اسمه

واما ابو عون فلاجل ذلك زاد في فعل الخير مع النصارى وكناستهم وخفف عنهم الخراج ومن ذلك اليوم كان الاب البطرك والاساقفة وبنو المعمودية والبيعة تحت أمن وسلامة بفرح وابتهاج عظيم بارض مصر والخمس مدن وكل المواضع التي في كرسى الاب البشير ماري مرقس الانجيلي لما شاهده السلطان من عجائب البيعة وقوة فعلها وكار السلطان يقول ان النصارى قلب واحد متفقون وكانت الابهاء في ذلك الجيل تقلبهم مثل افعال الملائكة الروحانيين واحد يشفى المرضى وآخر يظهر العجائب وآخر يفسر الكتب

وامرهم ان يصلوا فترجبروا الى ساحل البحر وصلوا وطلبوا من add. تلك الليلة 1. E om. وصار سبعة عشر ذراعاً 2. E. — الله الرحمة والتحنن.

lay that no one at all should go out, and that none should ascend to the mountain nor pray. And the water did not rise during the three days at all. After that he gave orders to bring the Christians who were at Al-Fus-tât, and certain tribes whose names we do not remember; and he commanded Abba Moses to pray, him and his people. So they recited the prayers, and gave thanks to God till the sixth hour of the day, and went down and walked round Miṣr, and came to the bank of the river, and prayed for the rest of the day. And that night the river rose three cubits, so that altogether it completed seventeen cubits. Then all the people rejoiced greatly, and thanked God and glorified his name.

And as for Abu Aun, for this reason he increased his benefits towards the Christians and their churches, and lightened their taxes. And from that day the Father Patriarch and the bishops, with those who were baptized and the whole Church, lived in security and peace, in great joy and gladness, in the land of Egypt and the Five Cities and all the places under the see of the evangelist, Saint Mark, because of the miracles of the Church which the governor beheld, and her mighty works. And the governor said that the Christians were of one heart, living in agreement together. For the conduct of the fathers in that generation resembled the works of the spiritual an-

ويعلم ويعظ وآخر يتعب جسمه بالعمل والكمد وكان جميع الشعب يتعجبون منهم ويطلبون  
بركتهم وكان الاب ابا ميخائيل لاجل ذلك مسرورا باساقفته وجميع رعيته وكان يطوف عليهم  
ويفتقد جميع احوالهم باهتمام ويعظم بكلامه المحيى مثل الحواريين الابهاء اولاً ومثل  
سكان البراري والمغاير يثبتهم ويعلمهم مقاتلة الارواح الشيطانية ورهبان الديارات يعلمهم  
التواضع والمحبة تكون بينهم والشعب المؤمن يهديهم الى ما يرضى الله والقليلي<sup>1</sup> الايمان  
يعلمهم التعاليم الانجيلية والذين هم متخاصمون يصلح بينهم ويهدئ شرهم ويسكن حقدهم  
بتعاليمه من<sup>2</sup> الكتب المقدسة

ولو لا غرضنا الاختصار لضقت الكتب عن افعال هذا الاب القديس ابا ميخائيل وكانت  
فرقتا<sup>3</sup> هارسيس اصحاب مليطس قديما ويوليانوس<sup>4</sup> فراسلهم<sup>5</sup> الاب برسلى<sup>6</sup> وكاتبهم<sup>7</sup> فلم يجيبوه  
فمضى بنفسه اليهم فلم يقدر ان<sup>8</sup> يعيدهم بقلب<sup>9</sup> مستقيم لانهم<sup>\*</sup> انكروا خلفهم وكانوا معتزلين

1. E om. to ميخائيل. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. E فرقتا other mss. فرقتين. — 4. So F;  
other mss. om. — 5. A فراسلهم F فراسلهم BDEG فراسلهم. — 6. DEF om.: DF add.  
البراري. — 7. DF om. — 8. ABDEG om. — 9. E om. to البراري.

gels: for one cured diseases, and another showed forth wonders, and another expounded the scriptures and taught and exhorted, and another exercised his body in works and labours; and all the laity were filled with admiration of them, and sought their blessing. And the father, Abba Michael, for this cause was happy in his bishops and all his flock, and used to go round among them, and enquire into all their circumstances with care, and exhort them with his life-giving words, like the apostles and fathers at the beginning, and like the dwellers in the deserts and caves, encouraging them and teaching them how to fight the Satanic spirits. And to the monks of the monasteries he taught humility and mutual love; and the faithful laity he led to that which God approves, and to those of little faith he taught the doctrines of the gospel, and those who were engaged in disputes he conciliated together, and calmed their malice, and appeased their enmity by his instructions in the Holy Scriptures.

But if we did not aim at abridgment, books would be insufficient to contain the deeds of this holy father, Abba Michael. Now there were two parties of heretics, the followers of Meletius, who lived in ancient times, and of  
\* P. 185 Julian. So the father sent messengers to them, and wrote to them; but they would not answer him. Then he went himself to visit them, but could not bring them back to a right heart. For they denied that they were heretics, and they remained dissidents, some of them in the monasteries and some in



في الديارات منهم وفي البراري فرفع يده الى السماء وقال<sup>1</sup> ان كان هؤلاء الذين جحدوا قدّامك وفعلوا افعالا رديّة فظهر فيهم آية قريباً غير بعيد لينظرهم كل احد ويسجد اسمك فبعد قليل اهلكهم الرب وافناهم كما اهلك سدوم والدير الذي كان فيه ثلاثة الاف انسان لم يبق فيه سوى عشرة انفس مؤمنين ولم يسلكوا طريقهم وخاطبتهم انا الحقير ونظرتهم وقد سكنت الوحوش مساكنهم بصلوات الاب القديس ابا ميخائيل في ايام ولاية عبد الله فان قال قائل لا يعرف الخبر ما جرم هؤلاء حتى هلكوا فانا اقول لكم بمعونة الله لما كان ديونوسيوس<sup>2</sup> الحكيم بطركاً على الاسكندرية ظهر الكافر بولة السميساطي وكان<sup>3</sup> بطرك انطاكية فاغضب الله بافعاله النجسة فلما سمع ديونوسيوس كتب الى الملوكة المجتبيين لله المؤمنين يعلمهم ما<sup>4</sup> انتهى اليه عن بولة المخالف وطردوه ولم يعلم احد كيف كان هروبه وكل من اراد ان يعلم فعله الطمث فهو يجده في رسالة اتناسيوس الرسولي التي

في ايام D. 2. — ردعا عليهم وبعد قليل اهلكهم الرب وافناهم. 1. E om. to عبد الله add. في ايام بطركية الاب ديونوسيوس الحكيم على الكرسي F ولاية عبد الله وديونوسيوس النخ المرقسي ظهرت في ايامه بدع كثير ومن جملتهم بولة السميساطي الكافر الذي لا ينبغي ذكره. بخبره فقطعه وانفذه add. وطردوه 4. F om. to النجسة. — 3. F om. to افعاله هاجنا.

the deserts. So he raised his hands to heaven, and said : « If these are they who have denied thee and done evil deeds, show forth a sign speedily without delay, so that all may see them, and glorify thy name. » Accordingly, after a short time, the Lord destroyed them, and caused them to disappear, as he destroyed Sodom. And at the monastery wherein there were three thousand persons, there no longer remained any save ten souls, who were believers and did not walk in their path. And I, the mean one, addressed them, and visited them, when the wild beasts had dwelt in their habitations through the prayers of the holy father, Abba Michael, during the governorship of Abd Allah. And if anyone, ignorant of the history, asks : « What was the sin of those men, for which they perished? » I will answer you with God's help.

In the days when \*Dionysius the Wise was patriarch of Alexandria, there appeared the misbeliever, Paul of Samosata, who was patriarch of Antioch, and who angered God by his foul deeds. So, when Dionysius heard of him, he wrote to the pious and faithful princes, to inform them of the news that had reached him concerning Paul the heretic. Therefore they drove him away, and none knew how he escaped. And anyone who desires to know



كتبها من اجله<sup>1</sup> فانه يفهم ذلك ويعرفه ولما كان في اول قسمة ابا موسى كان هناك ديارات كثير في كرسية بوسيم لهؤلاء اصحاب مليطس وكانوا سكانا فيها فنفي جميعهم فمنهم<sup>2</sup> من لبس الاسكيم من يده وصاروا متحدين بنا وكان من اجل ذلك بيني وبينهم مصادقة زمانا كنت فيه علانيا فلما نزعوا عنهم ذلك الاسكيم الروحاني الذي<sup>3</sup> من يد ابي لم ترجع تكون بيني وبين احد منهم مودة فسألتهم عن فعلهم اولا وكان يستيهم السحرة<sup>4</sup> بنى الشيطان فقال<sup>5</sup> لي اريد ان اقول لك شيئا آخر يفعلونه الغير متأهلون للدخول في شعب الله ولا ملكوته وهو انهم يسحرون اولاد الناس ويخرجونهم الى البرية يربطونهم بحيث لا يراهم احد ويجلسون قريبا منهم يحرسونهم فاذا شكوا العطش لا يسقونهم فاذا اشتد بهم العطش سكبوا الماء على رؤوسهم ويطونهم فاذا قارب احد منهم الموت وبدرت عيناه ولصق لسانه بحنكه قد قطعوا رأسه بسكين قبل ان يسوت فيتكلم الشيطان في تلك

1. Mss. من اجلهم. — 2. E om. to اولا add. عنيا. — 3. ABG om. — 4. ABDG add. وكان فعلهم مردول add. ملكوت add. E add. السحرة والسحرة. — 5. E om. to ملكوت add. ملكوت.

of his foul deeds will find an account of them in the epistle of Athanasius the Apostolic, which he wrote concerning them, and then he will understand and know that matter. And when Abba Moses was first ordained there were many monasteries in his diocese of Wasim, belonging to those followers of Meletius, in which they dwelt. So he banished them all. But some of them had received the habit from his hand, when they put it on, and became united to us; and for this reason there was friendship between me and them, during the time when I was a layman. So when they stripped off them the spiritual habit, received from my father's hand, there was no longer any affection between me and any of them. And I questioned him about their former deeds, when he was calling them sorcerers and the children of Satan; and he answered me : « I will tell thee of another thing done by those men, who were not worthy to enter among the people of God nor into his kingdom, namely, that they bewitched children, and led them out into the desert, and bound them where none could see them, and sat down near them to guard them; and if they complained of thirst, they gave them nothing to drink; and when their thirst became severe, they poured water over their heads and bodies; and when one of them was near death, and his eyes started out of his head, and his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, they cut off his head with a knife before he died, so that Satan might speak through those heads without falsehood, and they might

الرأس بغير كذب فيضلون الناس بافعالهم الشيطانية المردولة وكان<sup>1</sup> قس قديس مشاركنا مقيماً في قلالية وسيم فلما كان يوم الجمعة من ايام الصوم وكنت معه في القلاية وكان ابي موسى الاسقف لا<sup>2</sup> يرى احداً من الناس على شغله بالصلاة وعذاب نفسه الا يومى السبت والاحد فنظر ذلك<sup>\*</sup> القس تيناً عظيماً في قلاليته فعمل صليبا فضة وجعله في موضع رآه فيه فلما كان الغد وجد التين ميتين تحت الصليب فهل قوّة اعظم من قوّة الذين يعبدون الله بنية خالصة صادقة وامانة قويّة

وكان في تلك الايام غلاء عظيم فدخل رجل الى النزهات يطلب صدقة فسرق منها شيئاً فراه رجل آخر وكان رجلاً مؤمناً فاراد ان يوبّخه لكي يتوب من السرقة فمنعه من ذلك صلاحه وافكاره في الخير ثم مضى ايضاً ذلك الرجل السارق فسرق من زرع جيرانه ودفنه حتى ياخذه فيأكله فحضر صاحب الزرع عند ابي موسى فقراً عليه من الكتب واوصاه ان<sup>3</sup> لا يجازى شرّاً بشرّ لكن يجازى الشرّ بالخير ففعل ذلك وسمع منه فوسع الله ماله

وقد قلت لكم هذا لتبعدوا عنهم ولا تشاركهم في افعالهم ومن<sup>add.</sup> يوم وفاته 1. E om. to لا يتفرغ الا شغله<sup>add.</sup> يرمى 2. F om. to ذلك الرقت ابعادوا عنهم جميع المؤمنين — 3. ABG om. الصلاة وعذاب نفسه ولا يتفرغ الا في برمين الشر

lead men astray with their devilish and shameful deeds ». Now there was a holy priest in our company, living in the Cell at Wasîm; and on Friday, during the Fast, while I was with him in the Cell, but Abba Moses was seeing no man, since he was employing himself in prayer and self-discipline, except on Saturdays and Sundays, then that priest saw a great dragon in his cell. Therefore he made a cross of silver, and placed it on the spot where he<sup>\*</sup> P. 186 had seen it; and on the morrow he found the dragon dead beneath the cross.

Is there then any power greater than the power of those who worship God with a pure and honest intention and a firm faith?

And there was in those days a great dearth, and so a man came to An-Nuzahât to ask alms, and stole something thence. And another man saw him, who was a believer; and he wished to reprimand him, so that he might repent of the theft, but was prevented from doing so by his kindness and charitable thoughts. Afterwards that man went again, and stole some corn from his neighbours, and buried it, that he might take and eat it. Then the owner of the corn visited my father Moses, who read to him from the Scriptures, and charged him not to reward evil with evil, but to recompense evil with good. Accordingly he did so, and followed his advice, and therefore God increased his wealth until all who knew him marvelled at him.

حتى تعجب منه كل من يعرفه وذكرت لكم ايها الاخوة حال اهل فلسطين الملعونين لتبعدوا عن معرفتهم واريد ان اذكر اعجوبة اخرى ظهرت من الاب ايماخس الاسقف كان في بعض الايام يعلم شعبه في مدينة الفرما ويوصيهم ان يبعدوا عن المخالفين ولا يشاركوهم في شيء واذا قس قد حضر عنده من الخلق قدونيين ليجربيه بمكر فقال الاسقف كلاما كثيرا ثم قال له انا اومن بامانتك واعترف واخذ الاسقف ايماخس زيتا مقدسا من جسد القديس ساويرس البطرك ودهن وجه القس الهراطقي وقال له ان كنت تهزأ الرب يظهر فيك قوته وللوقت بسرعة وثب عليه روح شيطان نجس فصرعه وخنقه وعذبه فازيد ولم يزل عليه يعذبه الى يوم وفاته.

ثم تقدم الاسقف بان لا يكون لاحد من رعيته اشبين غريب الا من اهلهم وابائهم وكان هناك قوم مخالفون لم يسمعوها منه فيجازاهم الله بسرعة حتى تعجب كل احد من تعاليم الرب وكانت امرأة موسرة اخذت رجلا كان يزني بها جعلته لها اشبينا فلما عادا الى

1. E om. to الرب add. ومنعهم الابا عن عمل الاشبين منهم. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. E om. ولها اشبين منهم ولا تردع من كلام الابا وكان اشبينها يزني بها وكان معها طفل add. بلدهما to ارادت لعمده فترجعت هي واشبينها الى دير في البرية فعمدوا الطفل ورجعوا وفيما هم النح

I have mentioned to you, my brethren, the fate of the accursed people of Palestine, that you might hold yourselves aloof from them. Now I desire to relate another miracle, shown forth by the Father Epimachus, the bishop. One day he was teaching his people in the city of Al-Faranâ, and exhorting them to avoid heretics, and never to associate with them in anything. And behold, a priest of the Chaldeonians appeared before him to tempt him with guile; and the bishop delivered a long discourse, at the end of which the priest said to him : « I believe in thy creed and confess it. » But the bishop Epimachus took holy oil from the body of the holy Severus, the patriarch, and anointed the face of the heretical priest, saying to him : « If thou mockest the Lord, let his power appear in thee! » And immediately a spirit of an unclean devil leapt upon him, and threw him down, and choked and tormented him, so that he foamed at the mouth; and it did not cease to possess and torment him till the day of his death.

Then the bishop gave orders that his flock should never have a stranger as sponsor, but only members of their own family or their parents. And there were there some heretics, who would not obey him; but God requited them speedily, so that every one marvelled at the doctrines of the Lord. And there was a wealthy woman, who took a man who had committed sin with her,



بلدهما وهما في الطريق وصلا الى بركة تحرك فيهما الاثم كعادتهما فاضجعوا الصبي وعليه ثياب المعمودية وكان في الطريق فندق فدخلوا اليه وفعلا فضيحتهما فوق عليهما البيت فماتا وشهد<sup>1</sup> لنا الاسقف انه شاهدهما مجتمعين لما قلعت الحجارة عنهما ورؤوسهما كما كانا وجه الرجل فوق وجه المرأة ونظروهما جماعة من الناس وخافوا وشاع الخبر عند كل احد واشاعوا الناس ذلك فثبت علمه عند ابائنا فمنعوا من ذلك اليوم ان يشابن احد غريباً بل<sup>2</sup> من اهله ولم يبق احد ياخذ اشبيناً غريباً وانا في صغري رأيت جماعة زنوا مع اشابينهم \* P. 187 وانا في الحياة حتى انقطعت اعمارهم وخرت مساكنهم وكان الاسقف ابنا يوحنا اسقف سرسنا<sup>3</sup> يخرج الارواح النجسة بما اعطى من النعمة لتوليته وجهاده لانه اقام راهباً واسقفاً عمره جميعه وتيسر بشيخوخة حسنة وكذلك ابا قيرة اسقف طانة في وقت رهبانيته ظهر له عجب وهو ان انساناً هراطقيّاً جادله بسبب الامانة فمسك يده ان يدخل به الى داخل

1. E om. to كانا add. فجاء ابهما خس الاسقف وشاهدهما لما رفعوا الحجارة عنهم. — 2. E om. to وكانوا الالبا الاساقفة يفعلوا عجائب عظيمة بقوة الله وكان في كرسي ابنا add. في كرسيه. — 3. So DF; ABG سرسنا. — اسطافانوس.

and made him godfather to her child. When they returned to their town, while they were on the way, they came to a desert place, and sinful desires were stirred in them according to their custom; so they laid down the child with the garments of baptism upon him, and entered an inn by the way side, and committed their sin; and so the house fell down upon them, and they were killed. And the bishop testified to us that he had beheld those two still together, when the stones were removed from them, and their heads were as they had been, the face of the man and the face of the woman. And many people saw them, and feared. And the news was spread abroad among all men, and the people published it. So the bishop's theology was confirmed among our fathers, and from that day they forbad all men to take a stranger as sponsor, but only their own kinsfolk. And none after that took a stranger as sponsor. But I in my youth saw many commit sin with their sponsors, \* during my own lifetime, in consequence of which \* P. 187 their lives were cut off and their habitations laid waste.

Now the bishop, Abba John, bishop of Sarsanâ, used to cast out unclean spirits through the grace given to him for his virginity and asceticism. For he remained monk and bishop all his life, and died in a good old age. So also Abba Cyrus, bishop of Tānah, to whom during his monastic life a wonder was manifested, namely that a heretic deceived him on account of the faith, and took his hand to lead him into the Fire-Temple, but could not

بيت النار فما قدر وهرب من يده فياخذ الاسقف ازاره وهو راهب رماه في النار ولم يحترق وانا اعلم اننى قد طوّلت الكلام ولم اقصد بذلك الا اعلامكم بما كان لتفهّموه واما القول في فعال ابنا زخارياس اسقف اتريب فانه كان من صغره في البرية مواظب الصلوات ودموعه تجري مثل مجارى المياه وكان البكاء عنده حلوّاً وكان<sup>1</sup> كثير الصدقة على المنقطعين وكل احد يحبّه واولاده الروحانيون سالكون طريقه وكذلك الطوباني استيفانوس اسقف شطب واباؤه الذين كانوا قبله على هذا الكرسي الذين كانت طرائقهم الجيّدة اكثر من اساقفة مصر الذين منهم الاسقف ابا هنروقس الثاومنتس العظيم المعترف المتكلّم بالالهيات واستيفانوس الذى سلك طريقه ووهب الله له ان يشفى الاعلاء ويعرف ما يكون قبل ان يكون واظهر عجائب كثيرة وكان في كرسيه قس حبلت زوجته قبل وفاته وكانت طاهرة وبعد موته طردوها اولادها الكبار وقالوا انها حبلت من غيره فقال لهم الاسقف دعوها الى ان تلد فلما ولدت اخذ الطفل عمده وحمله على كتفه<sup>2</sup> وكلمن في كرسيه حاضر وامر

1. ABDG om. كان. — 2. F ذراعيد.

induce him, and he escaped from his hand. Then the bishop took his mantle, he being a monk, and threw it into the fire, and it was not burnt.

Now I know that I have made my discourse long, but my only object has been to teach you what took place, that you may understand it. And as for what is said about the deeds of Abba Zacharias, bishop of Atrib, he dwelt from his youth up in the desert, continuing in prayer; and his tears flowed like streams of water, and weeping was sweet to him; and he was assiduous in alms-giving to the anchorites, and everyone loved him; and his spiritual sons walked in his path. So likewise the blessed Stephen, bishop of Shutb, and his fathers who were before him over that see, who were excellent in their lives above the rest of the bishops of Egypt, among whom was the bishop Abba Hesychius, the great Theomantis and confessor, who spoke of divine matters. And to Stephen, who walked in his path, God granted the gift of healing the sick, and knowing what was to happen before it took place; and he showed forth many wonders. Now there was in his diocese a priest, whose wife was pregnant when he died; and she was a pure woman. Yet after his death, her elder sons cast her out, saying that she had conceived by another. But the bishop said to them: « Leave her alone until she brings forth. » So when she was delivered, he took the babe and baptized it, and carried it on his shoulder in the presence of all the people of his diocese, and bade the babe speak before the people, and say who was its father. And immediately it spoke with its tongue, as if it



1. F بلسان فصيح. — 2. F om. with 2 foll.wds. — 3. F على فم الطفل قابلا اسكت. — 4. ABDEFG om. — 5. E om. to البرية. — 6. Mss. فاعلم بالروح القدس حالها. — 7. F فراها. — 8. F add. ثانی رئیس دير الخ. — 9. ABDG اخذها E واخذها. — 10. F om. to الكافر add. من الساحر الكافر الملعون. — 11. E وصلها عليها واعادها لما add. الشيطان. — 12. E om. to وعرفه بما فعله. F add. الرالى. — 13. E om. to وفعلوا افعال كثيرة لم اذكرها. add. الرسولی. — 14. E كانت.

were a lion's cub, saying : « I am the son of such an one, the priest, by whom my mother conceived me nine days before his death, although none knew of that but God who created me. And my brothers wished to cast my mother out wrongfully. » Then the bishop made the sign of the cross over its lips, and bade it speak no more, until the proper age of speech. And so it was. Like these was the aged Abba Paul, bishop of Akhmim, who had been the second superior of the Monastery of Sinuthius, the saint, the star of the desert. There was a magician, who took a maiden, and turned her into an ass by his wicked arts, in the presence of all who saw her. And she remained with him three years, as she related. And when he took her out into the desert, he made her a woman, that she might serve him, and he might commit sin with her. But when he entered the city, he rode upon her, as if she were an ass. Then on the 7th of Abib, the feast of the holy Sinuthius, the excellent prophet, the aged Abba Paul met that man, when she was with him, and took her from him, though none knew of her except the accursed misbelieving magician. And Abba Paul took the magician, and gave him up to the governor, who caused him



عندهن من العلمانيات نساء كثير يعشن معهن فهؤلاء الالباء الذين رأيناهم وسمعنا كلامهم ولا تحصى اعمالهم الحسنة ومنهم ابا كرتة<sup>1</sup> الذي من جوجر الذي رأس على اربعة كراسي كان قد تزوج من صباه وعاش مع زوجته زمانا كثيرا وبلغ مائة وخمس سنين وهما بكران طهران نائمان على فراش واحد زمانا طويلا وطعامهما خبز شعير وملح بعبادة عظيمة وكلما لهم وكلما يجدانه يصدقانه على المستورين فلما طعنا في السن سلم ابا كرتة زوجته الطاهرة لدير الرهبانات والاب ابا اسحق اسقف على كرسي سمثود وما لقيه من العذاب والجهاد مع البرسنوفيين حتى اعادهم الى الايمان بكرسي ماري مرقس الرسولي

وكانت بيعة انطاكية ارملة بغير بطرك وملك انسان اسمه عبد الله ابو جعفر من جنس الملوكة الاولى قيل ابو مسلم عمه وكان ابو عون بمصر وصالح مع عبد الله وكانت البيعة هادئة تحت سلامة في ايام الاب البطرك القديس ابا ميخائيل على ما ناله من التعب والجهاد الذي ذكرنا بعضه الى ان تم خدمته وتيسح ومضى بسلام الى السيد المسيح الرؤوف كما

كلما. om. ويجدود ABDG. — 1. F كبير.

to be burnt in the fire, after he had been put to death. Then the bishop loosed the woman from the bonds of Satan, and delivered her to the superior of the convent of nuns. For there were among them many women of the laity, living with them.

These then are the fathers whom we saw, and whose words we listened to, and whose glorious deeds cannot be counted. And one of them, Abba Cyrus, who was of Jaujar which is the chief of four sees, had been married in his youth, and lived long with his wife in great devotion and reached the age of a hundred and five years. And those two were two pure virgins, sleeping on one bed for a long time; and their food was barley bread and salt; and all that they had or found they gave in alms to the poor. Then, when they advanced in years, Abba Cyrus gave up his pure wife to the convent of nuns. Another of them was the Father Abba Isaac, bishop over the see of Samamūd, and we know what he endured of torments and fighting with the Barsanuphians, until he brought them back to the faith in the see of Saint Mark the Evangelist.

Now the church of Antioch was widowed and without a patriarch. And a man named Abd Allah Abu Ja'far, who belonged to the family of the first princes, was now reigning, and Abu Muslim was called his uncle. And Abu Aun was in Egypt, and Šalih with Abd Allah. And the Church was prosperous and at peace in the days of the holy patriarch, Abba Michael, in consequence of the troubles and struggles which he had endured, and some of which we

ذكرنا<sup>1</sup> في آخر هذه السيرة ولم تنزل بيعة انطاكية بغير بطرك بعد ابنا يوحنا المتتيح لاجل الحروب والعساكر الى ان ملكوا الخراسانيون وفي اول<sup>2</sup> ملكهم<sup>3</sup> مضي اسحق اسقف حران الى عبد الله فسأله في بطركية انطاكية لان ابنا يوحنا كان قد تتيح كما اعلما ولداه اللذان جاءا الينا وذلك ان عبد الله الملك كان من اهل حران وكانت زوجته عاقرا فرأت في منامها حائفا يقول لها اطلبى اسحق الاسقف ان يصلي عليك والرب يعطيك ولدا وكانت هذه الامراة عابدة لله خائفة منه وكان لما خطبها عبد الله ليتزوج بها شرطت عليه ان لا يتزوج بغيرها عليها ولا يتسرى وقالت<sup>4</sup> له قد عرفنا ان الله خلقنا في البدء ذكرا واثني فان تم تعاهدني على ذلك فما اتزوج بك فعاهدها وحفظ لها العهد الى يوم فراقها فاحضروا<sup>5</sup> الاسقف ابنا اسحق اليها في صباح الغد فعرفته ما رأت في منامها فجعل<sup>6</sup> بينه وبينها اسبوعا وسأل الله ان يتم ما طلبته ثم مضى الى الدير الذي كان فيه راهبا فاعلم الاخوة بالخبر<sup>7</sup>

1. F نذكر. — 2. ABDEG اولها. — 3. ABDEG om. — 4. F om. to بك. — 5. F فلما رأت ذلك المنام طلبت الاسقف المذكور فاحضر اليها اسحق om. to اليها add. — 6. E om. to طلبته add. فصلا عليها. — 7. E om. to بسببها add. بوقوفها للصلاة.

have related, until was ended his ministry and he went to his rest, and departed in peace to the merciful Lord Christ, as we have described at the end of this history. And the church of Antioch remained without a patriarch after the decease of Abba John, on account of the wars and the armies, until the Khorasanians took possession of the land. At the beginning of their rule, Isaac, bishop of Harran, went to Abd Allah, and petitioned him concerning the patriarchate of Antioch; for Abba John had died, as his two sons informed us, when they came to visit us. They said that Abd Allah was a native of Harran, and his wife was barren; and she saw in a dream one who prophesied to her : « Seek Isaac, the bishop, that he may pray for thee, and the Lord will give thee a son. » And this woman served and feared God; and when Abd Allah solicited her to marry him, she made a condition with him that he should marry no other wife besides her, and should take no concubine. For she said to him : « We know that God created us in the beginning male and female, and, if thou wilt not make this compact with me, I will not marry thee. » So he made the agreement with her, and kept it till the day of her death. Therefore they summoned the bishop Abba Isaac to her, on the morning of the next day, and she made known to him what she had seen in her dream. So he appointed a week between her and him, and prayed God to fulfil her request. Then he departed to the monastery in which he had been a monk, and informed the brethren of the matter; so they as-





بمصر يقول فيه كلما يكتبك به البطرك ابنا اسحق اسمع منه وافعل له ثم كتب<sup>1</sup> كتاباً عن نفسه الى الاب المغبوط ابنا ميخائيل بطرك مدينة الاسكندرية سنوديقاً<sup>2</sup> وارسلها بكرامات<sup>3</sup> مع<sup>4</sup> ولدين له قس وشماس كانا كاتبه ومطرانين من الكبار احدهما مطران دمشق والآخر مطران حمص لياخذوا له الجواب وكتب<sup>5</sup> السلامة مع بطرك مصر واساقفته بان يرفع اسمه عندهم كالعادة والاتحاد<sup>6</sup> وكتب كتاباً عن نفسه الى ابي عون الوالى بانّه ان لم يفعل البطرك ذلك فليحضر الى عند عبد الله الملك فلما وصلوا الكتب الى ابي عون اتقد الى اسكندرية واحضر ابنا ميخائيل البطرك الى مصر وحده وقرأ عليه الكتب والسجل فاجابه وقال له لا تلزمنى بهذا حتى اجمع الاساقفة ويتشاورون على هذا الامر حسب قوانيننا وشريعتنا ففسح له في ذلك وامهله فيه ثم جلس بمصر وكتب الى اساقفة بحرى وقبلى والصعيد<sup>7</sup> الاعلى والادنى بان يحضروا اليه جميع الاساقفة وينظروا في ذلك ويكتبوا اليه الجواب فلما حضروا

- 1. F add. عظيمة. — 2. DF prefix و. — 3. F add. عظمية. — 4. E om. to وارسل يعرف. — 5. E om. to ذلك. — 6. F add. بين الكرسيين. — 7. DF فحضروا اليد جميع الاساقفة فقالوا له افعل. E om. to الصعيدين.

decree from the prince for Abu Aun, governor of Egypt, in which he said; « Obey all that the patriarch, Abba Isaac, writes to thee, and do it for him ». Isaac also wrote a synodical letter in his own name to the blessed Abba Michael, patriarch of the city of Alexandria, and sent it, accompanied by gifts, by two sons of his, a priest and a deacon, who were his scribes, and two of the chiefs of the metropolitans, one of them being metropolitan of Damascus, and the other metropolitan of Emesa, that they might receive an answer for him. Therein he wrote salutations to the patriarch of Egypt and his bishops, requesting him to exalt his name among them according to custom and for the sake of unity. He also wrote a letter from himself to Abu Aun, the governor, asking that, if the patriarch refused to comply, he might be sent to Abd Allah, the prince. When the letters reached Abu Aun, he sent to Alexandria and summoned Abba Michael, the patriarch, to Miṣr by himself; and when the letters and the decree were read to him, he answered, saying : « Do not force me to this, until I have assembled the bishops, and they have taken counsel upon this matter, according to our canons and laws ». Then the governor conceded this to him, and allowed him a delay ; and the patriarch took up his residence at Miṣr, and wrote to the bishops of the north and south and of the farther and nearer parts of Upper Egypt, bidding them all assemble to him, and look into this affair, and write him an answer. When they arrived,

اجابوا قائلين للبطرک هو<sup>١</sup> مماثلک يا ابانا وشريکک فى الخدمة فافعل ما ترآد انت معه فاما نحن فما لنا فى هذا شيء وصار بينهم سجس عظیم وكان<sup>٢</sup> معه ابنا تاودرس اسقف مصر الثانى الذى كان اغومنس الفسطاط وقس بيعة ابى سرجة هو وابى<sup>٣</sup> ابنا مويسيس اسقف وسيم فقط فانفذوا الی انا الخاطی لانهم<sup>٤</sup> يعلسون انی عضو من اعضائهم كما هو مکتوب ایس بمعرفتى لكن بمحبة روحانية فمضيت اليهم كالولد من بعد شهر وهم ملازمون لهم اطلب الاجوبة والتقليد الذى هو السطاتيک<sup>٥</sup> وكانوا قومًا فيهم دين ومحبة فلما نظرونى المشركيون الرسل وانا<sup>٦</sup> بلباس الرهبان وافعالی بعيدة من الرهبنة فاشاروا الى ابائى قائلين انت الذى<sup>٧</sup> P. 190 حضرت معنا وحدک تكون نائبًا عن اخوتک فلما نظرونى جالسًا مع الاساقفة واراددهم<sup>٨</sup> فى الخطاب تعجبوا وقالوا ما رأينا قط راهبًا يرادد البطرک مثل هذا فقالوا<sup>٧</sup> المطارنة ان لسانه مثل السيف<sup>٨</sup> ما يقاوم فقالوا لهم ابائى هو بمنزلة اسقف فتعجبوا فقال واحد من المطارنة

واذا مرا نحر شهر ولم يتم. add. وهم قوم فيهم دين ومحبة — 2. E om. to — 1. ABG وهو — 3. E om. ABDG وابره. — 4. ABG أنهم. — 5. Mss. السطاتيكا. — 6. ABG أنهم رأت. — 7. ABE قالوا. — 8. G add. الجاد. — 7. ABE قالوا. — 8. G add. الجاد.

they answered, saying to the patriarch : « He is thy equal, Father, and thy partner in the ministry; therefore do what seems good to thee with him; for, as for us, we have nothing to do with this matter. » And there was great trouble among them. And there was with him Abba Theodore, the second bishop of Miṣr of that name, who had been hegumen of Al-Fustât, and priest of the church of Saint Sergius : he and my father Abba Moses, bishop of Wasîm, alone. So they sent to me, the sinner, because they knew that I was one of their members, as it is written<sup>1</sup>, not by my knowledge, but by spiritual love. So I went to them as a son, after a month, while they were holding converse with the envoys, in order to seek for answers, and for the sake of the decree of confirmation, that is say, the systatic letter. Now these envoys from the east were men in whom were found religion and charity. So when they saw me, I was wearing the habit of monks, though my conduct was far from that which a monk's ought to be, and they pointed to my fathers, saying : « Art thou here present alone with us, because thou art acting as deputy for thy brethren? » Then when they beheld me sitting with the bishops, and arguing with them in the discussion, they marvelled and said : « We never saw a monk argue with the patriarch, like this man ». And the metropolitans said : « His tongue is like a sword, and cannot be opposed. » Then my fathers said to them : « He is in the position of a bishop. » So

1. Rom., xii, 5; Ephes., iv, 25.



لى كم لك من الاولاد فى كرسيك وبلادك فقلت له لى عشر منى<sup>1</sup> فيها عشرة اناسى منها خمسة تكون فى كل سنة منها نحو خمسين نسمة فقالوا بالحقيقة نحن نراك متعباً ضعيف الجسم فقال احدهما انا عندى فى كرسيى تسع مائة ضيعة سوى المدن والمنى<sup>2</sup> وكراسى لطاف وكورنا قليل ومضى بينى وبينهم كلام كثير وهم قوم فيهم دين ومحبة فلما كان فى الشهر الثانى اجتمعوا فى بيعة السيّدة واستقرّ الامر مع البطريرك ابنا ميخائيل قال السيف او النار او الرمي الى الاسد او النفي او السبي فسا<sup>3</sup> يقلقنى ولست ادخل تحت ما لا يجب ولا ادخل تحت حرمنى الذى كتبته بخطى وبدأت به بان لا يصير اسقف بطركاً والاباء الفضلاء احرموا من ياخذ رتبة من رتب الكهنوت بيد السلطان او<sup>4</sup> عناية لان الاساقفة كانوا كتبوا الى من انطاكية فى زمان ابنا يوحنا البطريرك ان كل من ثبت بعده من الاساقفة على الكرسي يكون محروماً فكُتبت هذا بخطى فكيف يجب ان احرم نفسى واحلل اليوم ما حرّمته بالامس وما انكرته امس اضى به اليوم وما انكره الاباء القديسون

1. Mss. منا. — 2. F om. to قليل; ABDG والمنا. — 3. ABDG منا. — 4. E om. to قبلى.

they marvelled. Then one of the metropolitans said to me : « How many children hast thou in thy diocese and province? » I answered : « I have ten villages in each of which are ten adults, so that they produce every year about fifty human beings. » Then they said : « In truth we see thee worn and weak in body. » And one of them said : « I have under my see nine hundred hamlets, besides cities and villages and small dioceses; and our provinces are few. » And much discourse passed between us; for they were men imbued with religion and charity.

And in the second month they assembled in the church of our Lady, and the affair was settled with the patriarch, Abba Michael, who said : « Sword or fire or casting to lions or exile or captivity, — these are things that trouble me not; but I will not enter into what is not lawful, nor incur my own excommunication, which I subscribed with my own hand and initiated, to the effect that no bishop shall become patriarch. For the excellent fathers excommunicated him who shall take a degree in the hierarchy by the help or favour of the government, and the bishops wrote to me from Antioch, in the time of Abba John, the patriarch, that any bishop who should be established on the throne after him should be excommunicated, and I subscribed my name to that declaration in my own handwriting. How then is it lawful for me to excommunicate myself, and to declare lawful to day what I anathematized yesterday, and to approve to-day what I condemned yesterday, and the holy fathers condemned before me? » Then he broke off the



قبلى وقطع الخطاب<sup>1</sup> فتقدموا الى ابي عون الوالى وقالوا له تنفذ معنا البطرك الى بلادنا كما امر الملك ولم يكن ابو عون يريد ان يسير الاب لاجل محبته له وللنصارى<sup>2</sup> وكان له عناية عند الله بهم وقبوله دعاءهم له فقال للبطرك انت قد طعنت<sup>3</sup> فى السن والطريق بعيدة جداً وامض وشاور نفسك اياماً قلائل فان سهل عليك الامر والا فالمسير بيدك فيخرجنا من عنده فاقلقونا السطارنة والرسل وخاطبوا البطرك فى نجاز الامر بالمسير معهم ولم يدعونا فاهتم الاب البطرك بالسفر وهو وجع القلب قائلاً لابي موسىيس تصحبنى فى هذه الطريق الصعبة فاستعد ابي<sup>4</sup> موسىيس للمسير معه وابا تاودرس اسقف مصر وانا<sup>5</sup> البائس يونس فلما استعدنا للمسير وصل الخبر الى مصر فى تلك الليلة ان اسحق الاسقف الذى<sup>6</sup> وثب على كرسى انطاكية بيد السلطان قد توفى بانطاكية وقد ناب على الكرسى انسان اسمه اتناسيوس وجلس فى اليوم بعينه قبل مغيب الشمس فسات<sup>7</sup> الآخرة فى ثالث يوم ودفنوهما فلما سمع

1. E الكلام. — 2. E om. to دعاهم له. — 3. E om. with 2 foll. wds. add. شخت. — 4. E انبا موسىيس. — 5. E om. to للمسير. — 6. E om. بطركية انطاكية مات وقد. — 7. E ايضا F الاحد. — 8. E om. to على النخ.

discussion. So they proceeded to Abu Aun, the governor, and said to him : « Wilt thou send the patriarch with us to our own country, as the prince commanded? » But Abu Aun did not wish to send the father, because he loved him and the Christians; and he had found favour before God through them, and through God's acceptance of their prayers for him. So he said to the patriarch : « Thou art advanced in years, and the way is very long. Therefore depart and take counsel with thyself for a few days; and if the matter appears easier to thee, well and good; but if not, thou mayest go or not as thou wilt. »

So we went out from his presence. Then the metropolitans and envoys troubled us, and discoursed with the patriarch concerning the accomplishment of the command to journey with them, and would not leave us. So the father patriarch took thought for the journey, being sad at heart, and saying to my father Moses : « Wilt thou accompany me on this difficult road? » So my father Moses prepared to travel with him, besides Abba Theodore, bishop of Mīṣr; and so also did I, John, the sinner. But when we were ready to start, the news that night arrived at Mīṣr that Isaac, the bishop, who had usurped the throne of Antioch by the help of the government, had died at Antioch, and the see had been occupied by a man named Athanasius, who took his seat that very day before sunset, but died himself also the third day, and both were buried. When the metropolitans

P. 191 ذلك المطارنة ومن معهم من الكهنة هربوا ولم<sup>1</sup> نعلم كيف مضوا الا انا لم نشاهدهم بعد ذلك اليوم

وانا اقول لكم ما قد قيل لنا من اجل هذا اتاسيوس كان من الاساقفة القدم ومطراناً وتولّى من حدّ حرّان الى داخل وكان كرسيّه بعيداً جدّاً حتى أنّه كان يسير على الجبال والصخور والحجارة الحادة برجليه وفيهما مداس حديد حتى يطوف على كل كوره وحدّثونا أنّه كان شديد القوّة طويل القامة ممثلي الجسم وكان قد اعطى في المجمع ان يقسم الاساقفة لبعده الكورة فلما وثب على الكرسي مات

وجاء اليّنا انسان من الخلقدونيين اسمه جرجة وكان خيراً ودخل معنا في الامانة الارثوذكسيّة فوقع اختيار الجمع عليه فصيّروه بطركاً على انطاكية فلم يمرّ عليه الا قليل حتى وثب عليه اسقف من اساقفته يسمّى ابا<sup>2</sup> داءود وكانت امّه داية لابي جعفر المنصور ملك المسلمين فسعى به بكلام لا يجب ذكره في سيرة البيعة وافعلنا وذنوبنا ما تحتاج الى زيادة ثم اخذ

وبعد ذلك وقع اختيار اهل المشرق على انسان add. اختيار الجمع عليه 1. E om. to. — 2. Mss. ابر. خير اسمه جرجة

and their clerical companions heard this news, they fled, and we knew not P. 191 how they departed, only that we never beheld them again after that day.

Now I will tell you what was told us concerning this Athanasius. He was one of the chief bishops and a metropolitan, and exercised jurisdiction from the boundary of Harran inwards; and his province was very extensive, so that he used to travel over mountains and rocks and sharp stones on foot, wearing iron sandals, that he might go round every district. And they told us that he was very strong, tall in stature, stout in body; and the privilege had been granted him in synod to ordain the bishops, on account of the distance of the province from Antioch. But as soon as he usurped the patriarchal throne, he died.

And there came to us a Chalcedonian, named George, who was a good man; and he entered with us into the orthodox faith. So the choice of the synod fell upon him, and they made him patriarch of Antioch. But, a little time after he had established himself there, he was attacked by a bishop, named Abba David, whose mother had been nurse to Abu Ja'far al-Mansûr, prince of the Muslims. This bishop accused him of that which may not be mentioned in the history of the Church; for our misdeeds and sins require no addition to them. After this the prince arrested this George, and fettered him with iron and wood, and put him in prison in the eighth

الملك هذا جرجة وكبله بالحديد والخشب وادعاه السجن في السنة الثامنة<sup>1</sup> من ملكه ومن بعد ذلك الوقت والى الآن لم تصلنا سنوديقا ولا<sup>2</sup> مضى من عندنا كتاب واذكر لكم اعجوبة بطرك القسطنطينية والملك وانسان خلقدوني في سنة اربع مائة وثمانين للشهداء كان انسان مقدّم من القسطنطينية اسمه فيلبس قد حسن له البطررك ان يقاتل الملك وقال له انك اذا قاتلته ظفرت به واخذت المملكة فلما بلغ الخبر الملك نفاه الى بلد غريبة<sup>3</sup> وطرح في مواضع خيفة واقام بطركا غيره وكان الملك يفعل فعلا لا تحسن ذكرها ويمحى الصور من البيع وما<sup>4</sup> ذكرت لكم هذا الا لتعلموا ان هذه الامور كانت عامّة ليس بانطاكية فقط بل وفي جميع المملكة والبطركان القسطنطيني والانطاكي اعتقلوا في زمان واحد

وقد ذكرنا يسيرا ممّا قد لقيه الاب بطرك ابنا ميخائيل من<sup>5</sup> الجهاد ولم يكن معه احد مقيما في شدائده<sup>6</sup> وتوانيه يساعده الا الاب الاسقف ابنا تادرس اسقف مصر وابنا مويسيس

1. Mss. add. والرابعين. — 2. E om. to add. خلقدوني. — 3. DF غريبة E om. — 4. E om. to واحد add. لان التعب كان في كل موضع. — 5. E om. to رسيم. — 6. A شدائد.

year of his reign. And from that time to now no synodical letter has reached us, and no such letter has gone from us.

Now I will tell you the strange story of the patriarch of Constantinople, and the prince, and a Chaldeonian, in the year 480 of the Martyrs. There was a man of high rank at Constantinople, named Philip, whom the patriarch persuaded to attack the prince, saying : « If thou fightest against him, thou wilt conquer him, and take possession of the government. » But when the news reached the prince, he banished that patriarch to a distant town, where he was cast into a narrow dungeon ; and another was made patriarch. Now this prince committed deeds not fit to be named, and removed the pictures from the churches. And I have related this to you, only that you may know that these things were general, and did not take place at Antioch alone, but throughout the empire. Thus the two patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were imprisoned at the same time.

Now we have related a little of the good fight fought by the Father Patriarch, Abba Michael. And there was none who remained with him in his distress and weakness to assist him, except the father and bishop, Abba Theodore, bishop of Mīṣr, and Abba Moses, bishop of Wasīm. And when he was advanced in age, he prayed God mercifully to remove him



استقن وسيم ولما طعن في السن<sup>1</sup> سأل الله الرحوم ان ينقله من هذا العالم ليتريح مع القديسين فاجابه واسلم نفسه بعد ما جاهد وعمل من الاعمال الحسنة في اليوم السادس عشر من برمهاث وكان مدة مقامه على الكرسي الانجيلي على<sup>2</sup> ما وجدنا في الولشاكي<sup>3</sup> بدير القديس ابي مقار ثلثا وعشرين سنة ونصفا ووضع جسده المقدس مع اجساد ابائنا القديسين بمجد وكرامة صلواته<sup>4</sup> تكون معنا<sup>5</sup> آمين.

صلواته تحفظنا وتحرسنا D. 4. — اولياكي BG. 3. — مقار EF om. 2. — شاء E. 1. — ومعكم يا اخوة ومع جنس بني المعمدية يا اباي واخوتي B add. 5. — وجميع بني المعمدية امين كملت السيرة السادسة عشر من سير البيعة المقدسة وانبا خيال البطرك الذي هو السادس والاربعين نشعنا الله تعالى بمقبول صلواته امين امين.

from this world, that he might rest with the saints; and God answered his prayer, and he gave up his soul after all his struggles and the good works that he had done, on the 16th of Barmahât. And he remained upon the evangelical throne, according to the statement which we found in the library in the Monastery of Saint Macarius, twenty-three years and a half; and his holy body was deposited with the bodies of our holy fathers, in glory and honour. May their prayers be with us! Amen.



HISTORY  
OF THE PATRIARCHS  
OF THE COPTIC CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA

IV  
MENNAS I TO JOSEPH (849)

ARABIC TEXT EDITED, TRANSLATED, AND ANNOTATED

BY  
B. EVETTS



A = Paris, arabe 301.  
B = Brit. Mus., add. 26 100.  
C = — or. 1338.  
D = Vatican, arabe 620.  
E = — 686.  
F = Paris, arabe 4773.  
G = — 4772.

## السيرة التاسعة<sup>1</sup> عشرة من سير البيعة

آباء مينا البطرك وهو السابع والاربعون من العدد

انه<sup>3</sup> لواجب علينا الاستقصاء والبحث عن جميع سير البيعة كما كان<sup>4</sup> اباؤنا المتقدمون<sup>5</sup> يفعلون فاما فيلون<sup>6</sup> ويوستس ويوسابوس<sup>7</sup> من<sup>8</sup> اليهود فانهم<sup>9</sup> سيروا ما جرى بيروشليم<sup>10</sup> من اجل المسيح والذي كتب سير البيعة الارثوذكسية افريقانوس<sup>11</sup> واوسابيوس<sup>12</sup> وسوزمانوس<sup>13</sup> وبعدهم ايضا مينا الكاتب هؤلاء<sup>14</sup> كتبوا ما جرى على البيعة الى<sup>15</sup> ديسقرس الاب العظيم المعترف بالمسيح وقائل الحق الذي خلصنا من الطوفان الثاني ومن غرق العمق الذي ليس له نهاية ومن الستمائة وثلثين المجتمعين بخلقيدونية ولاؤون الكافر صاحب رومية

لمن<sup>1</sup>. ABFG الثامنة عشر D. — 2. ABG وَا بَا F. E om. — 3. E om. to — 4. DF كانرا. — 5. F الاولين. — 6. Mss. فيلمن. — 7. Mss. بربارس. — 8. Mss. om. — 9. B لانهم. — 10. BG بارشليم. — 11. Mss. افرانيقوس. — 12. Mss. وارساموس. — 13. ABDG وبرومانيوس F وبرومانيوس. — 14. Mss. add. ايضا. — 15. Mss. وعلى.

## CHAPTER XIX

MENNAS I, THE FORTY-SEVENTH PATRIARCH. A.D. 767-774.

It is our duty to make enquiries and researches into the whole history of the Church, as our forefathers used to do. For Philo and Justus and Josephus, the Jews, narrated the events that took place at Jerusalem on account of Christ. And those who wrote the history of the orthodox Church were Africanus and Eusebius and Sozomenus; and after them again Mennas the scribe. These men related that which happened to the Church until the time of Dioscorus, the great father, who confessed Christ, and declared the truth, which saved us from the second deluge, and from drowning in the bottomless abyss, and from the six hundred and thirty assembled at Chalcedon, and the miscreant Leo, lord of Rome. An account of such matters has been written for us, in the twelfth part of the History of the Church, by those whose names we have mentioned because

وهذا قد كتب لنا فى ثانى<sup>1</sup> عشر سيرة للبيعة<sup>2</sup> الذين ذكرنا اسماءهم لانهم كانوا قد عنوا بهذا الامر وكذلك فى كل جيل لم يدعنا الله هكذا الارشيدياقن<sup>3</sup> والدا<sup>4</sup> ابينا الاب القديس ابنا قسما<sup>5</sup> بطرك الاسكندرية الذى هو قريبه وابنا<sup>6</sup> مقارة ايضا ومقارة الراهب وبعدهما يوحنا ابن ابنا موسى<sup>7</sup> اسقف وسيم

وانا الفقير الزمت من ابى الراهب بسلام رآه لانه كان شيخا قديسا فتقدم الى وامرني ان اكتب سيرة ابائى الطوبانيين وما شاهدته ونقلته لى قوم ثقات وكنت خادما لابي ابا يوسف وعند رجله انا وهو الاب الروحاني الذى طعن فى السن وكذلك الاب البطرك ابنا شنودة فسالت الرب الكريم وقلت كما قال داود يارب افتح شفتى حتى اقص<sup>8</sup> ما جرى على الالباء المغبوطين رجاء<sup>9</sup> لمن قرأه<sup>10</sup> وشجاعة لمن سمعه<sup>11</sup> لئلا<sup>12</sup> وصب ابونا المغبوط ابنا ميخايل<sup>13</sup> من<sup>14</sup> شيخوخته وتنتيح بمجد وكرامة

1. ABDG الثاني. — 2. من سير البيعة F. — 3. BG الارشى دياقن. — 4. F والدا. — 5. Mss. — 6. موسى DFG ميسيس B ميسيس A. — 7. ابنا F ابير B. — 8. ABDG قرأه. — 9. Mss. — 10. انتيح DEF وصف ABG. — 11. F يسمعه. — 12. راحة B. — 13. افصص. — 14. DEFG om. to بكرامة. — 15. AG خايل BDEF خايل AB add. المغبوط. — 16. AG خايل BDEF خايل AB add. المغبوط. — 17. DEFG om. to بكرامة.

they concerned themselves with these things. And so in every generation God has not left us without a record. Thus there was the archdeacon, the spiritual parent of our father, the holy father Abba Cosmas, patriarch of Alexandria, who was his kinsman. And Abba Macarius also, and Macarius the monk. And after them John, the spiritual son of Abba Moses, bishop of Wasim.

And I, poor sinner, was ordered by my father the monk through a dream which he saw, for he was a holy old man; and he bade me and commanded me to write the history of my blessed fathers, both what I had witnessed and what was reported to me by trustworthy persons. For I was ministering to my father Abba Joseph, and slept at his feet; and he was my spiritual father and was advanced in age. And likewise the father patriarch, Abba Simuthius, bade me write. So I prayed to the gracious God, and said like David<sup>1</sup> : « O Lord open thou my lips, that I may relate that which happened to the blessed fathers with profit to those that shall read it, and with benefit to those that shall hear it. »

When our blessed father, Abba Michael, fell sick through old age, and went to his rest in glory and honour, his body was carried up

1. Ps. li, 17 (Sept. li).



اصعدوا<sup>1</sup> جسده عند اجساد اباؤه في الاسكندرية في بيعة ماري مرقس الانجيلي بمجد  
وتعظيم وبكى عليه جميع الشعب وسألوا الله وطلبوا منه من يقيم لهم بطركا بعده مدبرا مثله  
فاجتمعوا الجماعة والاباء الاساقفة لتقدمة<sup>2</sup> من يختاره الله الذي يعرف خفايا القلوب ويعطي  
النعمة لمستحقها فذكر القس مينا الراهب بيعة القديس ابي مقار رجل يعجب الناس بقلبه  
وطريقته وكان راهبا من صباه وكان ولد الاب ابنا ميخائيل<sup>3</sup> وقيم<sup>4</sup> منشوبيته في دير ابي  
مقار فقدم بتدبير الله بفرح وانعم الله على بيعته بهذا الراعي المأمون الذي كان مع ابنا  
ميخائيل<sup>5</sup> يشاهد<sup>6</sup> اعماله لكونه معه من صباه

فلما جلس على الكرسي الرسولي علم التعليم الروحاني حتى ان كل احد عجب من  
عظم النعمة الحالة عليه وحسن تعليمه والرب الذي اصطفاه جعل للبيعة نموًا وحفظًا في  
جميع اعمالها حتى نسوا الناس جميع ما جرى عليهم في ايام ابنا ميخائيل<sup>7</sup> المتيسح ودامت  
السلامة في البيعة

1. E وضع F وجعلوا. — 2. E om. to لمستحقها. — 3. Mss. خيال. — 4. E om. to مقار.  
— 5. Mss. خيال. — 6. Ms. prefix و. — 7. Mss. خيال.

to be with the bodies of his fathers at Alexandria, in the church of Saint Mark the Evangelist, amid proofs of respect and veneration, while all the people wept for him. And they prayed and besought God to raise up, as successor to Abba Michael, a patriarch who should rule as he did. So the assembly met together, with the bishops, to appoint him whom God, who knows the secrets of all hearts and gives grace to those that are worthy of it, should choose. Then mention was made of the priest Mennas, the monk, of the church of Saint Macarius. Mennas was a man who excited general admiration by his sense and conduct. He had been a monk from his youth, and was the spiritual son of the father Abba Michael, and superintendent of his habitation in the monastery of Saint Macarius. So he was promoted to the patriarchal dignity by God's dispensation, amid the joy of all. And God vouchsafed to his Church this faithful shepherd, who had lived with Abba Michael, witnessing his works, because he was with him from his youth.

When Abba Mennas had taken his seat upon the apostolic throne, he imparted the spiritual doctrine, so that everyone marvelled at the mighty grace which was descending upon him, and at his admirable teaching. And the Lord, who had selected him, gave to the Church increase and protection in all her provinces, until men forgot all that had happened to them in the days of Abba Michael, now at rest; and peace continued in the Church.

فأقام الشيطان مبغض<sup>1</sup> الخير تجربة على الأب المعبوط<sup>2</sup> فتكلم على اسان انسان جعله له مسكنا وكان شماسا راهبا اسمه بطرس ان<sup>3</sup> يتكلم في<sup>4</sup> قلبه بالعظام عن انا مينا والاساقفة الذين في كرسيه وكان<sup>5</sup> هذا الشماس من قرية تسمى دسيمة وكان هذا الراهب ولدا لانا ميخائيل<sup>6</sup> المتبيح تربى في قلايته وطرح مبغض الخير في قلبه ان يطلب استقنية وليس هو مستحقها من<sup>7</sup> ابينا انا مينا فقال له الأب كما قال بطرس السليح<sup>8</sup> لسيمون الساحر ان ليس له معنا نصيب ولا جزء فلم يصبر فركب المراكب ومضى الى الشام فلما وصل الى هناك عمل كتبا مزورة عن انا مينا الى بطرك السريان انا جرجة بطرك انطاكية واساقفته ومطارنته يقول في الكتب ان البيعة بمصر قد جرى عليها تعب عظيم واضطهاد وشدة من الولاة وكان عارفا بمكاتبة البطارقة والمطارنة والاساقفة فلما وقف بطرك انطاكية على الكتب قبله بفرح عظيم لقوله انه رسول اخيه بطرك الاسكندرية وجمع له مالا ودفع له كتبا الى

1. ABDG باعض E عذو. — 2. E om. to فلايد add. — 3. E om. with foll. wd. — 4. F om. to دسيمة. — 5. F om. to دسيمة. — 6. Mss. خايل. — 7. E om. to يصبر add. — 8. DF om.

But after a time Satan, the hater of good, raised up a trial for the blessed father. For he spoke by the tongue of a deacon and monk named Peter, in whom he took up his abode, that he might suggest to him great crimes of which Abba Mennas and the bishops under his see might be accused. This deacon and monk was a native of a village called Dasimah, and had been spiritual son to Abba Michael, now at rest, and was brought up in his cell. And the hater of good put into his heart the thought of soliciting a bishopric, though he was not worthy of it, from our father, Abba Mennas. But the father answered him as Peter the Apostle replied to Simon the magician, saying<sup>1</sup> : « He has no lot nor share with us. » Then the deacon would not endure this treatment, but embarked in a ship, and departed to Syria. And when he arrived there, he composed letters, falsely purporting to be addressed by Abba Mennas to the patriarch of the Syrians, Abba George, patriarch of Antioch, and to his bishops and metropolitans, saying in those letters that great trouble and persecution and distress had been caused to the Church in Egypt by the governors. For Peter was skilled in the art of writing letters to patriarchs and metropolitans and bishops. So when the patriarch of Antioch had read the letters, he received Peter with great joy, because he said that he was the envoy of the patriarch's brother, the patriarch of Alexandria. And the patriarch

1. Acts, viii, 21.



سائر مطارنه واساقفته ليجمعوا له ويكرموه باجتهاد<sup>1</sup> عظيم فعلمه معه فلما حصل له ما يستعين به على فعله<sup>2</sup> الردى وما يتوصل به الى الملوک فمشی معه مبعض الخير وبعد<sup>3</sup> ايام وصل الى مدينة الملك وبدأ يكتب قصص في البطرك ابنا مينا وقلبه مملوء حنقا ومكرا ويقول فيها ان بيت مال الملك خال من المال مع حاجته للنفقة للاجناد وتدير المملكة ومصر انسان<sup>4</sup> بطرك كبير في النصارى يعرف بعمل كيميا<sup>5</sup> الذهب ولاجل هذا قد ملأ كنائسه آلات ذهب وفضة اللاتي يقدمون فيهن القرابين وانت ايها الملك السيد مستحق<sup>6</sup> ان تكون في خزانتك هؤلاء الآلات العظيمة اللاتي هي في كنائس مصر من الذهب اللاتي يعملون فيهن ما لا يرضى الله فلما كتب هذا النجس هذه القصة وقف ينتظر يوما يجد فيه الوسيلة لدفعها ودفع لكل حاشية الملك مصانع<sup>8</sup> برطيل حتى يقدموه وفعل له الشيطان كما<sup>9</sup> يعمل اخواصه واتباعه عجباً عظيماً مثل ما عملت المرأة<sup>10</sup> العرافة في اقامة صمويل

1. E om. to بعد. — 2. E om. to الخير add. بما يريد يفعل. — 3. E فبعد. — 4. E om. to انسان كبير النصارى وهو البطرك F انسان كبير بطرك النصارى BEG. — 5. BEG. — 6. F om.; E om. to قد add. الكيمية وقد. — 7. F اولى. — 8. EF om. — 9. E om. to. — 10. E om. to الزمان add. وهو انه كان الملك. — واتباعه.

collected money for Peter, and gave him letters addressed to all the metropolitans and bishops subject to Antioch, bidding them also make collections for him and honour him with much attention; for the patriarch was infatuated with him. As soon as a sufficient sum had been raised to give him the assistance that he needed for his evil deed, and the means of reaching the princes, the hater of good still walked with him. And after some days Peter arrived at the capital city, and began with his heart full of wrath and cunning to write letters, containing false reports of the patriarch Abba Mennas. For Peter said in his report that the prince's treasury was empty of money, in spite of all that he needed for the expenses of the army and the administration of the government; while in Egypt there was a person, a great patriarch among the Christians, who knew how to practise alchemy for the permutation of substances into gold; and that by such means he had filled his churches with vessels of gold and silver, in which the holy offerings were presented. « But thou, my prince and my lord », he added, « hast the right to possess in thy storehouse these splendid golden vessels, which are in the churches of Egypt, and with which things displeasing to God are done ». When this foul sinner had written this report, he waited for a day on which he might find means of laying it before the prince; and he gave bribes to all the attendants of the prince, in order that they



النبي من القبر لشاؤول وحاشا صمويل من هذا التشبيه ولكن عرفناكم ما يفعل الشيطان في كل زمان من التشبيه والخيالات

وكان في ذلك الزمان أبو جعفر عبد الله ابن أخى أبى مسلم وهو<sup>1</sup> الذى قدمنا ذكره في<sup>2</sup> السيرة الثامنة<sup>3</sup> عشرة للبيعة وهو أول من ملك خراسان وكان قد تزوج بامرأة ذى عناف وهو<sup>4</sup> فى حران قبل مملكته فلما ملك سكن دمشق وكانت هذه السراة خائفة من الله جليلة القدر فى سبطها وجنسها وكانت قد استحلقت عند تزويجها له أنه لا يتزوج غيرها عليها<sup>5</sup> لكى تحفظ ناموس الله فلما تزوجها لم<sup>6</sup> يعطه الله ولدا عدة سنين وبعد ذلك نظرت<sup>7</sup> مناما وشخصا يقول لها احضرى اسحق اسقف حران حتى يصلى عليك فان الله يقبل صلاته بسبك ويعطيك ولدا ففعلت ذلك بامانة وجعلت<sup>8</sup> لعبد<sup>9</sup> الله زوجها ان<sup>10</sup> ينفذ<sup>11</sup> يحضر الاسقف وقبل وصوله رأت مناما<sup>12</sup> ثانيا شخصا يقول لها قد سمع الله طلبتك وتنم ارادتك

1. E om. to البيعة. — 2. F om. to البيعة. — 3. Mss. السابعة. — 4. E om. to شخصا وكانت جليلة القدر وكانت استحلقت اند لا يتزوج غيرها عليها وكانت عاقر فرات فى منامها add. — 5. ABDEFG om. — 6. F لم. — 7. BG رأت. — 8. E om. to شخص. — 9. Mss. عبد. — 10. Mss. om. — 11. Mss. انفذ. — 12. DF om. with foll. wd. وباركها

might introduce him. And Satan worked a great wonder for him, as he does for his favourites and followers, like the conjuring of the witch when she raised up the prophet Samuel from the tomb for Saul. Far be Samuel from this imagined likeness! We are only pointing out to you how Satan causes semblances and illusions in all ages.

These events were in the reign of Abū Ja'far Abd Allah, nephew of Abū Muslim, whom we have already mentioned in the eighteenth chapter of the History of the Church. He was the first who took possession of Khorassan. He had married a chaste wife while he was at Harran before he began to reign; and afterwards, when he became caliph, he lived at Damascus. This woman feared God; and she was of high rank in her tribe and nation; and she had made her husband swear, when she was married to him, that he would marry no other wife while she lived, so that she might keep the Law of God. But when he married her, God gave him no child for many years. Afterwards, however, she saw in a dream one who said to her: « Send for Isaac, bishop of Harran, that he may pray for thee; for God will accept his prayers on thy account and give thee a son. » Therefore she obeyed the vision with faith, and caused Abd Allah, her husband, to send and fetch the bishop. And before he arrived, she saw in a second dream a personage, who announced to her that God had heard

بصلوات الاسقف اسحق فلما وصل سلى عليها وباركها فحملت<sup>1</sup> وولدت ولدين ومن اجل ذلك كان الاسقف عندهما<sup>2</sup> في منزلة عظيمة فلما ملك عبدالله سأل الاب الاسقف اسحق ان يعطيه سلطانا على بطركية انطاكية والمشرق ففعل له ذلك وكان ذلك سبب سقوطه اخلافه<sup>3</sup> القوانين ولما<sup>4</sup> لم يصبر الله عليه ان يدعه على الكرسي كما قال الانجيل المقدس هوذا الفأس موضوع على اصول الشجر فكل شجرة لا تثمر ثمرة صالحة تقطع وتلقى في النار كذلك حل بهذا اسحق لما جهل وخالف شريعة الله وجلس بطركا بيد السلطان وتعدي وصايا ابائه قطع الله حياته من على الارض فمات عاجلا قبل كمال<sup>5</sup> السنة وجلس على الكرسي انسان اخر اسمه اتناسيوس غصبا في يوم وفاة اسحق فمات ايضا ليلته كما<sup>6</sup> ذكر في ثامن<sup>7</sup> عشر سيرة

فلما كبر الولدان اللذان لعبدالله من المرأة العفيفة الخيرة المذكورة انفا مات احدهما

ولم يصبر. add. سيرة. — 4. E om. to سيرة. — 3. E لمخالفته. — 2. Mss. عندهم. — 1. E حملت. — 5. B فراغ. — 6. DF om. to سيرة. — 7. Mss. السابع.

her petition and would fulfil her desire through the prayers of the bishop Isaac. Then, when he came, he prayed over her, and blessed her. So she conceived and bore two children. And for this cause the bishop stood high in favour with Abd Allah and his wife. So when Abd Allah began to reign, the father and bishop Isaac begged of him authority over the patriarchate of Antioch and the East; and the prince granted his request. And this was the cause of Isaac's fall, because he broke the canons. But since God would not endure to leave him upon the throne, as the holy gospel says ' : « Behold the axe is laid at the roots of the trees, therefore every tree that bears not good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire », thus it happened with this Isaac; when he acted foolishly and broke the law of God, and took his seat as patriarch by the power of the government, and transgressed the injunctions of his fathers, God cut off his life from the earth, and he died suddenly before the end of the year. And another man, named Athanasius, sat upon the throne by force on the day of Isaac's death; but he also died that very night, as it has been related in the eighteenth chapter of the History.

When the two sons of Abd Allah and of his chaste virtuous wife, before

1. S. Matth., iii, 10; vii, 19; S. Luke, iii, 9.

فحزن الملك<sup>1</sup> عليه حزنا عظيما وحزنت<sup>2</sup> امه وجماعة اهل القصر واصابهم عليه حزن شديد وامر عظيم وكانوا اهل القصر يعلمون محبة امه له حتى انها لم تسكت ساعة من البكاء عليه ليلا ونهارا والملك في حزن عظيم وكان وفاة الصبي ابن الملك قبل وصول الشماس بطرس الغير مستحق لهذا الاسم فيخرج الملك ذات يوم من القصر وعسكره حول المدينة ليتسلى عن ولده كمعادة الناس والملوك فتطلع ونظر بطرس الغير مستحق قد جعله الشيطان في عينه يشبه صورة ولده الميت حتى كأنه اياه لم يعجز من صورته شيئا بالجملة حتى شعر رأسه فلما رآه الملك استدعاه بفرح وعانقه وقبل فاه وعينيه كأنه ولده حقيقا ومن فرط فرحه عاد الى القصر ودخل الى زوجته سرعة وقال لها اذا رأيت<sup>3</sup> شبه ولدك حيا تتخيلين<sup>4</sup> عن هذا البكاء والحزن فقالت ومن اين الى هذا حينئذ امر الملك ان يدخل<sup>5</sup> لها بالشماس<sup>6</sup> الذي قد سكن فيه الشيطان وجعله في عينها كهية ولدها سواء<sup>7</sup> فلما رآته

1. E add. راعه. — 2. E om. to حزن عظيم. — 3. BDEF رأيي. — 4. Mss. تسخلى. — 5. ABG add. يد. — 6. ABDEFG الشماس. — 7. E om. to ولدها.

mentioned, had grown up, one of them died. And the prince was exceedingly sad for him, and his mother mourned with all the household; for they were greatly grieved on his account. And the courtiers knew how much his mother loved her son, so that she never ceased to weep for him one single hour by night or by day, while the prince was very sorrowful. Now the death of this young son of the prince had taken place before the arrival of the deacon Peter, unworthy of that name. And the prince went out of the palace one day with his guards, and rode round the city, seeking distraction from his grief for his son according to the custom of men and princes. And he chanced to look aside and see that unworthy Peter, whom Satan transformed in the prince's eyes into the likeness of his son who was dead, so that he seemed to be the very same, in no wise differing from the young man's appearance even in the hair of his head. Therefore the prince, as soon as he perceived Peter, with joy caused him to be summoned, and embraced him, and kissed his mouth and eyes as if he were his son indeed. And in the excess of his gladness he returned to the palace, and with haste went in to his wife and said to her: « If thou couldst see the living image of thy son, wouldst thou cease from this weeping and sadness? » She answered: « Whence can he come to me? » Then the prince commanded that the deacon in whom Satan dwelt should be brought in to her; and Satan made him in her eyes like the form of her son. So when she saw him, she rose up



قامت مسرعة واستقبلته مستبشرة وظنت انه ولدها واعظم من هذا ان الشيطان ازال الحزن من قلبها عن ولدها فاقام عندهما في القصر عدة شهور ينظران وجهه ويتسلان به وورقه الله عندهما نعمة حتى ان الملك قال له ان كان لك حاجة عرّفني بها لاقضيها لك فعرفه ما قد بدينا<sup>1</sup> بذكره وبعد ثلاثة شهور سأل الملك ان ينفذه الى مصر وان يكتب له باصلاحه بطركا على مصر وان يسلطه على ابا مينا البطرك واساقفته ليعمل<sup>2</sup> فيهم ما يجب فكتب له سجلا الى والى مصر في ذلك الزمان وكان اسمه ابن<sup>3</sup> عبدالرحمن بفعل له ما يأمره به ثم أمر ان تعمل له قلنسوة من ثوب<sup>4</sup> جليل ليس له قيمة وكتب عليها بالقلم العربى اسمه وهو هذا بطرس بطرك مصر وكتب<sup>5</sup> ايضا اسم الملك معه عليها فقال من جهله بعد ان قدّم اسمه وعبد<sup>6</sup> الملك

فلما وصل الى مصر دفع الكتب للوالى فلما وقف عليها انفذ احضر البطرك القديس

1. DF اباوديان ABEG. — 2. ABDEG ويعمل F add. ويختار. — 3. DF اباوديان ABEG. — 4. BEG add. جديد. — 5. E om. to اسمه. — 6. EG om. و.

quickly and went to meet him rejoicing, imagining that he was her son: and more wonderful than this is the fact that Satan removed from her heart the grief that she had felt for her son. Therefore Peter remained with the prince and his wife in the palace some months, while they looked upon his face and were consoled by his presence. And God granted him favour with them, so that the prince said: « If thou hast any need, make it known to me, that I may satisfy it for thee ». Then Peter told him what we related above, and after a stay of three months in the palace prayed the prince to send him to Egypt, and to write a decree for him appointing him patriarch over Egypt, and to give him authority over the patriarch Abba Mennas and his bishops, that he might do with them what was wanted. In compliance with this request, the prince drew up for Peter a document, addressed to the governor of Egypt at that time, whose name was Ibn Abd ar-Rahmān, directing him to do for Peter whatever he might bid him do. Then Peter gave orders that a cap should be made for him of splendid and priceless material; and his name was written upon it in Arabic letters thus: « Peter, patriarch of Egypt ». And besides his own name the name of the prince also was written upon it; for Peter added in his folly, after putting his own name first: « And servant of the prince ».

As soon as Peter arrived at Miṣr, he gave the document to the governor, who, after he had read it, sent and summoned the holy patriarch Abba

ابنا مينا وجماعته فلما<sup>1</sup> وصلت الرسل الى ثغر الاسكندرية واعلموا البطرك ما جرى حزن وصرخ الى الرب من عمق قلبه وقال يارب اخرجني من هذا الفخ الذي اخفى لي لانك انت الهى فلا تسلمني الى المضطهدين لى لانه قام على شهود الزور وهوذا عينك يارب على خائفك المتوكلين على رحمتك لتخلص نفوسهم من الموت ولم يفتر من الصلاة والبكاء ليله<sup>2</sup> اجمع الى الغداة فحضروا الرسل واقتنوه الى المسير فقام وقال بقلب منشرح يارب اجعلني مستحقا ان اتعب من اجل اسمك فانك وحدك رجائي يارب يا الهى فلاجل ذلك لا اخاف ماذا يفعل بي الانسان وكان يقول هذا من اسكندرية حتى وصل الى فسطاط مصر فاعلموا الوالى بوصوله فأمر ان يحضر بين يديه فلما نظر اليه فرح لانه كان يحب النصارى ويراعى الاب القديس ابنا ميخائيل<sup>3</sup> البطرك المستريح فقال للاب ابنا مينا ان ينالك منى كل خير كما كنت افعل مع البطرك الذي مات قبلك لكن قد وصل امر

من الاسكندرية الى مصر وهو يطلب من الله ان يعينه. add. فسطاط مصر 1. E om. — 2. DF الليل. — 3. Mss. خيال. ويخلصه من هذا الجهاد المنسوب.

Mennas and his synod. When the governor's messengers arrived at the frontier-city of Alexandria and informed the patriarch of what had happened, he was sad and cried to the Lord from the depths of his heart, saying : « O Lord, save me from this snare which is secretly laid for me, for thou art my God ; and give me not up to those that oppress me, for false witnesses have risen up against me. And behold, thine eyes, O Lord, are upon those that fear thee and trust in thy mercy, that thou mayest deliver their souls from death ». And he did not cease to pray and weep the whole night long until the morning. Then the messengers appeared before him, and urged him to start upon his journey. Therefore he arose, and said with cheerfulness : « O Lord, make me worthy to suffer for thy name's sake ; for thou alone art my hope, O Lord my God, and therefore I fear not what man can do to me ». And he continued to repeat these words during his journey from Alexandria, until he arrived at Fustât Misr.

Then the governor was informed of the patriarch's arrival, and gave orders that he should be brought before him, and rejoiced when he saw him. For the governor loved the Christians, and had been friendly with the holy father, Abba Michael the patriarch, now at rest. So he said to the father, Abba Mennas : « Thou shalt receive all fair treatment from me, according to that which I used to do for the deceased patriarch who was thy predecessor. But the prince's mandate has arrived, bidding thee obey the bearer of it, who is a follower of thy faith and creed, and forbidding



الملك بان تطيع الواصل به وهو على دينك ومذهبك ولا تخالفه فيما يأمرك به فتطالع الشجاع الذى لا يخاف هية ملوك الارض المتكلم بالحق ابنا مينا فى وجه يودس الجديد اعنى بطرس الشساس الذى وثق بالسلطان وظن انه قد أعطى سلطان البطركية فقال له نعم ما قال فيك الانجيل الصادق لا ياخذ احد كرامة من ذاته الا ان تعطى من السماء من عند الله ولكن اسمع ما يقول الله عليك وعلى من يسلك مسلكك وتقطع عليك بالامر الذى تستحقه اذ قال سيدنا المسيح من فيه الطاهر كل شجرة لا يفرسها الاب السماوى تقطع وتلقى من اصلها كذلك انت يزول عنك هذا الاسم وتموت وموتة فقر موتة سوء فاجابه ذلك الجاهل وقال للاب القديس افعل الان ما آمرك به لتخلص من العذاب الذى انزله عليك حتى<sup>1</sup> اعلم انك تقاوم امر الملك والتفت<sup>2</sup> المرذول فقال للوالى عوض ما يجيب بالسمع والطاعة لامر الملك هوذا هو يقول كلاماً انه يسأل الله ان ينزع منى السلطان

ثم قال add. يسأل E om. to انك add. لانك DF om. to الملك E om. to انك — 2. E om. to يسأل add. للوالى انظر انه لا يطيع امر الملك ويسأل.

thee to dispute with him concerning that which he shall command thee to do. » Thereupon the valiant one, who had no fear of the awfulness of earthly princes, the truth-speaking Abba Mennas, looked up into the face of the new Judas, I mean Peter the deacon, who relied upon worldly power, and believed himself to be invested with the authority of the patriarchate, and said to him : « Good is that which the true gospel<sup>1</sup> says concerning thee : None shall receive honour from himself unless it be given him from heaven by God. But hear what God says concerning thee and those that act like thee, declaring what thou deservest, where our Lord Christ says with his pure mouth<sup>2</sup> : Every tree which my heavenly Father plants not shall be cut down and rooted up. So this name shall be taken away from thee, and thou shalt die in poverty an evil death ». Then that fool answered him, and said to the holy father : « Do now what I command thee, that thou mayest escape the punishment, which I shall otherwise inflict upon thee, until I learn that thou dost resist the prince's mandate ». And the vile wretch turned and said to the governor : « Instead of answering that as he hears so he will obey the prince's command, behold, he utters words which mean that he prays God to strip me of the authority which the prince has conferred upon me. » Then the governor answered and said to the patriarch : « Do not oppose the command of the prince, but perform what he ordains. » Mennas replied : « I will do so with joy, that

1. S. John, iii, 27; viii, 54. — 2. S. Matth., xv, 13.



الذى سلمه لى الملك فاجاب الوالى وقال للبطرک لا تقاوم امر الملك لكن تشم ما امر حينئذ قال له انا افعل ذلك بفرح لاتسم الناموس الذى امرنى بطاعة الملك كطاعة الله لانه يقول من قاوم السلطان وخالفه فقد قاوم الله ربّه فلما سمع الوالى ذلك فرح بجواب البطرک وقال للمردول مهما اردت مره به فقال ينفذ ويحضر جميع الاساقفة الذين تحت حكمه لآمرهم معه بما يجب فسأل الاب الوالى ان يسهل اياما الى ان يجمعهم فقال المخالف نمضى به الى الاعتقال حتى ادخل الكنائس بمصر واصعد مذابحها كفعل البطارقة فاعتقل البطرک واسقف مصر تاودوروس<sup>1</sup> وتقدم<sup>2</sup> الى الكتاب بمكاتبة جميع الاساقفة لكي يحضروا وطن هذا المخالف انهم يطيعونه ويفعلون<sup>3</sup> له ما قد اضر خارجا عن قوانين البيعة فكتب الاب البطرک كتابا مملوءا حزنا وغما ولم يشرح فيه خبرا لئلا يضعف قلوبهم ان لا يجاهدوا مكتوب فيه هكذا فى كل زمان لا يدع الشيطان عروسة المسيح البيعة الجامعة بغير مقاومة لها ويقيم اضطرابا وشعشا لكي يغلبها بمناصبته وعريسها المسيح

مكتوب فيه 3. E om. to — 2. E رعى الكتاب — 1. ABDG تاودرس E تاودرس ABDG. — 3. E om. to add. وان الاب ابا مينا البطرک ارسل كتب الى جميع الاساقفة يشجعهم.

I may carry out the Law which bids me obey the king as I would obey God; for it says ' : He who resists and disputes authority, resists God, his Lord. » When the governor heard these words, he was pleased with the patriarch's answer, and said to the wretch : « Bid him do whatever thou desirest. » So he said : « Let him send and summon all the bishops under his jurisdiction, that I may give them in his presence the orders that are necessary. » Then the father begged of the governor that he might be allowed a delay of some days, till he could assemble the bishops. But that heretic said : « Let us send him away to prison, so that I may enter the churches in Mīṣr and go up to their altars, as the patriarchs do. »

So the patriarch was imprisoned with Theodore, bishop of Mīṣr, and ordered the secretaries to write letters to all the bishops, that they might come to him. For that heretic Peter believed that they would obey him and do for him what he had planned, though it was contrary to the canons of the Church. The letter which the father patriarch wrote was full of sadness and grief, but he did not explain any matter to the bishops lest he should discourage them, so that they would shrink from the struggle. The contents of the letter were as follows : « Satan does not at any time leave the Bride of Christ, the Universal Church, without opposition, but raises

1. Rom. xiii. 2.

الحق يحطم قوته بالقول الذى قاله لرئيس الحواريين بطرس ان ابواب الجحيم لا يقهرونها وقد عرفتم الان ان السيد المسيح هو الغالب فتقدموا الى الجهاد ولا تخالفوا وتوكلوا على الرب فهو يذله ويبطل مؤامراته ويسجد بيعته عروسته ونحن<sup>1</sup> ايضا نقرح لاننا قد تسليحنا كالجند للقتال فى الحرب لننال الاكليل السماوى كما انه يدعونا فى كل زمان كقول لسان العطر بولس ان الانسان لا ينال الاكليل الا ان يقاتل فاسرعوا الآن لتنالوا ذلك يا حبايى الذين انا احبهم بالرب

فلما وقفوا الاساقفة على كتابه وهو يعزيهم اسرعوا وساروا واجتمعوا بفسطاط مصر فلما علم ذلك الضال ولد الشيطان انهم قد اجتمعوا فى البيعة يوم الاحد قام بشيطنة ومعه جند من عند الوالى وتقدم بغير خوف وصعد على<sup>2</sup> الهيكل ليقول صلاة الشكر والسلامة كالبطرك والقلنسوة التى عليها مكتوب اسم الملك على رأسه فلما رأوه الالباء الاساقفة وقد فعل هذا

1. E om. to بالرب. — 2. BEG الى.

up persecution and disorder with the object of vanquishing her in the war that he wages against her. But her Bridegroom, Christ the Truth, crushes Satan's power by the words which he said to Peter, chief of the apostles<sup>1</sup>, that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her. You know now that it is the Lord Christ who is the conqueror. Therefore advance to the combat and dispute not, but trust in the Lord; for he will abase our adversary and bring his counsels to nought, and glorify his Church which is his Bride. Let us also rejoice because we have armed ourselves like warriors for battle in this campaign, that we may obtain the heavenly crown, according to the summons which he gives us at all times, as Paul, the sweet-tongued, says<sup>2</sup>: A man will not obtain the crown unless he fight. Hasten therefore now, that you may gain that reward, O my friends whom I love in the Lord. »

When the bishops had read the patriarch's letter, so full of consolation for them, they journeyed with all speed, and assembled at Fustat Misr. As soon as that erring son of Satan learnt that they were gathered together in the church on Sunday, he arose in his obstinacy, escorted by a troop of soldiers from the governor's palace, and proceeded without fear, and ascended into the sanctuary, intending to say the prayer of thanksgiving and the prayer of peace like the patriarch, wearing on his head the cap on which the name of the prince was written. But when the fathers and bishops saw him do this, they joined together in the Holy Ghost; and Abba

1. S. Matth., xvi, 18. — 2. II Tim., ii, 5.

الفعل اجتمعوا بروح القدس فوثب اليه ابنا مينا اسقف صنبو<sup>1</sup> وابنا مويسيس<sup>2</sup> اسقف وسيم ومسكا القنسوة ورمياها<sup>3</sup> ورميا به من على الهيكل وقال له يا يوليانوس الجديد ما تستحق بيع مصر ان تتنجس بك فامتلاً خزيًا ذلك النجس ثم غضب جدًا وامر الذين معه ان يمشوا بجميع الاساقفة الى الحبس ويعملوا<sup>4</sup> في رقابهم وارجلهم الحديد فلما نظرهم الاب بطرك القديس قبلهم وعزاهم وقال يا احبائي الذي يقاتل عنا اعظم ممن يقاتلنا والرب<sup>5</sup> ينجيننا من اعدائنا وينقذنا ممن قام علينا ويخلصنا من عمال الاثم فلما سمعوا ذلك قالوا يا ابانا نحن مستعدون للموت معك ونحن نؤمن وتوكل اننا نال الخلاص بصلواتك فلما مضت لهم في السجن ايام قلائد وذلك النجس يتفكر فيما يعمله<sup>6</sup> بهم<sup>7</sup> من السوء وبالبطرك<sup>8</sup> فتقدم الى الوالى بان يخرجهم من السجن ويوقفهم بين يديه ففعل فقال الكافر للاب البطرك انا ما افعل بك شيئًا تخاف منه كما كان غيرى يفعل بغيرك ممن<sup>9</sup> هو

1. ABDEG طنبو F حبرا. — 2. AG ميسيس B مسيس DF مويسيس E مريسانس. — 3. E om. — 4. E om. to الحديد add. ويربطوهم بالحديد. — 5. E om. to ذلك. — 6. EF يفعل. — 7. F بالبطرك. — 8. EF om. — 9. E om. to الملك.

Mennas, bishop of Şanabu, rushed upon him, with Abba Moses, bishop of Wasim; and they seized the cap and threw it down, and cast him out of the sanctuary, crying : « Ah thou second Julian, the churches of Egypt do not deserve to be defiled by thy presence ! » At first that foul wretch was filled with confusion, but afterwards gave way to anger and commanded his escort to lead all the bishops away to prison, and to put irons upon their necks and feet. And when the holy father patriarch beheld them, he welcomed them and comforted them, saying : « O my friends, he who fights for us is greater than he who fights against us; and the Lord will rescue us from our enemies, and save us from those that rise up against us, and deliver us from the workers of iniquity. » The bishops, hearing these words, exclaimed : « Our father, we are ready to die with thee, and we believe and trust that we shall obtain salvation by thy prayers ! »

Thus the bishops passed a few days in prison while that foul wretch was considering what evil he should do to them and to the patriarch; and then he ordered the governor to bring them out of confinement and make them stand before him; and the governor did so. Thereupon that miscreant said to the father patriarch : « I will do nothing with thee that thou fearest, such as others in my place have done to others in thy place before thee, from the time of the patriarch Abba Agathon; for he was compelled to build ships for the fleet. So Theodore the Chalcedonian, the governor of



قبلك من زمان ابا اغاثون<sup>1</sup> البطرك انه كان يلزم بعمل مراكب الاسطول كما كان تاودوروس<sup>2</sup> الخلقدونى رئيس الاسكندرية يعمل باغاتون<sup>3</sup> فى مملكة يزيد بن معاوية الملك قم اخرج من البيعة الآنية الذهب والفضة ليحملوا الى بيت مال الملك فلهذا<sup>4</sup> جئت فلتما سمع منه الاب البطرك قال فى نفسه احاط بى مخاض الموت واهوال الجحيم حدثتى قال هذا لعلنى بان ليس شىء فى البيع مما يطلبه منه وقد كان جرى على الالباء قبله امور مشهورة لم يتركوا شيئاً من اوانى البيع مع اموالهم حتى<sup>5</sup> اخذوه منهم المخالفون المبعوضون فى زمان بعد زمان ولما كرز هذا الاب الجليل على الكرسي لم يجد شىء حتى اتهم فى مدينة الاسكندرية لم يجدوا ما يتقربون فيه الا كأس زجاج وكأس خشب فقال الاب القديس لذلك الكافر انت ما تعرف حال البيعة من<sup>6</sup> ذلك الزمان والى الآن فقال له الكافر الشقي هوذا اعرف عندك كتاباً تقدر<sup>7</sup> ان تصير غنيّاً بسرعة فيه صنعة عمل الذهب

فقال الكافر add. to om. E. — 4. Mss. باغاتوا. — 3. Mss. تادرس. — 2. Mss. اغاثوا. — 1. Mss. له الاب. — 5. F بل. — 6. E om. to الان add. كيف يوجد فيها ذلك. — 7. E om. to add. صنعة الذهب والفضة.

Alexandria, treated Agathon in the reign of the caliph Yezîd, son of Mu'âwiyah. Come, bring forth from the church the vessels of gold and silver, that they may be carried to the prince's treasury. For this is the purpose for which I am come ». On hearing this the patriarch said within himself : « The pains of death have surrounded me, and the terrors of Hell have fallen upon me ». This he said because he knew that there was nothing in the churches such as Peter demanded of him. For notorious misfortunes had happened to the fathers before Abba Mennas, and none of the vessels of the churches had been left among their possessions; for the Copts had been robbed of every thing time after time by the adversaries who hated them. And when this glorious father was consecrated and enthroned, nothing had been restored, so that in the city of Alexandria no vessel was found, from which the people could receive the Communion, except a chalice of glass and another of wood. Therefore the holy father answered that miscreant, saying : « Thou knowest not the condition of the church from that time till now ». But the wretched infidel replied : « Lo, I know that thou hast a book by means of which thou canst speedily become rich; for it teaches the art of making gold ». The spiritual father said in answer to him : « I know nothing of that of which thou speakest. But I will do whatever thou mayest choose to command, and my trust is in

1. Ps. cxvi, 3; cf. xviii, 6 (Sept. cxiv, xvii).





ويقول لهم انى ما وصلت من عند الملك الا لاجل ذلك فلما جازت ايام وهم في الحبس وكان يطالبهم فنظر الرب الى تنهد اصفياه ففعل اعجوبة وانتقم الذى يقدر على الانتقام وقد كنا قلنا فيما تقدم ان الوالى كان محباً للنصارى وكان اذا رأى هذا الانسان المرذول يقلق البطرك والاساقفة ولا يتمكن من ارداعه لخوفه من الملك وكان يقول له لا يجوز لك ان تفعل هذا بمقدم النصارى فيقول له وانت ايضا تقول انه كبير النصارى وترفض<sup>1</sup> أمر الملك فانا امضى الى الملك فاعرفه انك قلعت منى ما جعله الى الملك فعند<sup>2</sup> ذلك كمل فيه قول سليمان الحكيم لسان الجاهل فخر له فقال له الوالى انت تريد ان تمضى الى الملك وتكذب على وترفع على كما قلت وفعلت مع هذا الشيخ الخائف من الله انا الآن بعد يومى هذا لا ادعك تشاهد الضوء ويعلم<sup>3</sup> كل احد ان الله قد اخذ لهذا الشيخ حقه منك فأمر فى<sup>4</sup> تلك الساعة ان يمشوا به الى الحبس وي طرحوه فى المطبق ويكبل

المطبق 4. F om. to — 3. E om. to — 2. E om. to — 1. وهو يرفض. — 5. ABDG يمشى. — ان يلتقى فى الحبس فى المطبق add.

prison, and he repeated his claims, at last the Lord looked upon the sighs of his pure ones, and worked a miracle; and he who has the power to repay took vengeance. We have already remarked that the governor favoured the Christians. Yet although he saw that contemptible person persecuting the patriarch and bishops, he could not hinder him, because he feared the prince, but could only urge upon him that it was not lawful for him to act so with the chief of the Christians. At last Peter answered: « Dost thou also call that man the head of the Christian community, and ignore the prince's decree? Then I will go to the prince, and let him know that thou hast deprived me of the dignity which he conferred upon me ». Then, when Peter said this, the words<sup>1</sup> of Solomon the Wise were fulfilled in him: « A fool's tongue is a snare to him ». For the governor exclaimed: « Thou desirest to depart to the prince, in order to tell lies to him against me, and present a calumnious report against me in accordance with what thou hast said and done with regard to this old man who fears God. Now after this day I will no longer suffer thee to behold the light of the sun, but all men shall know that God has exacted justice from thee for this old man ». Accordingly the governor gave orders that very hour that Peter should be taken away to prison, and thrown into the dungeon, and that his hands and feet should be fettered with iron, and he be kept there

1. Prov., xvii, 20.



بالحديد في يديه ورجليه ويحتفظ به في موضع ضيق فاقام هكذا ثلث سنين وتقدم للموت  
بالافراج عن البطرك والاساقفة المجاهدين عن الحق وكانوا يسبحون الله ويقولون<sup>1</sup> كما قال  
اشعيا النبي ان الله يهلك مؤامرة المنافقين ولا يخلي الرب المستوكلين عليه  
الخائفين الله وقد تمت الآن كلمة ملاخيا النبي فينا انتم الخائفين من اسمي تضيء  
عليكم شمس البر اخرجوا وانتم مسرورون مثل العجول التي تنطلق لاهاتها وتدوسون  
المنافقين

فمضى الاب الى الاسكندرية ودخل الى البيعة بفرح ومجدوا الله علانية وكان مهتما  
بقطيع المسيح وتدير الكرسي الانجيلي بالنعمة التي معه وكان مع هذا كله حزينا على  
ذلك<sup>2</sup> المسكين البائس الخاطي الذي اسلم نفسه للموت بالخطيئة وصلى<sup>3</sup> الى الله قائلاً  
انت الله الرحوم الذي قلت اني لا احب موت الخاطي مثل ما يرجع ويتوب وانت يا رب

1. E om. to وتدوسون المنافقين. — 2. E om. to هذا الشقي add. الخطي. — 3. E  
om. to كان يصلي عند راما ذلك الشقي فكان رجم في الحبس يقول مسي ومن add. وانفذ  
البطرك والاساقفة والبيعة ولما تمت ثلاثة سنين عزل الرائي وحضر.

in a narrow place. So Peter remained in this condition three years. At the same time the governor gave orders to release the militant patriarch and bishops from punishment. And they began to praise God and to say : « As the prophet Isaias<sup>1</sup> says : God destroys the counsel of the adversaries and hypocrites; and the Lord will not forsake those that trust in him, those who fear God. Now is fulfilled the word of the prophet Malachias<sup>2</sup> in us : Ye who fear my name, upon you the Sun of Righteousness shall shine. Go forth, rejoicing like calves released to their mothers. And ye shall tread down the hypocrites ».

Then the father departed to Alexandria; and there he entered the church with joy. And the Alexandrians glorified God with public thanksgivings. And Abba Mennas occupied himself with the care of Christ's flock and the administration of the Evangelical See, through the grace which was with him. Yet in spite of all this he was sad on account of that poor miserable sinner, who had given up his soul to death by sin. And Abba Mennas prayed to God, saying : « Thou art the merciful God who saidst<sup>3</sup> : I desire not the death of a sinner, so much as that he should return and be converted. Therefore thou, O Lord, wilt save the soul of this other man, that he may not die in sin. Rather save him, that he may repent and weep for his error,

1. Is., viii, 10; xix, 3. — 2. Mal., iii, 20 (iv, 2). — 3. Ezech., xxxiii, 11.

تحفظ نفس هذا الآخر لئلا يموت في الخطيئة لكن خلّصه لكي يندم ويبكي على غايته حتى تحيى نفسه لان الشيطان في كل حين يجذب الناس الى الجحيم الذين يطيعونه والشيطان مبغض الخير ملأ الذي في الحبس مؤامرة وفكر سوء وكان يقول في قلبه النجس<sup>1</sup> منه ومن الاساقفة والبيعة لاجله ولما تمت ثلث سنين وهو في الحبس عزل الوالى ابن<sup>2</sup> عبد الرحمن عن مصر وانتد غيره الى مصر وعند وصوله<sup>3</sup> الفسطاط كشف عن الحبوس ليعلم جريمة كل معتقل فلما اعرض عليه خبر بطرس<sup>4</sup> أمر باحضاره فلما نظره عرفه فقال له اليس انت الذى انفذته<sup>5</sup> الملك الى<sup>6</sup> مصر في<sup>7</sup> ذلك الزمان فقال له نعم فسأله ما الذى لحقك وقطع<sup>8</sup> ذكرك من عند الملك وصرت مع الموتى فاجاب وقال عن البطرك العظام والوالى ابن عبد الرحمن المعزول فانه عطّل أمر الملك واعتقلنى ثلث سنين وقال كلاماً كثيراً عن النصارى وعن البيعة قال له الوالى تمضى الى عند الملك انفذك اليه قال له

1. Mss. add. منى. — 2. ABG داور DF نارون. — 3. F add. الى. — 4. E add. الجاهل. — 5. Mss. انفذت. — 6. F om. with foll. wd. — 7. E om. with two foll. wds. — 8. E om. to النصارى add. النصارى. فتكلم عن البطركى بالعظام وعن الوالى.

so that his soul may live. For Satan at all times drags down to Hell those who obey him ».

Now Satan, the hater of good, filled him who was in prison with evil designs and bad notions, and suggested foul thoughts in his heart concerning the patriarch and concerning the bishops and the Church for his sake. And at the end of three years, while Peter was still in prison, Ibn Abd ar-Rahman, the governor, was removed from Egypt, and another was sent thither. When the new governor arrived at Al-Fustât, he examined the prisons that he might learn what was the offence of every prisoner; and so, as soon as the case of Peter was reported to him, he commanded that Peter should be brought before him. And the governor recognised Peter on seeing him, and said to him : « Art thou not he whom the prince despatched to Egypt at such a time? » He replied : « Yes, I am he ». Then the governor asked him : « What befell thee, and cut off the memory of thee from before the prince, so that thou becamest as one dead? » Thereupon Peter answered by accusing the patriarch and Ibn Abd ar-Rahman, the governor lately dismissed, of committing great crimes, and added : « For he left the prince's edict without effect, and kept me in prison three years ». And Peter brought many charges against the Christians and the Church. The governor said to him : « Thou shalt depart to the prince's court. I will send thee to him ». Peter replied : « That is well; for such is my

نعم هذا<sup>1</sup> غرضي لاتمم ما في قلبي فانقذه الوالى سرعة واصحبه كتابا يشرح فيه ما جرى عليه فاعاده الشيطان مبغض الخير الى ما كان فيه اولاً وجعل<sup>2</sup> في قلب الملك له محبة اكثر من الاولى سيّما وقد قال له ائننى اريد ان ادخل في دينك واعود الى مصر وآخذ حقّى من اعدائى ففرح الملك بذلك فانكر النجس اسم المسيح السخلص واعترف بدين الاسلام<sup>3</sup> فدفع له الملك كرامات كثيرات في<sup>4</sup> ذلك اليوم ثيابا ومالاً وخيلاً وسرارى وسعاد ابا الخير

فاراد الرب تبارك<sup>5</sup> اسمه ان يريح الاب القديس ابنا مينا لئلا ينظر الى شيء من العذاب من هذا الرجل<sup>6</sup> الجاحد فظهر الله اعجوبة لما<sup>7</sup> نظر الذى سمى ابا الخير وهو ابو كل الشرور والمكر فدفع له الملك ما طلبه منه من الكتب للوالى بمصر فصار الى<sup>8</sup> مصر واعتقد انه يفعل بالبطرك كل سوء تصل قدرته اليه فممن قبل ان يصل الى مصر

1. E om. to قلبي. — 2. E om. to الاولى add. من محبة الملك فد. — 3. E الملك. — 4. E om. to سرارى. — 5. DF جل. — 6. E om. with foll. wd. add. المردول. — 7. E om. to يصل add. رحوان قبل وصول ابرالشر. — 8. R طالب.

desire, in order to accomplish that which is in my heart ». So the governor despatched him in haste, bidding him take with him a letter, in which an explanation of what had happened to him was given. Thus Satan, the hater of good, drove Peter back to his former circumstances, and raised in the prince's heart a greater love for him than before. This was especially because Peter said to him : « I wish to enter into thy religion, and to return to Egypt and claim my rights from my enemies ». At this the prince rejoiced. Then the foul wretch denied the name of Christ the Saviour, and confessed the religion of Islam; and for that the prince gave him many gifts on that day, garments and money and horses and female slaves, and named him Abu'l-Khair<sup>1</sup>.

But the Lord, whose name is blessed, purposed to give rest to the holy father Abba Mennas, that he might not undergo any punishment from this renegade. For God showed forth a miracle, when he looked upon him who was called Abu'l-Khair, but was in reality father of all mischief and guile. The prince gave him the letters to the governor that he asked for, and he journeyed to Egypt, believing that he was about to do all the harm to the patriarch that lay in his power. Before he arrived in Egypt, however, Abd Allah, the prince, died. So when the wretch learnt that his hopes were thus frustrated, the words<sup>2</sup> of the prophet were fulfilled in him :

1. Father of good. — 2. Jer., xvii, 5.



مات عبد الله الملك فلما علم الشقي ان رجاءه قد بطل تمّ عليه قول النبي مرذول  
الانسان الذي يتوكل على انسان<sup>1</sup> فيخزي ومضى الى بلده التي ولد فيها فظروده اهله واقاربه  
ومعارفه فصار عندهم مبغوضا ممقوتا كمثل<sup>2</sup> اليهود الذين قتلوا ربهم وكانوا ييكتونه قائلين  
له يامن صار ولد الشيطان وزاغ عن طريق الحياة اين تركت خوف الله والنجيم وصوت  
خالقنا الذي يقطع بالامر الهائل ان كل من جحدني قدام الناس انا اججده قدام الاب الذي  
في السموات انكرت هذا الصوت الحق فانك تسمع عوضه اذهبوا به الى النار التي لا تطفأ  
والدود الذي لا ينام جزاء مخالفتك وقوله ايضا لمن هو مثلك تباعدوا عني ياملاعين الى  
النار الموقدة المعدة لابليس وجنوده ثم يقال لك ان عوض الاسقفية التي طلبتها اكتساب  
الخلاص وعوض النعيم الروحاني اكتسبت نجاسة الجحود ويسمع من هذا كثيرا وهو ممثلي  
حزنا وخجلا كل يوم ثم انه مضى الى اساقفة كورة مصر الذين ابلاهم بذلك العذاب  
وسألوا ان يسألوا الله فيه ان ينقذه من تلك الضلالة وكان قلبه مستقيم وكان يسمع من فم

وكانوا add. ابن الهلاك 3. E om. to — 2. F add. مثله. — 1. E om. to على انسان. — ييكتوه من قبل انكاره دين المسيح.

« Contemptible is the man who trusts in a man. » For in shame he departed to his native town; but as soon as his family and kinsmen and acquaintances saw him, he was hated and detested among them like the Jews who slew their Lord. And they began to reproach him, saying : « Ah thou that art become a son of Satan, and hast strayed from the way of life, where hast thou left the fear of God and of Hell, and the voice of our Creator pronouncing the terrible sentence<sup>1</sup> : Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before the Father who is in Heaven? Thou hast rejected this true voice, and therefore thou shalt hear instead of it<sup>2</sup> : Take him away to the fire which is not quenched and the worm which sleeps not. This shall be the reward of thy apostasy. To thee will be spoken also his words addressed to those like thee<sup>3</sup> : Depart from me, ye cursed, into the fire kindled and prepared for the Devil and his hosts. Then it will be said to thee that, instead of the bishopric which thou didst demand, there is the gain of rebellion, and instead of the Spiritual Paradise thou hast earned the foulness of apostasy. » And Peter had to listen to many such reproaches every day, filled with sorrow and shame. At last he went away to the bishops of Egypt, whom he had afflicted with such torments; and he begged them to pray to God for him

1. S. Matth., x, 33; cf. S. Mark, viii, 38; S. Luke, ix, 26. — 2. S. Mark., ix, 44; Is., lxxvi, 24. — 3. S. Matth., xxv, 41.



وبقيت الببعة ارملة بلا راع<sup>1</sup> وافتقد الرب خرافه الذين اشتراهم بدمه واجتمعوا الاساقفة الى مدينة الاسكندرية وتشاوروا وسألوا الرب ان يظهر لهم راعيا امينا وذكروا اسماء كثيرا واقاموا عدة ايام في هذا والرب<sup>2</sup> يحفظ مصطفاه الذي<sup>3</sup> يصطفيه ويسحبه بدهن رحمته ليدعوه للبطركية لانها كانت له وكانوا ابأونا اذا اجتمعوا للاتفاق على اقامة بطرك يكتبون اسماء كثيرا في رقاع صغار ويضعونها على الهيكل ويصلون الاساقفة والكهنة والشعب<sup>4</sup> الارثوذكسي الى الرب بنية خالصة ويصيحون كيريايلىصن ثم يجعلون طفلاً لم<sup>5</sup> يعرف خطيئة يمد يده ياخذ رقعة من جملة الرقاع فالذى يخرج<sup>6</sup> اسمه يقدمونه على البطركية فلما فعلوا ذلك وكان قيما<sup>7</sup> لببعة القديس ابي مينا قس اسمه يوحنا ولد الاب ابنا ميخائيل<sup>8</sup> ومولده في بنا بوصير<sup>9</sup> وترهب بوادى هبيب فائتمنوه على الاقنومية<sup>10</sup> من قبل الاب ابنا مينا المتسبح فذكره

1. E add. بعدد سنة واحدة. — 2. F om. to ابأونا add. كثير. — 3. E om. to له. — 4. E om. to كيريايلىصن. — 5. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 6. F يطلع. — 7. F قايم. — 8. Mss. خيال. — 9. Mss. ابروصير. — 10. ABDFG القنومية.

So the Church remained a widow without a pastor. But the Lord visited his sheep, whom he had bought with his blood; and the bishops assembled in the city of Alexandria, and consulted together, and prayed the Lord to shew them a faithful shepherd. Many names were mentioned, and they continued to discuss this matter during several days, while the Lord was reserving his chosen one, whom he was about to elect and anoint with the oil of his mercy, that he might be called to the patriarchal office, because it belonged to him. Now our fathers, when they met together in order to come to an agreement upon the appointment of a patriarch, were accustomed to write many names on small sheets which they laid in the sanctuary. Then the bishops and priests and orthodox laity used to pray to the Lord with a sincere intention, and cry *Kyrie eleison*. Afterwards they brought a young child, ignorant of sin, which put forth its hand and took one sheet from among the number. And him whose name was drawn they promoted to the patriarchal dignity.

Now they had begun to carry out this procedure. And there was in charge of the church of Saint Mennas a priest named John, the son of the father Abba Michael; and his birthplace was at Banâ Bûsir, and he had become a monk in Wâdî Habîb, and had then been entrusted with the office of oeconomus under the father Abba Mennas, lately gone to his rest. This man was named by an aged deacon of pious character, one of the





ولا تقليدا فمات وعاد جرجة وافرج عنه وجلس على كرسي انطاكية بعد عشر سنين  
سجد وكرامة فلما وقف على<sup>1</sup> كتب<sup>2</sup> المغبوط ابنا يوحنا عند وصول رسله الى انطاكية  
قبلهم وفرح بهم وكذلك جماعة المطارنة والاساقفة المجتمعين عنده مجّدوا السيد المسيح على  
اتفاق كلمتهما على الامانة الارثوذكسية واجتماعهما<sup>3</sup> بعد الايام التي جازت بفرح عظيم  
وبهجة روحانية وكتب جرجة ومطارنته واساقفته جواب السنوديقا الى الاب ابنا يوحنا  
كالقوانين البيعية<sup>4</sup> السالمة من الزوغان

وكان ابنا يوحنا حسن الهيئة تامّ القامة مؤيّداً من الله في جميع اموره وكان كل  
احد يشتهي ان ينظر صورته المقبولة<sup>5</sup> ورزق قبولاً عند كل الملوك والولاة مثل<sup>6</sup> يوسف  
الصديق الذي كانت<sup>7</sup> يد الله معه وخلّصه من جميع احزانه واعطاه نعمة وحكمة امام فرعون  
وكان الاب يوحنا مدمناً على فعل الخير واهتمّ ببناء بيعة ومسكن بطيركتي وزيّنه بكل

الزوغان — 3. E om. to قبلها بفرح ومطارنته واساقفته. — 2. E om. to عند add. عليها. — 1. E om. to  
المباركة. — 5. E. — 4. F. — 6. E om. to. وكتب جوابها الى الاب ابنا يوحنا. — 7. ABG. كان. — فرعون.

ment to the patriarch of Alexandria. Then that bishop died, and George returned, having been released from prison, and sat upon the throne of Antioch with glory and honour, after an absence of ten years. George, therefore, having read the letters of the blessed patriarch, Abba John, upon the arrival of his envoys at Antioch, welcomed those envoys and rejoiced over them; and so likewise the synod of metropolitans and bishops, assembled with their chief, glorified the Lord Christ, with great joy and spiritual gladness, on account of the agreement of the doctrine of the two patriarchs concerning the orthodox Faith, and their common accord after the days that had passed. And George with his metropolitans and bishops composed an epistle in answer to the synodical, and sent it to the father, Abba John, according to the ecclesiastical canons, which are exempt from error.

Now Abba John was beautiful in form, perfect in stature, inspired by God in all his affairs. And everyone desired to behold his welcome form; and it was granted to him to be acceptable to all princes and governors, like Joseph the Truthful, with whom God's hand was, and whom God saved from all his sorrows, and to whom he gave grace and wisdom before Pharaoh. And the father John was assiduous in doing good, and provided means for the building of a church and a patriarchal residence, which he adorned with all beautiful ornaments. He also embellished the churches

زينة حسنة وزين<sup>1</sup> البيع بالاسكندرية<sup>2</sup> بكل<sup>3</sup> زينة وجمال<sup>4</sup> وكان الزمان مساعدا له وكانت السلاطين تهابه وتبلغه اغراضه وتقبل قوله ولا تمنعه من شيء يريد<sup>5</sup> وكان الشعب الارثوذكسي يطيعه وكان في البيعة في ايامه هدوء وسلامة وما<sup>6</sup> يفتر من فعل الخير واكثر اهتمامه بعمارة<sup>7</sup> بيع الاسكندرية حتى انه عمل تذكارا عظيما له بهذا المدينة وكانت سيرته جميلة حتى ان المخالفين الذين<sup>8</sup> بمدينة الاسكندرية حسدود كعادتهم الملاحين مع الارثوذكسين حتى في الامانة وخاصة<sup>9</sup> في ايام هذا القديس يوحنا لنظرهم لاعماله الحسنة في البيعة<sup>10</sup> وفي جميع البيع بالاسكندرية بالمجد والكرامة

والكذاب الذي كان في ذلك الزمان ابا الهرطقة انسان يستقى بولتيانوس<sup>10</sup> كان رجلا طبيبا ماهرا وكان ملوك الاسلام تراعيه لاجل صناعته ولم يفتر من ذكر ابينا البطرك انبا يوحنا بكلام الحسد وكان الله الذي يعرف الخفايا يرفع هذا الانسان يوما بعد يوم وكانت

1. F add. — 2. E add. الارثوذكسية F add. جمليهم. — 3. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 4. F om. — 5. E om. to جميلة. — 6. B بنائه DF عمارة G بنيانه. — 7. E om. to الذي — 8. F om. — 9. E om. to البيعة add. حسدود على افعال الجميلة. — 10. ADG بخاض BF بخاضة. — 9. F om. to البيعة add. يوليانيو DF براسابو ABEG. — 10. ABEG. ايام البيعة.

at Alexandria with all decoration and adornment. The times were propitious towards him, and the authorities respected him, and enabled him to carry out his desires, and accepted his opinion, and did not hinder him from anything that he wished; and the orthodox people obeyed him, and the Church enjoyed tranquillity and peace in his days. He did not cease from doing good, and his chief care was for the building of the churches of Alexandria, so that he raised a great monument to himself in this city. His conduct was admirable, so that the heretics at Alexandria were jealous of him, according to the custom of those accursed ones in dealing with the orthodox, even in matters relating to the Faith, especially in the days of this holy John, because they beheld his good works in the Church and in all the churches at Alexandria with glory and honour.

The liar, who was at that time the father of the heretics, was a person named Politian. He was a skilful physician, and the princes of Islam used to treat him with favour on account of his art. And he did not cease to speak of our father John with words of jealousy. But God, who knows that which is secret, was raising up this man day after day, and the sweet odour of his teaching reached all the people. Therefore those who loved God took thought and said : « We will hand over to him our money, that he may build with it the churches of Alexandria, as a memorial for us and for



روائح طيب تعاليمه قد بلغت الى كل احد ولاجل هذا كانوا محبوا<sup>1</sup> الله يفتكرون<sup>2</sup> ويقولون نحن نسلم اليه اموالنا لينبى بها بيع الاسكندرية تذكارا لنا ولمن يجيء بعدنا وهكذا كانوا يحملون اليه المزين بالفضائل مالا جزيلا وكرامات ويسئلونه ان يهتم في عمارة البيع حتى<sup>3</sup> تم ما قيل في النبي داود غيرة بيتك اكلتني فيقبل ذلك منهم لعلمه بمحبتهم وابذلهم مالهم وخيرهم وامانتهم المستقيمة بالله وكان قد صحبه شماس<sup>4</sup> محب<sup>5</sup> لله متيقظ جدا مستلنى امانة وحكمة روحانية اسمه مرقس وهذا كان اسكندرانيا وقد<sup>6</sup> مسك رجل السفينة التي هي<sup>6</sup> البيعة سفينة النجاة من طوفان الشياطين باجتهاد وكان ابونا انبا يوحنا يعرفه من صباه وكان قيّم بيعة ابى مينا وبحكم معرفته له ولاهله جعله شماسا وكان يقرأ الانجيل في كل موضع يقدس فيه ويحضره بصوت حنين والحن مطربة تخشع لسماعها القلوب ولاجل هذا كان الشعوب يكررون الى البيعة لسمعوا قراءته وحسن صوته ولمعرفته بالقراءة وحسن منظره

المؤمنين يحملوا اليه الاموال لينبى بها البيع ويقولوا ان هذا الاسكندرية add. 1. F om. — 2. E om. to وهكذا. — 3. E om. to بالذ add. منهم. — 4. E om. — 5. E om. to شماسا add. بالكتب. — 6. F في. — 6. E om. to روحانية.

those that shall come after us ». Accordingly they used to bring to him, that saint adorned with virtues, large sums of money and gifts, and to pray him to provide for the building of the churches, until that which is said ' of the prophet David was fulfilled in Abba John : « The zeal of thine house has eaten me up. » And he accepted those gifts from the people, because he knew how great were their charity and their sacrifice of their wealth and their goodness and right faith in God.

And there was with Abba John a deacon, who loved God, and was very vigilant and full of faith and spiritual wisdom. This deacon was named Mark, and was an Alexandrian; and he had grasped with zeal the helm of the Ark, which is the Church, the Ark of salvation from the deluge of the devils. Our father Abba John had known him from his youth. Mark was in charge of the church of Saint Mennas, and the patriarch, because of his acquaintance with him and his family, made him deacon; and wherever the patriarch celebrated the Liturgy or was present, Mark used to chant the gospel, with a voice of tenderness and moving tones, so that the hearts of listeners were touched by their music. For this reason the people used to come early to the church in order to hear his chanting and his beautiful voice, and because he understood the art of chanting, and for

1. Ps. LXIX, 10 (Sept. LXVIII).

وعند قراءته يجعل كل كلمة في موضعها وكان عالماً بالكتب وقراءة جميع المسطاغوجي وكانوا يقولون مبارك هو الرب الاله الذي دفع ولداً حكيماً لداود كما قيل ذلك كان الشعب المؤمن يقول يتمجد الله مبارك هو الله الذي اقام لنا هذا الشماس المحب لله مرقس مبارك هو الرب الذي جعل هذا الغصن يزهر لنا من هذه الشجرة المباركة ابانا القديس يوحنا وولده مرقس طوبى لمدينتنا التي استحققت هذه النعمة وكان ابونا البطرك اذا شاهد هذا الشماس وافعاله يفرح به ويشكر الله الذي وهب له هذه الموهبة للبيعة فتركه له مشيراً في جميع احواله وكان مرقس كلما قدّمه البطرك ازداد تواضعاً لكل احد من صغير وكبير وافضل من هذا طاعته للاب في كلما يأمر به فلما امتلأ من النعمة طاب من ايّنا ان يجعله مستحق الاسكيم الملائكي الذي<sup>1</sup> هو<sup>2</sup> الرهبنة فآخذ معه الى البرية عند نظرد اشهوته الى دير الاب المضيء ابي مقار مجمع<sup>3</sup> الرهبان وموضع الحكمة العالية والصلاة الدائمة ليلاً ونهاراً بتسجيد الثلوث المقدس في السابع والعشرين من برمات وهو<sup>4</sup> يوم نياح القديس ابي مقار

1. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 2. Mss. جي. — 3. E om. to المقدس. — 4. E om. to والبسه الاسكيم فنظر. add. نظر.

the sake of his beautiful countenance; and when he chanted he put every word in its right place. He was also learned in the Scriptures and in the study of all the Mystagogia. So men used to say : « Blessed is the Lord God, who has given a wise son to David<sup>1</sup>, as it is said. » The faithful laity used to say, glorifying God : « Blessed is God, who has raised up for us this deacon Mark who loves God. Blessed is the Lord who has made this branch to flourish for us from this blessed tree, — our holy father John and his son Mark. Happy is our city which has merited this grace! » And when our father the patriarch beheld this deacon and his actions, he rejoiced over him and thanked God, who had given him this gift for the Church, and had left Mark to him as an adviser in all his circumstances. And Mark, in each step to which the patriarch promoted him, grew more and more humble towards all, both small and great; and more excellent than this was his obedience to the father in all that he commanded him to do. Then Mark, when he was filled with grace, begged our father to hold him worthy of the Angelic Habit, that is the monastic estate. So Abba John, when he saw Mark's desire, took him with him, on the 27th. of Barmahat, which is the day when Saint Macarius went to his rest, to the monastery of the illuminating father, Saint Macarius, the meeting-place of monks, and the home of high wisdom and of prayer, continuing night and day with glo-

1. III Kings, v, 21 (7).

فلما لبس الاسكيم نظر اليه انسان شيخ راهب مضاء<sup>1</sup> بروح القدس فقال هذا الشماس الذي اسمه مرقس هو مستحق ان يجلس على كرسي ابيه مرقس الانجيلي وبدأ ان يزيد في التواضع والطهارة والقدس حتى<sup>2</sup> تم فيه ما قال الله لمن انظر الا على المتواضع القلب الخائف مني

فاذا سمعتم يا اخوة مني هذا الكلام فلا تجدوا<sup>3</sup> علي انني تركت عني كلام الاباء السبوطيين وبناء البيعة بمدينة الاسكندرية وذكرهم مع لزومه لنا وهكذا يجب علينا ان نذكر البنين<sup>4</sup> المتواضعين الذين فازوا بالاعمال<sup>5</sup> وارضوا الاباء بتقّلبهم حتى تسمع الاجيال والقبائل<sup>6</sup> الآتية فينموا هم ايضا بنعمة روح القدس كمثّل ما كتب لسان العطر بولس وقال اني غيور بالروح ولا ادع عني هذا وتفسير اتني غيور يعني بالاعمال الروحانية اسمعوا<sup>7</sup> كيف بدأ ابونا البطرك انبا يوحنا ان يهتم ببناء البيعة مثل ما طلبا منه<sup>8</sup> المحبان لله الطوبانيان كورا<sup>9</sup>

1. Mss. مضى. — 2. E om. to البطرك add. ولما اراد الاب. — 3. F تراخذوا. — 4. FG المرميين. — 5. F add. الصالحة. — 6. DEF om. — 7. ABDG اسمع. — 8. F add. المرميين. — 9. DEF om. to هذا في ABG ويربنا ABDEG كوريا ووربنا ABG في هذا. طلبوا منه المحبين لله الطوبانيين ABDEG لما راوا.

rification of the Holy Trinity. And when Mark had put on the habit, an aged monk, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, looked at him and said : « This deacon, whose name is Mark, is worthy to sit upon the throne of his father, Mark the evangelist. » And Mark began to increase in humility and purity and holiness, till there was accomplished in him that which God says<sup>1</sup> : « To whom shall I look, except to the humble of heart who fears me? »

Now when you hear these words from me, brethren, be not angry with me because I have left the discourse of the blessed fathers, and the building of the church in the city of Alexandria, and the narration of their history in spite of its importance to us; for likewise is it incumbent upon us to mention the humble sons, who were saved by their works, and pleased the fathers by their conduct, in order that future generations and peoples may hear of them, and that they too may grow in the grace of the Holy Ghost, according to that which Paul the sweet-tongued wrote<sup>2</sup>, where he says in the Spirit : « I am jealous »; and therefore I do not leave this unsaid. The interpretation of the words : « I am jealous », is that they mean jealous in spiritual works.

Hear how our father, the patriarch Abba John, began to take thought for the building of the church, in accordance with the request of those two

1. Is., LXVI, 2. — 2. II Cor., XI, 2.



وبرنابا لما رأيا شهوة شعب المسيح في هذا وكان للبيع وصايا<sup>1</sup> فدعا الشماس مرقس وقال له يا ولدي يكون لك اجر من الله ان تقف على بناء البيع لانك عارف بالمدينة والصناع واعمالهم وانا اعلم ان الله معك واعتقد وآمن ان الذي تهتم به من الخير بامانتك يكون لك ويتم فقال قدسك يعرف ان حجج المخالفين السلاعين كثيرة التي يقاومونا بها وهوة خطيئة على ان قاومت روح القدس الساكن فيك والآن فانت يا ابى قد اردت فعل الخير ثم ضرب له المطانة وقال له صلي على يا ابى فقال له الرب يبارك عليك ويكون معك حتى تكمل عمارة بيته<sup>2</sup> المقدس لتفتخر به بعدنا فقال للبطريرك تأمرنى ابوتك ان اضع الاساس كما ينور الله على فاهتم البطريرك بكلمة يحتاج اليه البناء وجميع الفعلة والرؤساء وصلى ووضع اساس البيعة والمساكن المحيطة بها وسلم كلمة تحتاج اليه في يد الشماس مرقس المسحب لله ليهتم بالبناء وهكذا اوتمن على بناء البيعة المقدسة وكان الله معينا له بالنعمة والبناء كل يوم

بيعت المقدسة ثم بعد ذلك add. ووضع 3. E om. — 2. Mss. وهي. — 1. Mss. وصايا. رضعوا.

blessed ones who loved God, Cyrus and Barnabas, when they saw that Christ's people desired this. And the churches possessed endowments. So Abba John called the deacon Mark, and said to him : « My son, it shall be to thee a reward from God that thou shalt superintend the building of the churches; for thou art acquainted with the city and the workmen and their trades. And I know that God is with thee, and I believe and trust that the good care which thou shalt bestow upon this matter in thy faith will be returned to thee in perfection ». Mark replied : « Thy Holiness knows that the accursed heretics have many arguments with which they will oppose us. But it would be a sin upon my conscience if I resisted the Holy Ghost who dwells in thee; and now, my father, thou desirest to do a good deed ». Then he made a prostration before the patriarch, and said to him : « Pray for me, my father! ». And the patriarch answered : « The Lord bless thee and be with thee, until thou shalt complete the building of his holy house, so that thou mayest rejoice in it after we are gone ». Thereupon Mark said to the patriarch : « Thy Paternity commands me to lay the foundation as God shall give me light ».

Therefore the patriarch supplied all that was needed for the fabric, and assembled the workmen and overseers. And he said prayers, and laid the foundations of the church and of the surrounding habitations. And he delivered all that church needed into the hand of the pious deacon Mark, that he might provide for the construction. Thus Mark was entrusted with the building of the holy church; and God was helping him with grace, and

ينمو ويتقدّم فوسوس الشيطان في قلب الكذاب المخالف صاحب الطبيعتين ان يذكر الاب  
ابنا يوحنا عند السلطان انه اخذ مواضع للسلطان بناها كنائس وفعل هذا حسدا لكي  
يبتّل البناء مثل الكلدانيين الذين ارادوا تبطيل بناء بيت الله المقدس فصبر الاب ابنا يوحنا  
واحتمل امرا عظيما ممّا لحقه من الكذاب وخسر لاجل ذلك للسلطان مالا كثيرا وكان  
النجس يفرح بهذا وكان يذكر ابنا يوحنا بكل سوء وكذب وكلما شاهدوه كل يوم في نمو  
وزيادة وشعبه مستقيم وتعاليمه دائمة وبيعه ثمرة وهو ايضا يبني ويجدد في البيع قد ازدادوا  
غنيظا فلم يقدر<sup>1</sup>وا على مقاومة قوة الله كمثل<sup>2</sup> فعل الكلدانيين في هيكل اورشليم وبدد الله  
امرهم وكذلك فعل هكذا هاهنا بدد مؤامرة المخالفين اليهود الجدد وبرافة السيد المسيح  
جعل في قلب السلطان ان يأمر<sup>3</sup> الاب ابنا يوحنا بكمال البيعة وترتيبها كما يريد وكمّلها في  
مدّة خمس سنين وكرّزها باسم رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل<sup>4</sup> وهذه<sup>5</sup> البيعة تسمّى اليوم<sup>6</sup> بمدينة

1. ABDFG يتقدّر. — 2. E om. to الاب add. وحنن الله قلب السلطان وامر. — 3. F امر.  
— 4. ABDG add. بمدينة الاسكندرية. — 5. E وسماها بيعة التربة. — 6. E om. with 2 foll.  
wds. F بالاسكندرية الان.

the building grew and advanced daily. Then Satan whispered to the heart  
of the lying heretic, the chief of the believers in the Two Natures, that he  
should accuse the father, Abba John, before the governor of occupying  
buildings belonging to the government and turning them into churches.  
This charge was brought by that heretic in envy, that he might stop the  
building, like the Chaldeans who desired to put an end to the building of  
the holy house of God. But the father, Abba John, endured patiently and  
suffered greatly through that which was done to him by that liar, and was  
forced on account of it to pay a heavy fine to the government. And the  
wretch rejoiced thereat, and accused Abba John of all sorts of evil deeds and  
of lies. And as often as his enemies beheld him growing and increasing day  
by day, while his people were orthodox, and his teaching was uninterrupted,  
and his churches were flourishing, and he also continued to build and restore  
in the churches, then they grew yet more wrathful. But they could not  
resist the power of God, and were as the Chaldeans with regard to the  
temple of Jerusalem, when God brought their efforts to nought; for so he  
did likewise in this case, scattering the counsel of the heretics, those new  
Jews. For by the mercy of the Lord Christ, he put it into the heart of  
the governor to command the father, Abba John, to finish the church and  
furnish it as he desired. So he completed the church in the space of five  
years, and consecrated it in the name of the Archangel Michael. This

الاسكندريّة بيعه التوبة وكان مع ايّنا البطرك كاتب اسمه يوحنا شماس وهو الذي استحقّ اسقفية كرسى<sup>1</sup> سخا بعد وفاة الاب ابنا يوحنا

فلما كان بعد تمام بيعه السلاك ميخائيل<sup>2</sup> باحكام الرب الغير مدروكة نزل غلاء عظيم على مدينة الاسكندريّة وصعيد مصر حتّى ان القمح بلغ ثلث وبيات بدينار وفيت انفس كثير وكان ابونا حزيننا لما يرى من الموتى والنفاء ويدعو بدموع<sup>3</sup> ويقول كاشعيا النبى صرفت وجهك عنّا واسلمتنا لاجل اثمنا والآن يارب فانت ابونا ونحن كلنا تراب وعمل يديك لا تصنع بنا مثل خطايانا ولا تغضب علينا الى التسام ولا تذكر خطايانا والتفت لنا يارب لانّا شعبك وكان يواصل الصلاة ليلاً ونهاراً قائلاً يارب ارحم خليقتك وعمل يديك لا تصنع بنا مثل خطايانا فنحن<sup>4</sup> مستحقون لكل ادب لانّا لم نسلك فى طريق وصاياك والآن فيارب لا تؤدّبنا بقضيب غضبك ولا تذكر اثمنا امامك وكان ينظر الى خيق الناس من عظم الغلاء وكانت الرحمة تقلقه الى الدعاء فدعا ولده الشماس مرقس ومشاركه<sup>5</sup> فى افعاله

1. F om. — 2. A ميخائيل. — 3. E om. to الصلاة add. الى الله. — 4. E om. to امامك. — 5. EF om. to السلطان add. وارعااه.

church is called at the present day, in the city of Alexandria, the church of Repentance. And there was with our father the patriarch a scribe and deacon, named John, who was counted worthy of the bishopric of the see of Sakha after the decease of the father, Abba John.

After the completion of the church of the Angel Michael, by the Lord's inscrutable decrees a great dearth came upon the city of Alexandria and Upper Egypt, so that the price of wheat rose to a dinar for three waibahs, and many persons perished. And our father was sad on account of the dead and the mortality that he saw, and prayed with tears, saying, like the prophet Isaias<sup>1</sup>: « Thou hast turned away thy face from us, and given us up because of our sins. And now, O Lord, thou art yet our Father, and we are all dust and the work of thy hands. Deal not with us according to our sins, and be not angry with us for ever; and remember not our offences, but turn to us, O Lord, for we are thy people ». And he continued in prayer night and day, saying: « O Lord, have mercy on thy creatures and the work of thy hands; deal not with us after our sins. We deserve indeed all chastisement, for we have not walked in the way of thy commandments. But now, O Lord, chastise us not with the rod of thy wrath, and remember not our transgressions before thee ».

And the patriarch beheld the distress of the people from the severity of

1. Is., lxi, 7, 8, 9.



واعطاه السلطان ان يفعل رحمة مع كل من في المدينة وكانت <sup>1</sup> مخازن البيعة وحسابها <sup>2</sup> تحت يده ائتمنه الاب ابا يوحنا عليها عند <sup>3</sup> تجربته لطريقه وكان يغيث <sup>4</sup> كل جائع ويدفع لهم طعامهم بكرة وعشية في كل يوم وكان يشاهد على باب البطريرك خلقا كثيرا من كل جنس وهو يقوم بهم من شيء البيعة لانها كانت ذلك الزمان مملوءة خيرات حتى ان رائحة طيب اعماله الحسنة فاحت وملأت <sup>5</sup> المواضع <sup>6</sup> بسيلئوس واوسايئوس <sup>7</sup> الاسقفان هذان اللذان جعلاهما الصدقة اهتماما لا يقطعانهما اكثر من كل وصية هكذا هذا القديس فعل مثلهما حسدا لفضلهما <sup>8</sup> حتى يشاكلهما في ذلك ومع فعله هذا لم يخل بشيء من الوصايا ويحضر <sup>9</sup> الرؤساء والاغنياء ويقول <sup>10</sup> لهم كونوا رحومين للضعفاء ويحثهم على الصدقات من الكتب المقدسة ويقول لهم اغتنموا هذا الوقت وهذه النعمة التي هي جلية عند الله وكان يعظم بما قاله داود

E يدعى D يشبع B — 4. — لما جربه BG E om. — 3. — كان كله E add. — 2. — لان E — 1. —  
 — 6. DF الدنيا — 5. — الوصايا E om. — 5. — دغب G يعطى لكل الجياع طعامهم F يفت  
 — 7. — كما فعل الابا الاساقفة باسيلئوس وسانتيئوس الذين جعلاهما F سابئوس BDG سانيئوس A —  
 ويحثهم على الرحمة add. طيماتاوس ولده E om. — 10. — وكان يرصى F — 9. — لفضيلتهما F — 8. —  
 ويقول لهم اغتنموا هذا الوقت وكان يذكرهم بكلام الانبيا وكلام بولس الرسول في رسالته الى طيماتاوس

the dearth, and his pity excited him to pray. Then Abba John called his son and partner in his works, the deacon Mark, and gave him authority to distribute alms among all the inhabitants of the city; and the storehouses and the accounts of the church were under his superintendence, for the father, Abba John, had entrusted him with the charge of them, making trial of his conduct. So Mark began to assist all those that were starving, giving them their food morning and evening every day. And he used to see at the patriarch's door many people of every race, whom he would supply with provisions out of the stores of the church; for she had at that time an abundance of good things. Thus the sweet perfume of his good deeds spread, and filled all places. Basil and Eusebius, the two bishops, were those who made almsgiving their uninterrupted occupation, making more of it than of the fulfilment of any other commandment. In the same way this holy man acted as they did, emulating their excellence until he resembled them in that point; but though he did thus, yet he did not neglect any of the precepts of religion: And he visited the officials and the rich men, and said to them : « Be merciful to the needy ». And he urged them to alms-giving with arguments from the holy scriptures, saying to them : « Profit by this time and this grace which is glorious before God ».

النبي لولده لا تصرف وجهك عن الفقراء فان الرب لا يصرف وجهه عنك وقول غيره من الانبياء ان الصدقة تخلص من الموت وتصعد من الجحيم ولا تدع انسانا ان يدخل الظلمة وكان يذكرهم ايضا ما كان بولس يكتب به طيماتاوس<sup>1</sup> ولده<sup>2</sup> اذ يقول له اغنياء هذا الزمان اوصيهم ان لا يتكبروا بل يجعلوا توكلهم على الله الذي يعطي<sup>3</sup> الغناء<sup>4</sup> لكل احد لكي يستغنوا في كل شيء ويجعلوا<sup>5</sup> لهم اساسا ليتمسكوا بحياة الحق وكان يوصيهم بهذا وغيره حتى<sup>6</sup> حسدوا افعاله الاغنياء والرؤساء وصاروا يفعلون كما اوصاهم من<sup>7</sup> مالهم ولم يتأخر احد منهم عن الصدقة والافتقار للارامل والايتام والحبوس بالطعام والكسوة وكذلك الكهنة والفقراء وكان جماعة من الرؤساء في ذلك الزمان ينزل عليهم الفقر وكانوا يساعدونهم ايضا وكان يأوى الغرباء حتى رحم الرب شعبه ورفع عنهم الغلاء بصلابة الاب القديس ابنا يوحنا ثم تيسح بطرك انطاكية ابنا جرجة واوسم عوضه انسان قديس اسمه كيرياقوس بتدبير من

1. DF prefix تلميذه. — 2. DF om. — 3. D يعطي لكل احد F. — 4. DF om. — 5. E om. to الحق. — 6. F حتى ان الاغنياء حسدوا. — 7. BDEFG om. with foll. wd.; E om. to الغميا.

And he began to exhort them in the words of the prophet David to his son<sup>1</sup> : « Turn not thy face from the poor, and then the Lord will not turn his face from thee ». He quoted also the saying of another prophet<sup>2</sup> : « Alms saves from death, and raises from Hell, and does not suffer a man to enter into darkness ». He reminded them also of that which Paul wrote to Timothy his son, saying to him<sup>3</sup> : « Charge the rich in this world that they be not proud, but that they place their trust in God, who gives riches to each one, that they may have enough of all things, and may lay for themselves a foundation, in order that they may take hold of the true life ». And he admonished them with these and other words, until the rich men and the officials emulated his works, and began to do as he advised them with their money; and none of them was backward in giving alms, nor in visiting the widows and orphans and prisons and taking to them food and clothing; and so also they did for the clergy and the poor. And many of the officials had fallen into poverty at this time, and they also were assisted. And Mark used to entertain strangers. But at last the Lord took pity on his people and relieved them of the dearth, through the prayers of the holy father, Abba John.

At that time the patriarch of Antioch, Abba George, went to his rest. And a holy man, named Cyriacus, was appointed in his place by a dispen-

1. Tob., iv, 7. — 2. Tob., iv, 10 (11). — 3. 1 Tim., vi, 17, 19.



الله واجتماع كلسة المطارنة والاساقفة وجميع شعب الشام والمشرق وكان مملوءاً من نعمة الروح القدس فلما اتصلت به اعمال الاب القديس<sup>1</sup> ابنا يوحنا احضر مطارنته واساقفته وقال لهم ما يجب ان نتأخر عن مكاتبة الاب ابنا يوحنا صاحب الكرسي الانجيلي بمدينة الاسكندرية العظمى التي هي لنا ميراث من ابائنا من زمان الاب ساويرس وثاودوسيوس<sup>2</sup> المجاهدين على الامانة الارثوذكسية وقد كنت بدأت بذكر الاب ابنا جرجة المتسبح ان كان في السنين الماضية التي اعتقل فيها لم تصل سنوديقا من ناحيته الى مصر الى الاب مينا لاجل اضطهاده واعتقاله ولان ابنا مينا لم يكتب ايضاً لاشتغاله فيما جرى عليه من الشماس<sup>3</sup> المحروم بطرس الجاحد الغير مستحق الاسم الى حين خروجه هو والاساقفة من الحبس ومكاتبتهم التي ذكرناها انفاً فقال الاب ابنا كيرياقوس ان نحن لم نكتب كان علينا اثم<sup>4</sup> وخطيئة لاجل الاتفاق الذي بيننا والاتحاد وكانوا<sup>5</sup> زمان ابائنا السالفين متفقين على الامانة الحق والمحبة ويذكرون اسماء ابائنا على هياكل كورة مصر جميعها فلا نقطع ما بيننا

1. E om. to ذكرناه انفاً. — 2. Mss. وديونوسيوس. — 3. F الغير شماس. — 4. E om. to وفي كل زمان. — 5. DF om. to والمحبة add. والاتفاق الروحاني.

sation from God, and through the united votes of the metropolitans and bishops and of all the laity of Syria and the East. He was full of the Holy Ghost, and when he heard of the works of the holy father, Abba John, he summoned his metropolitans and bishops, and said to them : « We must not delay writing to the father, Abba John, who occupies the evangelical throne in the great city of Alexandria, which is an inheritance of ours from our fathers, since the time of the father Severus and of Theodosius, who both fought for the orthodox faith. » Now I have already mentioned the deceased father, Abba George, and observed that in the past years, during which he was in prison, no synodical letter came from him to Egypt to the father Mennas, on account of Abba George's troubles and confinement, and because Abba Mennas also did not write, being otherwise occupied through the persecution which he suffered at the hands of the excommunicated deacon Peter, the apostate unworthy of his name; until the patriarch and bishops escaped from durance, and then the correspondence took place as we have related above. Therefore the father Cyriacus said : « If we should not write, we should be guilty of an offence and a sin, on account of the agreement and unity which exist between us. In the time of our forefathers, they agreed with us in the true faith and in charity; and they commemorate our fathers' names in all the sanctuaries of Egypt. For this reason



وبينهم من المحبة المسيحية والاتفاق الروحاني فكتب ابونا ابا كيرياقوس بطرك انطاكية الى ابا يوحنا بطرك الاسكندرية سنوديقا مملوءة من نعمة روح القدس وانفذها على يد مطران دمشق انسطاسيوس ومعه اسقفان من كرسيه يذكران فيها ما بين الكرستين انطاكية والاسكندرية من الاتحاد الارثوذكسي وكيف جلس على كرسي اغناطيوس الابس اللاهوت فلما وصلت الى ابا يوحنا ووقف عليها فرح فرحا عظيما ومجدد<sup>1</sup> السيد يسوع المسيح الذي يهتم بيعته وشعبه في كل زمان الذي اشتراهم بدمه الكريم<sup>2</sup> فأمر ابونا ابا يوحنا بقراءة الكتب على الشعب فتعجبوا عند<sup>3</sup> سماعهم ما فيها من الالفاظ ولبعد عهدهم بوصول سنوديقا وشكروا الله على ذلك فلما شاهدوا الرسل انسطاسيوس والاستقفان<sup>4</sup> بيعة الاسكندرية عجبوا من نقوشها<sup>5</sup> وزينتها<sup>6</sup> وطقس البطرك والاساقفة والكهنة والسبع طغيمات البيعة<sup>7</sup> ووقار جميعهم والسكينة<sup>8</sup> التي عليهم وخوفهم من الله فبهتوا ومجدوا الله على عظم النعمة عليهم من

1. E om. to اللاهوت. — 2. E om. to الكريم. — 3. F الزكي. — 4. E om. to سنوديقا. — 5. F add. الراسلين بالسنوديقا. — 6. E om. F add. لحسنها. — 7. E om. F om. with 2 foll. wds. add. ونرتبهم. — 8. F add. الذي للبيعة. — 9. E om. to نعمة الله فرح.

let us not interrupt the Christian charity and spiritual concord which we share with them. » Accordingly, our father, Abba Cyriacus, patriarch of Antioch, addressed to Abba John, patriarch of Alexandria, a synodical letter, full of the grace of the Holy Ghost, and despatched it by the hand of Anastasius, metropolitan of Damascus, who was accompanied by two bishops of his province. In this epistle Cyriacus spoke of the orthodox union existing between the two sees of Antioch and Alexandria, and announced how he had taken his seat upon the throne of Ignatius, the Wearer of Divinity. And when the letter reached Abba John, and he had read it, he rejoiced greatly, and glorified the Lord Jesus Christ, who always cares for his Church and for his people, whom he bought with his precious Blood. Afterwards our father, Abba John, commanded that the letter should be read before the people, who marvelled when they heard its eloquence, and because it was a long time since a synodical had arrived; and they gave thanks to God for it. And when the envoys, Anastasius and the two bishops, visited the church at Alexandria, they were filled with admiration of its paintings and decoration, and the marshalling of the patriarch and bishops and clergy, and the seven ecclesiastical orders, and the dignity of all of them and their serenity and piety. And the Syrians wondered and glorified God for the magnitude of the grace which rested upon the clergy of Alexan-

نعمة ماري مرقس الانجيلي المقدسة فلما شاهدوا ذلك قالوا ما قاله داوود في المزمور كما سمعنا كذلك رأينا وفرحوا وفرحوا عظيماً روحانياً كما كتب في الابركسيس ان الكلام يصل الى مسامع البيعة بيروشليم من اجلهم فانفذوا برنابا الى انطاكية فلما وصل ورأى نعمة الله فرح واقاموا عند الاب القديس يوحنا اياماً قليلاً وودّعهم بمجد وكرامة بعد ان كتب لهم جواب كتبهم فمضوا الى كورثهم مسجدين لله على ما عاينوا

اردت<sup>1</sup> يا اباي القديسين ان اتمم<sup>2</sup> الخطاب بافعال ابينا المبارك ابنا يوحنا غير ان لساني الناقص<sup>3</sup> لا يستطيع ان يقول يسيراً من افعاله لكن عند ذكرى للناس القديسين الذين كانوا في زمانه يجب ان اذكر لاثبتكم حسن الافعال ونبوتهم<sup>4</sup> لتسرّ قلوبكم كما هو مكتوب اذا ذكر الصديق فرحت الشعوب

كان في ذلك الزمان شيخ قديس في البرلس اسمه جرجس وكان حسن الافعال وينظر<sup>5</sup>

— واما القديس ابنا يوحنا بطرقي الاسكندرية كان في ايامه انسان شيخ add. — 1. E om. to — 2. F add. الالكن. — 3. F add. اذكر بقية افعال — 4. BG ثبوتهم — 5. F om. to اسرار add. ويعرف الخفايا بالروح القدس وينطق باسرار.

dria, through the holy favour of Saint Mark the evangelist. Therefore, beholding these things, they said what David says in the psalm<sup>1</sup> : « As we have heard, so have we seen. » And they rejoiced with a great spiritual joy, according to that which is written in the Acts<sup>2</sup> : « A report came to the ears of the Church in Jerusalem concerning them, so they sent Barnabas to Antioch, and when he arrived and saw the grace of God, he rejoiced. »

The envoys remained with the holy father John a few days, and then he bade them farewell with respect and honour, after he had written for them an answer to their letter. So they departed to their own country glorifying God for what they had witnessed.

I desire, my holy fathers, to bring to an end my discourse concerning the deeds of our blessed father Abba John. This I do, not because my faltering tongue could not relate a few more of his actions; but, while I record the names of the holy men who lived in his time, I must describe for your Paternities their good works and their prophecies, that your hearts may be gladdened, as it is written<sup>3</sup> : « When the righteous are commemorated, the people rejoice. » There was in those days at Al-Burlus a holy old man, named George, who was beautiful in his conduct. And

1. Ps. LXXVIII. 3 (Sept. LXXVII). — 2. Acts, XI. 22, 23. — 3. Prov., XXIX, 2 (Sept.).

من<sup>١</sup> البعد بروح القدس اسراراً<sup>٢</sup> عظيمة قبل ان يكون الشيء ليعلم به لجودة اعماله وكان قد تبيح ابنا جرجة اسقف مصر في ذلك الزمان وكان رجلاً قديساً رحوماً محبباً<sup>٣</sup> للمصدقة واقام عندهم زماناً عظيماً يرعاهم بطهر وصدق فحزن عليه الشعب المؤمن واجتمعوا وتشاوروا وكاتبوا الاب ابنا يوحنا وسألوه ان يجعل ولده مرقس الشماس اسقفا عليهم بمصر عوضاً من جرجة السنيح فلما وقف على الكتب اراد بلوغهم غرضهم لسراعاته قلوبهم وأمر ان يقدم لهم مرقس الشماس وخاطبه<sup>٤</sup> فلم يفعل وطرح<sup>٥</sup> في رجليه قيوداً حديدية واقسمه<sup>٦</sup> قسماً ليتنه اسقفاً وهذا بغير اختياره وكان باكياً حزينا ويقول<sup>٧</sup> انت يارب تعلم اننى لا اصلح لهذا الامر فاسلك ياسيدي ان تخلصنى من هذا الذى لا اقدر عليه فسمع الرب محب<sup>٨</sup> البشر الذى يصطفى من يختاره لنعمته قبل ولاده فقال لذلك المؤمن قم اخرج من هذا الموضع

1. E om. with foll wd. — 2. Mss. باسرار E om. to اعماله. — 3. E om. to فحزن add. فحزنوا. — 4. E om. F يطلب الشماس مرقس للوقت وخاطبه في ذلكت. — 5. BEG فخط. — 6. E om. F وارسمه. — 7. E om. to عليه add. ريسال الله خلاصه. — 8. E om. to طلبته وارسل له ملاك قال له add. المرمس.

through the Holy Ghost, he used to see that which was about to happen far away by a great mystery, before the event took place so that he might know it, on account of his excellent virtues. Now Abba George, bishop of Misr had gone to his rest at that time; and he was a holy man, merciful and generous in alms-giving; and he had lived long among the people of Misr, ruling them in purity and justice. Therefore the faithful people mourned for him, and met together and took counsel, and wrote to the father, Abba John, praying him to appoint his son Mark, the deacon, bishop over them at Misr, in the place of George now at rest. When the patriarch read the letter, he was willing that they should obtain their desire because of his pastoral care for their souls; and he commanded that Mark, the deacon, should be promoted to their see. Mark, however, refused the dignity which was offered to him. Thereupon the patriarch caused iron fetters to be placed upon Mark's feet, and ordained him priest, intending to complete his consecration as bishop. But this proceeding was against Mark's will, and he was weeping and sad, saying: « O Lord, thou knowest that I am not fit for this post; therefore I pray thee, O my Lord, to save me from this burden which I cannot bear. » And the Lord, who loves mankind, and chooses those whom he elects for his grace before they are born, heard him; for he said to that faithful one: « Rise, leave this place in which thou art. » So he arose at that moment; and the irons fell from his feet, and



الذى انت فيه فقام فى تلك الساعة فوقع الحديد من رجليه وانفتح له الباب وخرج ولم<sup>1</sup> يستيقظ له احد ممن كان يحفظه فلما اصبح طلبه فلم يجده فأمر بالبحث عنه فما قدر عليه فصعب عليه ثم انه قدّم ولداً له اسمه قسما واوسمه للمصريين فاقام ايتاما ومات وكان انسان يسمى ميخائيل<sup>2</sup> حسن الفعال اقسمه لهم استقفاً وكان البطرك قد وجد على الشماس مرقس لهروبه ومخالفته لامره فكتب كتاباً الى الاب القديس جرجة فى البيرلس الذى ذكرناه انفاً يعلمه انه واجد على ولده مرقس لمخالفته اياه وهروبه منه وانه وكس جاهه عند المصريين فاجابه جرجة القديس النبى وقال له لا تؤاخذ<sup>3</sup> ابوتك ولدك لاجل مخالفته لك فانت اردت ان تقاوم امر الله لان الذى اردته له ليس هو له من عند الله بل الله قد حفظه ليأخذ كرسىك ورئاستك بعدك فلما سمع الاب البطرك هذه النبوة تعجب لانه كان يصدق بكلمة يقول له الشيخ القديس السائح فلما علم بهذا مرقس عاد الى البطرك وسجد له

1. E om. to يحفظه add. يحرسه كان به احد ممن كان يحرسه. — 2. Mss. خيال. — 3. Mss. تاخذ.

the door opened for him, and he escaped; and none of those who were guarding him awoke as he went out. When morning came, the patriarch sent for Mark, but found that he was gone. And Abba John, though he gave orders to enquire after the fugitive, could not discover him, and therefore was indignant. Then the patriarch appointed a son of his, named Cosmas, and ordained him for the people of Miṣr; but after a short time he died. And there was a person called Michael, of virtuous life; therefore Abba John consecrated him bishop for them.

And the patriarch was angry with Mark the deacon, because he had escaped and disobeyed his father's command. So he wrote a letter to the holy father George at Al-Burlus, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this narrative. The letter was written in order to let him know that the patriarch was displeased with his son Mark, on account of his disobedience to his father, and flight from him, and because Mark had lowered the patriarchal dignity in the eyes of the people of Miṣr. To this the holy George, the prophet, answered, saying : « Let not thy Paternity be angry with thy son because he resisted thee. For thou didst desire to oppose God's decree, since that which thou didst purpose for Mark was not from God. But God has reserved him, that he may receive thy see and thy primacy after thee. » When the father patriarch heard this prophecy, he marvelled; for he believed all that the holy old hermit said to him. And when Mark learnt this, he returned to the patriarch, and prostrated himself before him and

واستغفر منه<sup>1</sup> فلم يجد<sup>2</sup> عليه بعد وكان عنده من ذلك اليوم جليل القدر ولم يرجع يفارقه في كل موضع كان يمضى اليه

ثم توجه البطرك الى فسطاط مصر لاجل الخراج الذى كان على الاواسى البيعية وهذه آخر دفعة مضى اليها فعمل<sup>3</sup> مبغض<sup>4</sup> الخير الشيطان ان<sup>5</sup> يشير عليه ملاً وقال هذا الشيخ يقاومنى ويبنى البيع والتذكارات انا ايضا اجعل اجبرته ان تكون نكدة كان في ذلك الزمان وال مبغض<sup>6</sup> المسيح<sup>7</sup> رمى الشيطان في قلبه ان يهدم بعض بيع مصر لكن الرب محب البشر انتقم منه سريعاً ومات موة سوء سرعة وولى مكانه بعده انسان محب للنصارى فتقدم لهم بتنظيف بيعهم التى كان الاول قد شرع في هدمها لكنه لم يأمرهم بان يبنوا وكان البطرك بمصر قد قضى جميع حوائجه وعول على العودة الى الاسكندرية وكان عيد السيد<sup>8</sup> ثمانية<sup>9</sup> وعشرين يوماً من كيهاك<sup>10</sup> فطلب اليه الاساقفة والشعب ان يقّس لهم ويترّبهم قبل

1. F add. عند. — 2. F يحقد. — 3. E om.; F om. to ملا add. فخاصبه مبغض الخير. — 4. E باغض. — 5. E om. to وقال add. قال في نفسى الى متى. — 6. E شرير. — 7. EF om. — 8. ABDEF السيدة. — 9. Mss. احد. — 10. DF طربة.

asked his pardon. And he was no longer displeased with Mark, who from that day enjoyed high estimation with the patriarch, and was never separated from him again, but accompanied him wherever he went.

Then the patriarch betook himself to Fustât Miṣr, on account of the taxes which were imposed upon the Church property; and this was the last time that he went thither. And Satan, the hater of good, contrived that certain persons should attack Abba John. For Satan said : « This old man resists me, and builds churches and memorials; I also will cause his remuneration to be scanty. » There was at that time a governor who hated Christ; and Satan suggested to him that he should demolish some of the churches of Miṣr. But the Lord who loves mankind speedily took vengeance on that man, and he suddenly died an evil death. And after him there was appointed in his room a person who favoured the Christians. So he directed them to clean out the churches, which his predecessor had begun to pull down; but he did not bid them rebuild. Now the patriarch was at Miṣr, where he had accomplished all his duties, and was intending to return to Alexandria. But it was the feast of the Lord, the 28th. day of Kîhak. So the bishops and laity begged him to celebrate the Liturgy for them, and to communicate them, before he separated from them. And this prophecy was current among them, that they should receive the Holy Mysteries from his hand before his departure from this world.



مفاقتة لهم وكانت هذه النبوة منهم ان ياخذون السرائر المقدسة من يده قبل خروجه من هذا العالم فلما دخل البيعة نظرها بغير سقف فتنهد فقال ياربى والاهى يسوع المسيح انت قلت لبطرس رئيس التلاميذ اننى ابنى بيعتى على الصخرة ولا تقهرها ابواب الجحيم وان كان قد ظلمها بعض الملوك المنافقين يسيرا بكلمتك يارب لا تبطل الى الابد وقد طرحت الملوك الطاغية مثل ديقلاديانوس ويوليانوس ومن يشبههما ولما البيعة فهى ترتفع فى كل زمان وقضى الايمان ياسيد انا اطلب اليك وارغب ان تجددتها بالنعمة وتضع كلمن يقاومها من الملوك المنافقين وتريهم ضعفهم سريعاً وتبطل مؤامرتهم وتنعم على بسلطان طالب الحق يأمر بعمارة البيع واعادتها الى ما كانت عليه من الزينة والفخر باسراق نورك فيها وفيما هو يصلى بهذا ومثله سمع صوتاً يقول مثل داءود المغبوط اما انت فآخذك الى واريحك من تعب هذا الزمان والذى يجىء بعدك هو الذى يبنى البيع ويجددتها فلما سمع هذا بدأ بالقديس فلما اكمل الخدمة ناول الشعب من السرائر المقدسة واعطاهم السلام وعادوا الاساقفة الى كراسيهم فحينئذ توعك ابونا انبا يوحنا ولحقه ضربان فى رأسه وكانوا

And when he entered the church, he saw that it had no roof. Therefore he sighed, saying : « O my Lord and God, Jesus Christ, thou saidst to Peter, the chief of the disciples : I will build my church upon the rock, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her. And though some of the hypocritical princes have oppressed her somewhat, yet according to thy word she shall never be destroyed. Proud princes like Diocletian and Julian and such as resembled them have been repulsed, but the Church is exalted in every age, and faith is perfected. O Lord, I pray and implore that thou wilt renew the Church by grace, and overthrow all the hypocritical princes that oppose her, and show them their weakness speedily, and bring their counsels to nought. And grant me a governor, seeking the truth, who will command that the churches be rebuilt, and restored to their former condition of decency and beauty, by making thy light to rise among them. »

And while he was praying with these and similar words, he heard, like the blessed David, a voice saying : « As for thee, I will take thee to myself, and give thee rest from the troubles of this world. But he who shall come after thee is he that shall build and restore the churches. » When the patriarch heard these words, he began the liturgy; and as soon as he had finished the service, he communicated the laity of the Holy Mysteries, and gave them the salutation of peace. Afterwards the bishops returned to their dioceses. At that time our father, Abba John, was attacked by fever, and



الآباء الاساقفة يريدون بلوغه مراده وطيبة قلبه ويقولون له يا ابانا لا يضيق صدرك بسبب خراب البيعة الربّ يقيم لها من يعمرها اجود مما كانت بصلواتك وقدست ولا يصغى لقولهم لان قلبه اشتغل بما سمعه من الصوت وانه خارج من هذا العالم وكان يطلب الى الاساقفة ويقول لهم خذوني الى مدينتي الموضع الذي اختارده الربّ اى لكى اسجد للربّ على كرسيّ ابي مرقس الانجيلي قبل خروج روحي من جسدي

فسمعوا منه وحملوه الى مركب وكان معه من الاساقفة ميخائيل<sup>1</sup> اسقف مصر وجرجة اسقف منف وفي يوم انحدارهم من مصر ولي على مصر وال جديد اسمه الليث<sup>2</sup> بن الفضل وكان انساناً خيراً محباً للنصارى فلما انحدرونا<sup>3</sup> بدأ البطرك ان يخاطبنا<sup>4</sup> وهو في المركب ويقول قد حضر فكر على قلبي اقوله لكم لاجل قدسكم واظهر لكم ما خفى عنكم قد علمتم ما لقيت من التعب وصبري الى سفك الدم والان فانا منتقل الى حيث

1. Mss. خيال. — 2. Mss. الليث الدولة. — 3. Mss. انحدروا. — 4. EF يخاطبهم.

he began to suffer from pains in his head. Now the fathers and bishops hoped that he might attain his desires, and that his heart might be satisfied; and they said to him : « Our father, let not thy heart be troubled because the church is wrecked! The Lord will raise up for it one who will rebuild it, so that it shall be better than it was before, in return for thy prayers and thy holy life. » But the patriarch did not heed their words, for his heart was occupied with the voice that he had heard, telling him that he was about to depart from this world. So he prayed the bishops, saying to them : « Take me to my city, the place which the Lord chose for me, that I may worship the Lord upon the throne of my father, Mark the evangelist, before my soul leaves my body. »

And they obeyed him, and carried him to a boat. And there were with him of the bishops Michael, bishop of Miṣr, and George, bishop of Memphis. And on the day of their departure from Miṣr, a new governor, named El-Laith, son of El-Fadl, was appointed over Egypt; and he was a good man and favoured the Christians. And while we went down the river, the patriarch began to address us, as he sat in the boat, saying : « A thought has come into my mind, which I will tell you for the sake of your holy lives; and I will reveal to you what lies hid from you. You know what trouble I have encountered, and how I have endured even to the shedding of blood. But now I am about to be removed to the place where my fathers dwell. For I prayed God not to take me away suddenly without fruit, but to leave me for one year, and to grant to me that I might turn

ابائى فقد طلبت الى الله ان لا يخرجنى بغتة بغير ثمرة بل يقينى سنة واحدة ويعطينى بأن اعود اليه بكل قلبى واتوب وابكى على خطيئتى ويرينى سلطاناً عادلاً بارض مصر يحب النصارى ولم يمنعنى الله من هذا وانعم علىّ بالحياة الى سنة واخرها هذه الايام وقد بلغنى ان واليا قد ولى مصر وانه يفعل مع البيع والاخوة كل جيد وانا ماض الى الله ولا تنظرونى بعد فى الجسد لان زمانى قد اقترب هذا الذى اعلمت به من الله فاسمعوا الان اذا انا مت اسرعوا واجلسوا من يختاره الله على الكرسي

فلما سمعا الابوان الاسقفان هذا تيقنا موته فتتهدا ولم يقدرنا ان يصبرا من كثرة البكاء لقوله انكم لا تشاهدونى بعد فى الجسد فقالا له ياابانا لما اظهر الله خروجك من هذا العالم من اعلمك به انه يجلس على الكرسي بعدك فقال لهما الذى قد حرسه الله الى الآن وسر به ان يرعى شعبه واردت انا ان اجعله اسقفاً وكان تدبير الله ان يحفظه لهذه الخدمة وهو ولدى القس مرقس قال هذا وهم منحدرون فى المركب فلما وصل الى

to him with my whole heart, and repent and weep over my sins. And I prayed him to let me see a just governor in the land of Egypt, who would favour the Christians. And God did not refuse me this request, but granted me life for one year, the end of which will be in these few days. And the tidings has reached me that a governor has been appointed, and that he does all that is good to the churches and the brethren. But I am about to depart to God, and you will see me no more in the body; for my time, of which I have been warned by God, is at hand. Therefore listen now. When I am dead, hasten and place him whom God shall choose upon the throne. »

The fathers and bishops, on hearing these words, were assured of the patriarch's approaching death. Therefore they gave vent to sighs, and could not endure their grief through the abundance of their tears, on account of his saying : « You will see me no more in the body. » And they said to him : « Our father, when God revealed thy departure from this world, of whom did he make known to thee that he would sit upon the throne after thee? » Abba John replied : « It is he whom God has preserved till now, and whom he has chosen to rule his people. I indeed desired to make him a bishop; but it was God's dispensation to keep him for this ministry. It is, namely, my son, the priest Mark. » This the patriarch said, while they were descending the river on the boat. And when he arrived at the city of Alexandria, his sickness and fever grew heavy upon him. And here is another wonder which God manifested to our holy father,

مدينة الاسكندرية ثقل عليه المرض والورسكين<sup>1</sup> وهذا عجب آخر اظهره الله لايينا القديس انا يوحنا لا تجب الغفلة عنه لما كان في اليوم السادس عشر من شهر طوبة عيد القديس فيلاتاوس الشهيد وهو يوم ولد فيه هذا الاب كما ذكر الجمع وهو اليوم الذي وسم فيه بطركا وفي هذا اليوم بعينه اسلم نفسه للرب

والذي اقامه على الكرسي اربع وعشرون سنة وكانت وفاته في سنة خمس مائة وخمس عشرة للشهداء وعظم حزن الشعب الارثوذكسي في ذلك اليوم عليه ولما كملت عليه الصلوات والقداس جعل جسده المقدس مع ابائه القديسين التاودوسيين وقبل الرب نفسه الطاهرة واعد مع القديسين في كورة الاحياء والسجد للسيد يسوع المسيح ولابيه الرحوم والروح القدس السحيي الان وكل اوان والى دهر الدهور امين

<sup>2</sup> مرقس البطرك وهو من عدد الابهاء التاسع والاربعون

ثم عاد الاسقفان الى مصر وهما ابا ميخائيل<sup>3</sup> اسقفها وجرجة اسقف منف بسرعة ليقدما<sup>4</sup> امر من يرسم<sup>5</sup> بعده فلما<sup>6</sup> اجتمعوا الاساقفة والشعب الارثوذكسي بالاسكندرية وتشاوروا فيمن

1. ABDEFG والورسكين. — 2. ABDG prefix سيرة البيعة. — 3. Mss. السيرة العشرين من سيرة البيعة. — 4. F om. to بعده add. الرتبة. — 5. E يرسم. — 6. DF فلما وعدوا اجتمعوا.

Abba John, and which must not be left unnoticed. For on the 16th. day of the month of Tūbah, the feast of the holy martyr Philotheus, which was the birthday of this father, as it is generally related, and also the day on which he was ordained patriarch, — on that very day he gave up his soul to the Lord.

Abba John remained upon the throne twenty-four years, and his death took place in the year 515 of the Martyrs. So the grief of the orthodox laity was great that day on his account. And when the prayers and the liturgy had been said for him, his holy body was laid with his holy fathers, the Theodosian patriarchs. And the Lord received his pure soul; and he was numbered with the saints in the land of the living. Glory is due to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his merciful Father and to the Holy Ghost, the Giver of life, now and at all times and for ever and ever! Amen.

#### MARK III, THE FORTY-NINTH PATRIARCH. A. D. 799-819.

Then the two bishops returned in haste to Misr, namely Abba Michael, the bishop of that city, and George, bishop of Memphis, that they might



يَقْدَمُونَهُ فَقَالُوا الْإِسَاقْفَةَ نَحْنُ سَمِعْنَا أَنَّ<sup>١</sup> أَبَانَا<sup>٢</sup> أَبَا يُوْحَنَّا ذَكَرَ<sup>٣</sup> اسْمَ الْقَسِّ مَرْقَسِ أَنَّهُ الَّذِي  
يَجْلِسُ بَعْدَهُ فَقَالُوا جَمِيعُ الْكَهَنَةِ مِنْ فَمٍ وَاحِدٍ هُوَ مُسْتَحَقٌّ بِالْحَقِيقَةِ هَذَا الطَّقْسُ هَذَا  
الْقَدِيسُ الَّذِي أَرْضَى رُوحَ الْقَدَسِ وَأَرْضَى رُوحَ آيِنَا الطُّوبَانِي يُوْحَنَّا مَدَّةَ مَقَامِهِ مَعَهُ فِي  
جَمِيعِ أَيَّامِهِ ثُمَّ أَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْإِسَاقْفَةِ وَالْكَهَنَةِ كَتَبُوا كِتَابًا إِلَى أَبَا مِيخَائِيلَ<sup>٤</sup> اسْتَقْفَ مِصْرَ هَكَذَا  
يَقُولُونَ أَبَوْتُكَ تَعْلَمُ مَا جَرَى عَلَيْنَا مِنَ الْيَتَمِ فِي<sup>٥</sup> مَضَى آيِنَا الطُّوبَانِي أَبَا يُوْحَنَّا إِلَى الرَّبِّ فِي  
هَذَا الزَّمَانِ الصَّعْبِ وَتَقَلَّبَ الْمُلُوكُ وَأَبَوْتُكَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ قَطِيعَ خِرَافٍ بَغِيرِ رَاعٍ يَدْخُلُهُ الذَّنْبُ  
فِي شَتَّتِهِ وَكُلُّ مَدِينَةٍ بَغِيرِ سُوْرٍ الْعَدُوِّ يَهْلِكُهَا وَلِأَجْلِ هَذَا اجْتَمَعْنَا فِي الْبَيْعَةِ الْعَظْمَى  
بِالْأَسْكَندَرِيَّةِ وَالْأَبَاءِ<sup>٦</sup> الْإِسَاقْفَةِ فَقَدْ كَتَبْنَا بِقَوْلِ وَاحِدٍ مِنَّا طَابَ بِهِ قَلْبُنَا عَلَى الْقَسِّ مَرْقَسِ  
أَنَّ يَكُونَ لَنَا أَبًا لَأَنَّا عَلِمْنَا أَنَّ الرَّبَّ قَدْ اصْطَفَاهُ وَإِنَّ أَبَانَا الْمَاضِي قَدْ أَعْلَمَكُمْ بِهَذَا قَبْلَ  
نِيَابَتِهِ مِنْ<sup>٧</sup> أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ تَقُولُ كَمَا قَالَ الْمَغْبُوطُ دَاوُدَ عَوْضَ الْأَبَاءِ صَارُوا أَبْنَاءَ تَجْعَلُهُمْ رُؤَسَاءَ  
عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَرْضِ

١. Mss. om. — ٢. Mss. أبونا. — ٣. DF يذکر. — ٤. Mss. خيال. — ٥. F انتقال. — ٦. F مع الاساقفة. — ٧. E om. to الارض.

forward the appointment of a successor to Abba John. So when the bishops and orthodox laity assembled at Alexandria, and took counsel together as to whom they should nominate, the bishops said : « We have heard that our father, Abba John, mentioned the name of the priest Mark, and said that it was he that should sit after him. » Then all the clergy cried with one voice : « He is worthy indeed of this rank. He is the saint who has been approved by the Holy Ghost, and was approved by our blessed father John all the days that he remained with him. » Then all the bishops and clergy wrote a letter, addressed to Michael, bishop of Miṣr, saying thus :

« Thy Paternity knows the state of orphanhood into which we are fallen, through the departure of our blessed father, Abba John, to the Lord at this mournful time, and also how the princes are changed. And thy Paternity knows that a flock of sheep without a shepherd is entered and scattered by the wolf, and that every city without a wall is destroyed by the enemy. For this cause we have assembled in the Great Church of Alexandria with the fathers and bishops, and have written with one consent that our hearts approve the priest Mark, that he may be a father to us. For we know that the Lord has chosen him, and that our departed father informed you of this before his death. Therefore we say, as the blessed David said<sup>١</sup> : Instead of the fathers there came sons, whom thou shalt make rulers over all the land. »

١. Ps. xlv, 17 (Sept. xlv).

وانفذوا الكتب مع بعض الاساقفة وارشيدياقن<sup>1</sup> المدينة فلما اتصل بالقس مرقس خبر الكتب التي كتبت من اجله حزن جداً ونهض للوقت وهرب الى دير ابي مقار بوادي هبيب وكانت البرية ذلك الزمان مثل فردوس الله فيها قوم قديسون روحانيون منهم من تنبأ على هذا القديس انه مستحق لهذه الخدمة كما ذكرنا انفا فلما وقف الاب انبا ميخائيل<sup>2</sup> اسقف مصر على الكتب ذكر كلام معلمه ابا يوحنا البطرك السنيح فاحضر جميع الرؤساء بمصر ومضوا الى الوالى ودخلوا<sup>3</sup> اليه الاساقفة انبا ميخائيل<sup>4</sup> والرسل ولم يمكن<sup>5</sup> غيرهم من الدخول فقال لهم ما حاجتكم فقال له انبا ميخائيل<sup>6</sup> نحن نعلم رئاستك لاجل ان ابانا الشيخ ابا المذهب الذى كان لنا قد توفى فقال لهم فما تريدون فقالوا له الله يديم ايامك وعلى اواسى البيعة خراج كثير ومال ولاجل ذلك اردنا ان نقيم آخر عوضه يدبر البيعة والشعب فقال الوالى فما اسمه قالوا له مرقس فأمر بكتب اسمه فى الديوان ثم اذن لهم فى اقامته عوض انبا يوحنا وخرجوا من عنده

ودخلوا اليه الاساقفة F الدخول — 3. E om. — 2. Mss. خيال. — 1. BEG وارشى دياقن. — 4. Mss. خيال. — 5. F يمكن. — 6. Mss. خيال.

This letter was conveyed to its destination by some of the bishops and the archdeacon of the city. But when the priest Mark received the news of the letter, which had been written concerning him, he was much grieved, and immediately rose up and fled to the monastery of Saint Macarius in Wādī Ḥabīb. Now the desert was at that time like the Paradise of God, inhabited by holy and spiritual men, one of whom prophesied of this saint that he was worthy of this ministry, as we related above. Then when the father, Abba Michael, bishop of Miṣr, read the letter, he recalled the words of his teacher, Abba John, the deceased patriarch. Therefore Michael summoned all the chief men at Miṣr, and they went to the governor. And the bishops, that is Abba Michael and the envoys, entered into the governor's presence, for he admitted no other. And he said to them : « What is your business? » Abba Michael replied : « We make it known to thy lordship that our father, the chief and father of our religion, whom we had, is dead. » Then the governor asked : « What then do you desire? » They answered : « May God lengthen thy days! There are heavy taxes upon the property of the Church, and therefore we desire to appoint a successor to him, who may administer the affairs of the Church and the people. » Then the governor enquired : « And what is his name? » They said that it was Mark. So he ordered that Mark's name should be written in the Divan, and then gave them permission to appoint him in the place of Abba John. And they went out from his presence.



ثم بلغ الاسقف ابنا ميخائيل<sup>1</sup> هروب القس مرقس وكان ابنا ميخائيل<sup>2</sup> الاسقف متولى ما يتعلّق بالديارات فانفذ للوقت الاساقفة والكهنة وامرهم ان يقيّدوه ويخضوا به الى الاسكندرية ففعلوا به ذلك في اليوم الثاني من امشير يوم<sup>4</sup> عيد الاب لنجينوس وكان يوم احد يوم وصوله الى الاسكندرية وكان<sup>5</sup> مع الاساقفة ابنا جرجة اسقف منف واوسم في اليوم المذكور بمدينة الاسكندرية فلما جلس على الكرسي الانجيلي وجميع الشعب يشهدون له بالاستحقاق فقرأ عليهم الاكساكسيس<sup>6</sup> الذي يسمّى عند الارثوذكسيين اللوغس وذكر<sup>7</sup> فيه انه عارف باعمالهم وهذا اللوغس ممتلئ من<sup>8</sup> نعمة روح القدس مقالات الارثوذكسيين واطهر فيه سقطة المجمع الخلقدونى والرد<sup>9</sup> عليهم وبين ضلالتهم وانهم عابدون انسانا ورد على الذين انكروا آلام المسيح الالهنا الذي قبلها عنا بارادته بالجسد وهم يقولون انه خيال فلما كمل خدمة القداس كالعادة ناول<sup>10</sup> الشعب اجمع من<sup>11</sup> السرائر المقدسة بالجسد والدم

1. Mss. خيال. — 2. Mss. خيال. — 3. F امور الديارات. — 4. E om. to لنجينوس. — 5. E om. to منف. — 6. E om. to مقالات الارثوذكسيين add. نعمة. — 7. G inserts مقالات الارثوذكسيين instead of below. — 8. A om. — 9. E om. to الطاهر. — 10. Mss. prefix و. — 11. E om. to الطاهر.

After this the bishop, Abba Michael, learnt that the priest Mark had fled. Now the bishop, Abba Michael, was superintendent of all matters concerning the monasteries. So he at once despatched the bishops and clergy, and bade them fetter Mark, and conduct him to Alexandria. And this they did to him on the 2nd. day of Amshir, the feast of the Father Longinus; and Mark arrived at Alexandria on a Sunday. And among the bishops was George, bishop of Memphis.

And Mark was ordained on the aforesaid day in the city of Alexandria. When he had taken his seat upon the evangelical throne, while all the people bore witness of him that he was worthy, then he read before them the *Exegesis*, which is called among the orthodox the *Logos*, in which he declared that he was acquainted with their works. And this Logos was full by the grace of the Holy Ghost of the doctrines of the orthodox; and he demonstrated therein how the Council of Chalcedon had fallen and was rejected; and he explained their error as consisting in the worship of a man. He also refuted those who deny the sufferings of Christ our God, who endured them for our sake by his own will in the body, which according to their teaching was a phantom. And when Abba Mark had performed the service of the Liturgy according to custom, he communicated all the congregation of the Holy Mysteries of the Body and the pure Blood. And



الطاهر<sup>١</sup> فلما تمّ كل شيء، وبعد تكريزه<sup>٢</sup> بأسبوع كانت جمعة الرفاع فمضى الى الدير المقدس دير الزجاج ليتعكف فيه على الصلوات في ايام الصيام<sup>٣</sup> المقدس فلما وصل الى هناك وصلت اليه كتب ابنا ميخائيل<sup>٤</sup> اسقف مصر تشير عليه بالدخول الى مصر بعد عيد الفصح المقدس ليسلم على الوالى وكان ذلك تدييرا<sup>٥</sup> من الله لان بعض البيع كانت<sup>٦</sup> مهدومة الى ذلك الوقت والشعب<sup>٧</sup> حزين لذلك

فلما تمّ عيد الفصح دخل الاب البطرك ابنا مرقس الى فسطاط مصر ليسلم على الوالى فلما وصل مصر اعلسوا<sup>٨</sup> الاب ميخائيل<sup>٩</sup> الاسقف والشعب بوصوله فخرجوا اليه بالانجيل والصلبان والسجامر وايقوه بفرح عظيم وتهليل<sup>١٠</sup> وقراءة وكانوا يقولون نعم وحسن وصولك الينا يا مرقس ابن مرقس فمضى لسنزله ليستريح لانه كان آخر النهار وبالغداء قام البطرك والاسقف ابنا ميخائيل<sup>١١</sup> وباقي الاساقفة المجتمعين معهما ليجتمعوا بالوالى فلما وصلوا

1. F الكريبيين. — 2. EF الصوم. — 3. So ABEG: DF خيال. — 4. BDEFG بتديير. — 5. ABE كانوا. — 6. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 7. Mss. خيال. — 8. E om. to ابن مرقس. — 9. ABDEFG خيال E om. with prec. wd.

when all was accomplished, a week after his consecration came the week of carnival; and therefore he departed to the holy monastery, the Monastery of Az-Zajāj, in order that he might live in retirement there for prayer during the days of the Fast. After he arrived there, he received letters from Abba Michael, bishop of Miṣr, advising him to repair to Miṣr after the holy feast of Easter, in order to pay his respects to the governor. This was a dispensation from God, because some of the churches were in a state of ruin up to that time, and therefore the people mourned.

Accordingly, when the feast of Easter was over, the father patriarch, Abba Mark, made his entry into Fustat Miṣr, that he might salute the governor. And when he reached the city, its bishop, the father Michael, and the people were informed of their patriarch's arrival, and went out to him, carrying books of the gospel and crosses and censers, and met him with great rejoicing and shouting and chanting; and they said: « Happy and blessed is thy arrival amongst us, O Mark, son of Mark. » Then he proceeded to his lodging to rest, for it was the end of the day. And on the morrow the patriarch and the bishop Michael, and the rest of the bishops assembled with them, arose, that they might pay a visit to the governor. And when they reached the governor's house, and asked permission to see him, the governor commanded that the patriarch should enter. Then he went in and saluted the governor, who welcomed him; and afterwards

الى داره استأذنوا<sup>1</sup> عليه<sup>2</sup> فأمر<sup>3</sup> بدخوله<sup>4</sup> فلما دخل وسلم على الوالى التقاد<sup>5</sup> ودعا له حتى تعجب الوالى من حلاوة لفظه وكلامه الممتلى نعمة ومن النعمة التى هو مشتغل بها فجعل الله فى قلبه له رحمة وأمره ان يجلس وساواه فى المخاطبة وقال له قوّ منّك وشذ ازرك فأنى اقضى جميع حوائجك وكلما تريد<sup>6</sup> منى ابلغك ايتاد فقال له البطرك ان الله يرفع سلطانك ويسعد ايامك ويوفق رعيّتك ببقائك وخرج من عنده بسلام

فلما رأوا مخاطبة الوالى له واهتمامه بأمر البيع قال ابا ميخائيل<sup>7</sup> اسقف<sup>8</sup> مصر الواجب ان نهتمّ بعمارة البيع فى هذا الوقت لما ظهر من محبة الوالى للنصارى ولما كان بالغداة عاد البطرك الى الوالى فسلم عليه فبجّله واكرمه ورفعاه واجلسه وخاطبه قائلاً قد قلت لك بالامس اننى اقضى جميع حوائجك ولم تطلب منى حاجة والآن فمهما كان لك من حاجة فاذكرها فانها مقضية عندى لمحبتى لك فقال له البطرك بكلام لىن الربّ يحفظ ايامك وينزىد فى رفعتك وسلطانك تعلم ان لم<sup>8</sup> يولّوا عبدك<sup>9</sup> على مال ولا خراج بل على الانفس

1. ABDG واستأذنه. — 2. E om. — 3. F om. with foll. wd. — 4. E بدخولهم. — 5. EF om.; ABDG التقى. — 6. Mss. خيال. — 7. E om. with foll. wd., add. للاب. — 8. E ليس. — 9. E om.

the patriarch prayed for him; so that the governor admired the sweetness of Abba Mark's voice and his gracious words and the grace with which he was surrounded. So God put good will towards the patriarch into the governor's heart, and he bade Abba Mark sit beside him, and conversed with him on equal terms, and said to him : « Take courage and be of good comfort, for I will perform all thy needs, and enable thee to obtain all that thou desirest of me. » The patriarch answered : « God will exalt thy authority and make thy days prosperous, and bring thy subjects into accord with thy rule. » And he went out from his presence in peace.

When they afterwards considered the governor's discourse with Abba Mark, and the interest which the former manifested with regard to the churches, Abba Michael, bishop of Miṣr, said : « We must take measures for the rebuilding of the churches now, because the governor evidently favours the Christians. » Accordingly, on the morrow the patriarch again visited the governor, and saluted him. And the governor showed respect and honour to Abba Mark, and raised him from the ground and gave him a seat, and addressed him as follows : « I told thee yesterday {that I would perform all thy needs, but thou hast asked nothing of me. Now therefore, mention to me whatever thou requirest, and it shall be carried out by me, because I have an affection for thee. » Then the patriarch said to him with soft

والبيع وارغب الى جلالتك ان لنا هاهنا بيعاً قد هدم الظالم بعضها قبل وصولك الى مصر فهدم الربّ دياره وقطع حياته من على الارض فأن رأى رأيك فيها ان يتقدم<sup>1</sup> لنا بعمارتها لنصلّي فيها وندعى لجلالتك فالامر لك فجعل الله في قلبه عاجلاً ان يأمر بعمارتها فبنيت جميع بيع فسطاط مصر وكان فرح عظيم لجميع الارثوذكسيين وسبحوا الله على عظم رحمته التي فعلها معهم وعاد حزنهم الى فرح وكان ابونا مرقس يتהלّل بالروح ويرتل<sup>3</sup> مع داود ويقول مبارك الربّ الذي لم يرفض صلاتي ولم يبعد رحمته عني وعاد الى الاسكندرّيّة واهتمّ باجتماع<sup>4</sup> اتحاد الكرسيين اسكندرّيّة مع انطاكيّة وكتب سنوديقاً كما جرت العادة ممثلة من كل حكمة وارسلها الى كيرياقوس بطرك انطاكية يعلمه فيها بنياح الاب انبا يوحنا وكيف كان جلوسه على الكرسي الانجيلي واعلمه في رسالته

1. E om. with 2 f. wds., add. نعيمها. — 2. E om. to فرح. — 3. E om. to عنى. — 4. E om. to الخدمّة add. بطرك انطاكية كما جرت العادة فكتب. سنوديقاً الى الاب كيرياقوس ممثلة من كل حكمة.

words : « May the Lord preserve thy days, and exalt thee yet more, and increase thy power! Thou knowest that thy servant has not been made ruler over money and revenue, but over souls and churches. I request then of thy highness, — for we have here churches, some of which were demolished by the tyrant before thy arrival in Egypt; and so the Lord demolished his houses, and cut off his life from the earth. If then thy wisdom sees good to order that we rebuild our churches, so that we may pray in them and intercede for thy highness, the matter lies in thy hands ». Then God quickly put it into the governor's heart that he should give orders for the restoration of the churches; and accordingly all the churches of Fustat Misr were rebuilt. And all the orthodox rejoiced greatly, and praised God for the great mercy which he had granted to them, and their sadness was turned into joy. And our father Mark uttered praises in the spirit, and sang with David<sup>1</sup> : « Blessed is the Lord who has not rejected my prayer, nor removed his mercy from me ».

Then Abba Mark returned to Alexandria, and occupied himself with maintaining the unity of the two sees of Alexandria and Antioch. For he wrote according to custom a synodical letter, which was full of all wisdom, and sent it to Cyriacus, patriarch of Antioch, informing him therein of the decease of the father, Abba John, and relating how he himself had taken his seat upon the evangelical throne. And Abba Mark in his epistle reminded Abba

1. Ps. lxxvi. 20. Sept. lxxv.



عن جميع المخالفين واجتهاد ابائنا على صحة الامانة وبعد كل الشقاق والمخالفين والمجمع الطمث الخلقدونى لانه سبب الشك بجميع المسكونة وشيعة نسطور الذين هم اليهود الجدد وبين اتفاق الكرسيين ويدعوه ابا وشريكا في الخدمة وارسلها مع اسقفين فهمي<sup>1</sup> الخطاب بكلام اليوناني احدهما مرقس اسقف تنيس الحكيم والآخر مرقس ايضا اسقف الفرما والشماس جرجة قيّم بيعة الاسكندرية فلما وصلوا بالسنوديقا الى البطرك كيرياقوس ووقف عليها حزن<sup>2</sup> على نقلة الاب يوحنا وفرح بجلوس الاب انا مرقس والاساقفة القديسين فلما قرئ الكتب في بيعة انطاكية فامتلات نفوسهم فرحاً عند<sup>3</sup> سماعهم كلامه والحكمة المملوءة طيباً روحانياً التي تنبع من قلب انا مرقس الممتلئ روح القدس وباركوا الرب واعطوا الطوبى للاباء الذين يستحقون الجلوس على كرسي مرقس الانجيلي ثم تعجبوا من الاساقفة الواصلين من مصر بالسنوديقا لحسن منظرهم ولباسهم واتضاعهم وفصاحة منطقتهم وطيب كلامهم

1. ABDE فهمين FG فهمين. — 2. E om. to الكتب add. امر بقرانها. — 3. E om. to روح القدس.

Cyriacus of all the heretics, and of the war waged by our fathers for the true Faith, and renounced all schism and all heretics and the impure council of Chalcedon, as being the cause of doubt throughout the world, and abjured the sect of Nestorius, composed of the new Jews. And Abba Mark declared the concord of the two sees, and called Cyriacus Father and Partner in the ministry. This letter he sent by two bishops who understood how to pronounce an oration in Greek, one of them being Mark, the wise bishop of Tinnis, and the other also Mark, bishop of Al-Faramâ, besides the deacon George, superintendent of the church of Alexandria.

When they had delivered the synodical to the patriarch Cyriacus, and he had read it, he mourned over the departure of the Father John, and rejoiced at the appointment of the father, Abba Mark, and over the holy bishops. And when the letter was read in the church of Antioch, the souls of the people were filled with joy, as they heard Abba Mark's words and the wisdom, full of spiritual perfume, which flowed from his heart, full as he was of the Holy Ghost; and they blessed the Lord, and praised the fathers who were counted worthy to sit upon the throne of Mark the evangelist. Then they admired the bishops, who had brought the synodical from Egypt, for their comely faces and garments, and their humility, and the eloquence of their speech and the sweetness of their words. And the bishops stayed a few days with the patriarch, until he dismissed them with gifts worthy of the patriarchal dignity; and he sent by them a letter of salutation,





بقوة<sup>١</sup> حاييه الذى اهلك العدو وبشرنا<sup>٢</sup> بالسلامة للقريب والبعيد ومضيت<sup>٣</sup> الى الجبل حتى رددت الخروف الضال وخاصته<sup>٤</sup> من فم الذئب الردى ولم تأخذ<sup>٥</sup> بسيف ولا سوط بل برحمتك<sup>٦</sup> العظيمة ولم تمنع بعودته لكن دعوت القوات السمائية والطغمت الملائكية العلوية لكى يفرحوا معك اذ قلت لهم فى انجيلك افرحوا معى لوجودى خروفى الضال والآن يارب اسع صلاة عبدك وليدخل دعائى امامك بسبب هذه الخراف الضالة ولتجتمع اعضاء بيعتك ليكونوا قطيعا واحدا وراعيا واحدا كالقول الصادق فى الانجيل فسمع الرب دعاءه بسرعة فحرك قلوب رؤساء تلك الهاريسيس وكان مقدمهم اسمه ابراهيم وابوه الجسدانى كان اسقفا لهم وهو<sup>٨</sup> علمهما ان<sup>٩</sup> يعرفا<sup>١٠</sup> الضلالة التى كانوا فيها وتركوا ينبوع ماء الحياة من الكرسي الانجيلي وحفروا لنفوسهم بسر السقطة كما قال ارميا النبى فقاما مسرعين وحضرا عند الاب البطرك ابا مرقس الجديد وطرحا نفسيهما بين يديه وسجدا له قائلين مبارك

- 1. F om. to بالسلامة. — 2. AD وبشر. — 3. ABDG ومضيت. — 4. ABDG رد. — 5. ABDG وخصه. — 6. ABDG وياخذ. — 7. ABDG برحمتك. — 8. AD وهو علمهم. — 9. Mss. om. — 10. A يعرفوا BHEG om. E om. to مسرعين F علمهم G وهو الذى علمهم.

Paul says<sup>1</sup> : That he may gather the nations to himself in peace by the power of his Cross, which destroyed the enemy, and announced peace to us, both those that are near and those that are afar off. Who also didst go to the mountain, until thou hadst brought back the sheep that was lost<sup>2</sup>, and saved him from the mouth of the cruel wolf, rescuing him not by sword nor scourge, but by thy great mercy. And thou wast not content with his return, but didst summon the heavenly hosts and the sublime orders of the angels to rejoice with thee, saying to them in thy gospel<sup>3</sup> : Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost. Now, O Lord, hear the prayer of thy servant, and let my prayer enter before thee on behalf of these lost sheep; and let the members of thy Church be gathered together, that they may be one fold and one Shepherd according to the true words of the gospel<sup>4</sup>. So the Lord heard his prayer speedily, and moved the hearts of the chiefs of that sect. Now their leader was a man named Abraham, whose father in the flesh was a bishop of theirs. And the patriarch taught those two to recognise the error in which the Barsanuphians were living, having left the fount of the water of life flowing from the evangelical see, and dug for themselves a well of error, as the prophet Jeremias says<sup>5</sup>. So they rose up quickly, and visited the patriarch, Abba Mark the Younger, and cast

1. Eph. i, 10; ii, 16, 17; Col. i, 20. — 2. S. Matth., xviii, 12. — 3. S. Luke, xv, 6. — 4. S. John, x, 16. — 5. Jer., ii, 13.



الله الذى انار علينا بتعاليم قدسك<sup>1</sup> التى وصلت الى مسامعنا وردنا من الضلالة التى غشيت علينا طول هذه المدة نحن الآن محسوبان من خرافك مثل اولادك الذين لكروستك الانجيلي الذى للقديس ماري مرقس فلما رأى ابونا البطرك رفضهما ما كانا عليه وعودتهما الى القطيع الروحاني فرح جدًا وهجد الله لاجل<sup>2</sup> ذلك وقال التسيح الذى ينبغي كما قال داؤود المسبح لله في المزمور اذا ردّ الرب سبي شعبه صرنا كالمتعزين فليفرح<sup>3</sup> يعقوب وليتهل<sup>4</sup> اسرائيل

ومن نعمة المضيئة في ايونا القديس البطرك اراد ان يجرب ويكشف امانة الرجلين ان<sup>5</sup> كانا<sup>6</sup> متضعين<sup>7</sup> كما ينبغي لمن يريد ان يعود الى المسيح ام هما لابسان الكبرياء لاجل الرئاسة التى كانا فيها حينئذ قال لهما بتواضع ورحمة اعلمنا ما قاله الذى<sup>8</sup> فيه ينبوع الرحمة لسان العطر بولس في بعض<sup>9</sup> رسائله<sup>10</sup> ما نصيب المؤمن مع غير المؤمن وما مسرة المسيح

1. B pref. نور. — 2. E om. to البطرك. — 3. ABG فليفرح DF فليفرح. — 4. Mss. ريهل. — 5. BG الذى E om. to add. قال. — 6. F كانت. — 7. DF om. — 8. E om. to رسائله add. بولس الرسول. — 9. ABG om. — 10. F add. يقر.

themselves down prostrate before him, saying : « Blessed is God, who has enlightened us by the teachings of thy Holiness, which have come to our ears, and converted us from the error which has kept us in darkness during this long period of time. Now we shall be reckoned among thy sheep, as children of thy evangelical see, which is the see of Saint Mark ». Then when our father, the patriarch, saw that they had abandoned their former tenets, and had returned to the spiritual flock, he rejoiced greatly and glorified God for that conversion, and uttered the praises that were fitting in the words of David, where he praises God in the Psalm<sup>1</sup> : « When the Lord turned again the captivity of his people, we became as those that are consoled. Let Jacob rejoice, and Israel sing praises ! »

And through the grace of God, shining forth in our holy father, the patriarch, he desired to prove and examine the faith of the two men, whether they were humble as befits those that wish to return to Christ, or were clothed with pride on account of the high offices which they had occupied. Then he said to them with humility and kindness : « Hear what was said by him in whom was the fount of mercy, Paul, the sweet-tongued, in one of his epistles<sup>2</sup> : What portion has the believer with the unbeliever, and what pleasure has Christ in Satan? Therefore now think not that you two will remain in this office which you hold, and which you received from

1. Ps. cxxvi, 1 : xiv, 7 : lxx, 7 (Sept. cxxv, xiii, lxx). — 2. II Cor., vi, 14, 15.

مع<sup>١</sup> الشيطان وانتما الآن فلا تظننا انكما تقيمان في هذا الطقس الذي انتما فيه مما اخذتما من هذه الملة المخالفة بغير<sup>٢</sup> وسم حسب ما في القوانين ولم تحل عليكما روح القدس الهابطة<sup>٣</sup> على الالباء الاساقفة عند قراءة الصلاة القانونية التي قررها الالباء الحواريون عليهم فلما سمعا ذلك منه اجابا بالاتضاع لما صار اليهما من النعمة بدعاء الاب القديس فقالا له يا ابانا القديس ومن الآن ما نستحق ان نكون في طقس ولا نبقي فيه لكننا اتينا اليك لنكون تحت ظل صلواتك ولكننا نطلب منك شيئاً واحداً ان تسال الرب في ان يغفر لنا اثم ما كنا عليه من الضلالة والتفريط وقالوا هذا بقوة ايمان واعتراف والتمسا منه دواء وقرطاساً وهما جالسان بين يديه وكتبوا بخطهما انهما يحرمان<sup>٤</sup> نفسيهما انهما لا يلتزمان منه طقس اسقفية ولا كهنوت<sup>٥</sup> في موضع من المواضع فلما نظر قوة امانتهما ورجوعهما الى الامانة الارثوذكسية<sup>٦</sup> التي لابائنا القديسين اللابسين النور بارك عليهما من عمق قلبه قائلاً<sup>٧</sup>

1. BEG من. — 2. F om. to القوانين add. المقدسة. — 3. E om. to ذهبت من الكهنوت ABDG. — 4. E om. to انهما. — 5. ABDG الكهنوت. — 6. E om. to النور add. المستقيمة. — 7. E om. to ارسهما add. ثم بعد ذلك لما تحقق نيتهما اخذهما وارسهما add.

your heretical sect, without ordination according to the canons. For the Holy Ghost did not come down upon you, as he descends upon bishops at the reading of the canonical prayers, established for them by the apostles. » When the two men heard these words of the patriarch, they replied with humility, through the grace which had come to them by the prayers of the holy father, and said to him : « Our holy father, henceforth we are not worthy to be in office nor to remain in it. But we came to thee that we might be under the shadow of thy prayers. Only there is one thing that we beg of thee, that thou wilt pray the Lord to forgive us the offence of our former error and negligence. » This they said in the power of faith and confession. And they requested him to give them ink and paper, as they sat before him; and they wrote in their own handwriting a declaration that they would never, under pain of anathema, solicit of him a bishopric or any clerical office in any place whatsoever. So when he saw how strong their faith was, and that they had returned to the orthodox belief of our holy fathers, who were clothed with light, he blessed them from the depths of his heart, saying like the apostle Paul<sup>1</sup> : « May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace, that you may abound in the right faith by the

1. Rom., xv, 13.

كما قال بولس الرسول اله الرجاء يسلوكم من كل فرح وسلامة لتكثروا في الايمان المستقيم بقوة الروح القدس وكعادة المحبة واظهار الخير في كل وقت والمجازاة عليه اظهر لهما سرعة ثم<sup>1</sup> امر ان يؤخذ الرجلان جرجة وولده ابراهيم وبعد ان تحقق نيتهما اوسمهما اسقفين وقرأ عليهما الصلاة القانونية والبسهما ثياب الاسقفية وكان ذلك بيعة الشهيد ماري مينا بمريوط في يوم عيد الجليل وهو الخامس عشر من هاتور وجميع<sup>2</sup> الشعب الارثوذكسي مجتمع لعيد الشهيد وكان الجمع قياما على اطراف اصابع ارجلهم ينظرون ما كان ويمجدون الرب الصانع العجائب على يد هذا القديس قائلين المجد لك يا محب البشر الذي انقذ نفسى هذين من عبودية الشيطان المضل ثم لما اكمل العيد المقدس عاد الى مدينة الاسكندرية وجميع<sup>3</sup> الشعب بفرح عظيم ويمدحون الاب البطرك لانه قدم للرب هذا القربان واخذ هذين الاسقفين اليه ولازمهما<sup>4</sup> وبعد قليل تبيح اسقفان من جملة الاساقفة بكورة مصر احدهما بقيرة اسقف طنبدان<sup>5</sup> ومينا اسقف اتريب فقسم ابراهيم على اتريب

1. DF om. to ابراهيم. — 2. E om. to المضل add. يمجدا. — 3. E om. to ولازمهما add. راحتهما هاذين الاسقفين. — 4. F om. — 5. Mss. طلبا.

power of the Holy Ghost! » And according to the custom of charity, and the manifestation of good at all times, and the rewarding of it, God soon declared himself to those two men.

Then Abba Mark commanded that those two men, George and his son Abraham, should be received. And after the patriarch had ascertained their intentions, he ordained them bishops, and read the canonical prayers over them, and clothed them with the episcopal vestments in the church of the martyr, Saint Mennas, at Maryût, on the day of his glorious feast, which is the 15th. of Hatûr, when all the orthodox people were assembled to keep the martyr's festival. And the congregation stood upon tiptoe, that they might see what was taking place. And they glorified God, who performed wonders by the hand of this holy man, saying : « Glory be to thee, O Lover of mankind, who hast saved the souls of these two men from the service of Satan, the seducer. » Then when the patriarch had finished the celebration of the holy feast, he returned to the city of Alexandria, accompanied by all the people with great rejoicing; for they praised him because he had presented this offering to the Lord. And he took those two bishops to himself, and attached them to his person. But after a little while two bishops died among those in the land of Egypt, one of them being Apacyrus, bishop of Tunbudha, and the other, Mennas, bishop of Atrib. Then the patriarch ap-



وجرجة اباہ علی طنبا وصار هذان الاسقفان مصطفين عنده الى يوم نياحتهما والمجد<sup>1</sup>  
للسيد يسوع المسيح الذي يفرح بكلمن يعود الى<sup>2</sup> الحياة<sup>3</sup>.

فلما نظر البرسنوفيون المقدم ذكرهم الذين كانوا بكورة مصر ان رؤساءهم قد عادوا  
ارثدكسين ولم يبق لهم اساس كتبوا الى ابا مرقس يسألونه ان يسخر اليهم ليكرز بيهم  
فلما وقف على الكتب فرح فرحا عظيما وترك جميع اشغاله ومضى مسرعا الى مصر وكرز  
لهم البيع والديارات وجعل لهم القداسات بالناموس<sup>4</sup> البيعي واعطاهم السرائر المقدسة جسدا  
ودم<sup>5</sup> السيد يسوع المسيح الالهنا وكان بفسطاط مصر ففرح عظيم ومسرّة روحانيّة وكان  
السيد يسوع المسيح يفعل مع ايننا القديس مرقس كلما يسأله فيه وكانت كلّ الجموع  
تجتمع اليه لتسمع كلامه وتعاليمه العذبة ومن بعد ايام قليل<sup>6</sup> نظر تلك البيعة التي كرّسها<sup>7</sup>  
للبرسنوفيين اصحاب تلك المقالة اذا دخل اليها ليقّس لا تسع الجموع فدعا بالصنّاع  
وانفق عليها من عنده حتّى بنيت بناء حسنا وسمّيت بيعة البطرک الى يومنا هذا

1. E om. to الحياة. — 2. F اليد. — 3. F om. — 4. F كالتانين. — 5. E om. to  
وكان فرح عظيم بمصر وكانت بيعة البرسنوفيين المذكورين صغيرة لا تسع الشعب add. حسنا  
كرزها BDFG. — 6. Mss. قلائل. — 7. فانفق عليها من عنده وربناها

pointed Abraham to Atrīb and George, his father, to Tunbudha; and these two bishops became his elect ones to the day of their death. Glory be to the Lord Jesus Christ, who rejoices over those that return to life!

The Barsanuphians of Egypt, mentioned above, when they saw that their chiefs had returned to orthodoxy, and that no foundation remained for their community, wrote to Abba Mark, praying him to visit them and consecrate their churches. And when he read the letters, he rejoiced exceedingly, and left all his work, and went in haste to Miṣr, and consecrated their churches and monasteries for them, and established liturgies for them according to the ecclesiastical rule, and gave them the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God. So there was at Fustāt Miṣr great joy and spiritual gladness.

And the Lord Jesus Christ did for our holy father Mark all that he asked of him. And all the congregations assembled to hear his discourse and his salutary doctrines. Thus after a few days he found that the church which he had consecrated for the Barsanuphians, the followers of that doctrine, would not contain the congregation, when he went thither to celebrate the liturgy. Therefore he called the workmen, and spent money upon it from his own resources, so that it was rebuilt and became a handsome edifice. For this reason it is called the patriarch's church to the present day.

وكانت<sup>١</sup> هذه النعمة العجيبة تنمو في أيامه فلم يصبر العدو عند نظره السلامة والامور العلوية والوصايا التي ثبتها<sup>٢</sup> في قلوب المؤمنين وتخلص<sup>٣</sup> السبي الذي عاد<sup>٤</sup> بصلواته فاطلق سهاما في بيعة المشرق وعمل في مطران من مطارنة كيرياقوس البطرك بانطاكية يستسي ابراهيم حتى انه قال كلاما معوجا في سرائر المسيح ما<sup>٥</sup> لا اردنا ذكره لولا<sup>٦</sup> الضرورة لكي لا ينجس<sup>٧</sup> مسامع المؤمنين الاصفياء سماعه<sup>٨</sup> لاني اعلم انكم مشتملون<sup>٩</sup> بالنعمة<sup>١٠</sup> في كل حين بنور البشر<sup>١١</sup> ماري مرقس لان<sup>١٢</sup> بصلوات ايننا البشير الانجيلي لا تخلية الى الابد من النعمة وهذه الضلالة التي ضل فيها ذلك المطران بتجديفه على السرائر<sup>١٣</sup> حينئذ لما سمع ابونا مرقس حزن جدا وقال<sup>١٤</sup> ما الذي نربح اذا كنا الزمان كله باتحاد واحد في الامانة فتظهر هذه المقالة الغريبة في بيعة انطاكية وهذا الوجع هو لي من اجل اتحاد الابهاء الارثوذكسين الذي نحن وهم متمسكون به ولاسيما لقول بولس اذا تألم عضو واحد من

1. E om. to بصلواته add. فلما نظر العدو الى هذا الفعل الحسن. — 2. B سببها. — 3. D سببها. — 4. F om. with f. wd. add. بخاضة F وبخاض. — 5. E om. to خلاصه من يد الشيطان. — 6. F om. with f. wd. — 7. F فلما add. حينئذ لما. — 8. F سماعه. — 9. F بمشتملين. — 10. F add. الالهية. — 11. BDFG البشير. — 12. DF om. to النعمة. — 13. DF add. المقدمة. — 14. E om. to والاتحاد معهم.

And this wonderful grace increased in his days. But the Enemy would not be patient, when he saw this prosperity and these sublime events, and how the patriarch established the divine precepts in the hearts of the faithful, and the liberation of the captives who returned through his prayers. Therefore Satan discharged his arrows against the Church of the east. For he influenced one of the metropolitans of Cyriacus, patriarch of Antioch, named Abraham, so that he spoke perverse words of the mysteries of Christ, such as we should have no desire to record, were it not necessary, lest the hearing them should defile the ears of the faithful and pure. For I know that you are surrounded by grace at all times through that Light of men, Saint Mark; since by the prayers of our father the evangelist there will never be a lack of grace. The error into which that metropolitan strayed was by blaspheming against the mysteries. Then when our father Mark heard of it, he was greatly grieved and said : « What should we gain if we were at all times of one accord in the faith, when this strange doctrine appears in the Church of Antioch? This grief of mine is on account of the union of the orthodox fathers, to which we and they cleave; and above all on account of Paul's words<sup>1</sup> : « If one member of the body suffers, all the

1. I Cor., xii, 26.

الجسد فقد تألمت<sup>1</sup> جميع الاعضاء<sup>2</sup> وإذا تمجد عضو واحد من الجسد قد تمجد معه جميع الجسد قال هذا القديس مرقس البطرك وهو داع الى الرب<sup>3</sup> ولاجل عظم اهتمامه بالامانة والاتحاد معهم كتب الى الاب البطرك كيرياقوس بما<sup>4</sup> هذه نسخته اتصل بنا ما قد بذره الشيطان في بيعتكم المقدسة من ضلال ابراهيم فحزنت بيعتنا وتجعنا<sup>5</sup> لذلك لاننا لم نسمع قبل هذه الايام بشيء غريب من اتحادنا بالامانة الارثوذكسية وما جمعه الرب وجعل جميعنا بالنور الحقيقي وصرنا الان مثل من قد سبي سبيًا وتقدمه كرامة للملك وفيما هو مهتم بهذا قام عليه شعب غريب وملك السبي لكنى اومن من ذلك الملك الذي نحن متدرون بسلاحه لقتال اعدائه ان يخزي اعداءه سريعًا وينقذ السبي من ايديهم ومن اجل ذلك ايها الاب المبارك لا تغفل عن طلب الضال واغذه بالطعام الذي يجب ان يغذى به الاعلاء الذي هو كلام الله كما كتب لنا المعلم بولس يقول<sup>6</sup> ان الضعفاء في الامانة اقبلوهم

ان يصلح. — 3. F add. — 2. DF om. — 1. تألم جميعا DF تألم الجسد وجميع الاعضاء BG. — 4. E om. to add. نسخته. — 5. E om. to add. الحقيقة. — 6. E om. to add. للعدو. — اتحادنا بالامانة الارثوذكسية.

members suffer; and if one member of the body is glorified, the whole body rejoices with it. » This the holy Mark, the patriarch, said, while he was praying to the Lord. And because he cared greatly for the Faith and for union with the Antiochenes, he wrote to the Father Patriarch Cyriacus a letter of which here is a copy : « A report has reached us of the seed that Satan has sown in your holy Church in the error of Abraham. Therefore our Church mourned; and we assembled together on that account, because we never heard before these days of anything out of harmony with our union in the orthodox Faith, and with that which the Lord joined together, when he brought us all into the true light. And now we have become like those who have taken a prisoner, and offered him as a gift to the king; but while he is making provision for him, he is attacked by a strange nation, which takes possession of the captive. But I trust in that king, with whose weapons we are armed to fight his enemies, that he will speedily put his enemies to shame, and deliver the captive from their hands. Therefore, O blessed father, neglect not to seek out the erring one, and feed him with the food with which the sick ought to be fed, namely the word of God. As the teacher Paul wrote to us, saying<sup>1</sup> : Receive the weak in the faith, and help them, not with disputations on opinions, but by the exercise of the art

1. Rom., xiv, 1.



وايتدوهم ليس بمحاورة فكر لكن بصنعة الطب طب الاجساد الذى يعرف العلة فيها بمعالجة الاعلاء تعافوا وثقّوا وانت الآن طبيب الانفس وبقدرة تعليم سيّدنا المسيح تبطل<sup>1</sup> الداء الذى للعدوّ والسلامة لابينا القديس المبارك امين

فلما وصلت الكتب الى بطرك انطاكية كرياقوس تعجب من اهتمام هذا القديس واهتم  
بكل جهده في اعادة ذلك الظالم فلم يقدر عليه وكان الشيطان يميل قلبه حتى ان جماعة  
من معه من الاساقفة باعمال<sup>2</sup> انطاكية مالوا اليه وضلوا<sup>3</sup> معه في هذه الضلالة وسلبوهم  
اهل المشرق الابراهيميين هؤلاء<sup>4</sup> افترقوا من البيعة والسجع الارثوذكسي

فلما عاد ابونا انبا مرقس الى الاسكندرية بعد بناء البيعة المعروفة به فرحوا الارثوذكسيون وامتثلوا<sup>5</sup> جميعهم حسدا الهيئا فاما الرئيس السحب للذ سليمان وجماعته معه فحضروا<sup>6</sup> عند ابينا وسالوا سؤالاً<sup>7</sup> كثيرا قائلين له ان ارض مصر جميعها امتلات مسرة ببناء البيع وخاضعة هذه

1. Mss. تبط. — 2. E om. to اليد. — 3. E ظلموا. — 4. E om. to الارثوذكسى. — 5. E om. to بعد. — 6. E وحضروا. — 7. E om. to وحمدة اعانهم add. في بيعة السيد المخلص الذي بالامكندرية ان يوسعها لاجل كونها في وسط المدينة.

of healing. Human bodies are cured by those who understand their sickness. Through proper treatment of the sick, they are restored to health and grow strong. Thou art now a physician of souls, and, by the power of the doctrine of our Lord Christ, thou wilt remove the disease implanted by the enemy. Salutation to our holy and blessed Father! Amen. »

When this letter reached Cyriacus, patriarch of Antioch, he admired the solicitude shown by this holy man, and strove with all his might to bring back that sinner, but had no power over him. For Satan continued to incline Abraham's heart; and finally a number of his brother bishops in the regions of Antioch joined him, and went astray with him in this error. Then the people of the east called them Abrahamites; and they separated themselves from the Church and the orthodox Synod.

When our father Mark returned to Alexandria, after the building of the church known by his name, the orthodox rejoiced and were all filled with divine emulation. And Solomon, the pious magistrate, and a band of Christians with him, visited our father, and prayed him earnestly, saying to him : « The whole land of Egypt is filled with joy through the building of the churches, especially that church which thou hast built at Misr. And thou, our father, knowest that during the lifetime of our father, Abba John, we begged him to rebuild the church of the Lord and Saviour, and to enlarge it and increase it, because it stands in the midst of the city. But

البيعة التي بنيتها بمصر وانت تعلم يا ابانا انه من حياة ايننا ابنا يوحنا سألنا في بناء بيعة السيد المخلص ان يوسعها ويزيد فيها لاجل كونها في وسط المدينة فلم يتفق هذا الامر وبقيت الى الان ونحن نسلك ان تورينا هذا الفرح في ايامك فاجاب الراعى الصالح وقال لهم انتم تعلمون حسد هؤلاء السجاورين لكم ومتى بدأنا بعمل ما ذكرتموه فهم يرفعون فينا للسلطان ويشكونا فتقع في تجربة مثل ما قد<sup>1</sup> خبرنا دفعات عليه<sup>2</sup> انا وابي يوحنا عند بناء بيعة ميخائيل الملاك بيعة التوبة وكلما كلمهم<sup>3</sup> سألوا وزادوا في السؤال قائلين له صلواتك المقدسات يكن لنا حصنا حتى يكمل هذا التذكار فلما نظر قوة ايمانهم وحسوة امانتهم اجاب<sup>4</sup> سؤالهم واحضر جماعة من الصناع والمهندسين ووضع الاساس على اسم السيد يسوع المسيح وكانت هذه البيعة في وسط المدينة وكان يقوم وقت الصلاة ووقت صياح الديك ليشهد البناء مثل احد المهندسين ويدبره لان الرب قد انعم عليه بكل حكمة وكان يحسب تعب راحة لاجل محبته وشهوته للصالحات وبناء البيع وكلما بنى البيعة

1. F om. to عليه add. اتفق لهم معنا. — 2. Mss. عليهم. — 3. ABDG add. كلما. — 4. E اجاب. — 5. E om. to البيعة add. وكرزت البيعة. في السابع عشر من ثورت.

the work was not done, and the church has remained as it was till now. Therefore we ask thee to let us see this joy in thy days. » But the good shepherd answered and said to them : « You know the jealousy of these neighbours of yours. When we begin to do the work that you have mentioned, they will present petitions to the governor against us, and complain of us; and so we shall fall into trials such as we endured many times from them, I and my father John, during the building of the church of Michael the Angel, also called the church of Repentance. » Nevertheless as often as he spoke to them thus, they begged him again and urged him still more, saying : « Thy holy prayers will be a strong wall for us, so that this monument may be completed ». And when he saw the strength and ardour of their faith, he consented to their request.

Then Abba Mark gathered together a body of workmen and architects. And he laid the foundation in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this church stood in the midst of the city. So the patriarch used to rise at the time of prayer and at cockerow, that he might witness and superintend the progress of the building, as if he were one of the architects; for the Lord had granted him all wisdom. And Abba Mark counted his labour rest, because he loved good works and the building of churches. And while he went on building the aforesaid church, through the grace of the Lord which

المذكورة بنعمة الرب الحالة فيه زيتنها بكل زينة الى ان صارت كمدا للمخالفين  
الخلقدونيين وفرحة وبهجة للمؤمنين الارثوذكسيين ولما كان في اليوم السابع عشر من توت  
يوم عيد الصليب اجتمع الاساقفة الذين في كورة الاسكندرية واساقفة اخر من السجاورين  
بمصر وكثرت البيعة على اسم السيد يسوع المسيح فما اعظم ذلك الفرح الذي كان في  
ذلك اليوم بتسبيح وبركات وتسجيد كلغسات السماويين في العلاء وتصدق ذلك اليوم على  
الفقراء واهل الحاجة باشيء كثير فما اكثر اعمال الاب الجليل مرقس البطرك التي لا  
يحصى لها عدد ولا يقدر لسانى الناقص ان ينطق بها

وفي تلك الايام اقام الاب قيما على الخدمة البطركية وكان ذلك القيم مملوا حسدا  
وسوا لكمل احد وخاصة لرجل كاتب لاينا ابنا مرقس وكان يذكر عنه كل قبيح لكى  
يطرد ابونا البطرك ويسلم له البيعة وحدد فيردعه ابونا يسعه ان يتكلم بهذا الكلام فلم  
يقبل الدواء من الطيب ولما كان يوم من الايام وهو اليوم السادس عشر من طوبة اراد

descended upon him, he adorned it with all kinds of decoration, until it became a sadness to the Chalcedonian heretics, and a joy and delight to the faithful orthodox.

And on the 17th. day of Tût, the feast of the Cross, the bishops who were in the district of Alexandria, with other neighbouring bishops of Egypt, assembled together; and the church was consecrated in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. How great was the joy on that day, with the singing of hymns and pronouncing of blessings and glorifying of God, as the heavenly orders do in the highest! And the patriarch gave large alms on that day to the poor and needy. How many were the works of the glorious father, Mark the patriarch! For they cannot be counted, nor can my feeble tongue describe them.

In those days the father appointed a superintendent over the patriarchal service. But that superintendent was full of jealousy and malice against all men, and especially against a secretary of our father Abba Mark, whom he accused of all wickedness, in order that our father, the patriarch, might cast out that secretary, and commit the care of the church to the superintendent by himself alone. And although our father restrained him, and forbid him to say such words, yet he would not receive the medicine from the physician. So on a certain day, namely the 16th. day of Tûbah, when the holy father was about to commemorate the death of the father John, who went to his rest on that day, that wicked man appeared, and began to calumniate the brother and secretary, as Joseph's brethren did to him. Then the



الاب القديس ان يتم يوم نياح الاب يوحنا الذي توفي فيه حضر ذلك الشرير وبدأ ان يتكلم في الاخ الكاتب مثل اخوة يوسف معه فقال البطرك له الان قد عسر داؤك الآن قد جربناك في كل شيء لخلاص نفسك وانت لا تكف بل تزيد والآن فظلمك يكون على هامتك كما قال النبي في المزمور وكان هناك قوّة فيها صورة السيّدة الجلييلة مريم والسيد المسيح في حضنها منصوبة في موضع جلوس البطرك فنظر اليها ذلك القويم ومدّ اصبعه من يده اليميناء وقال ان كنت وقوتها قلت كذبا فيما ذكرته فهذه الصورة تنتقم مني فاسمعوا! الآن ما نزل على هذا الشقي من الامر السر من فم ذلك النبي القديس الذي قوله بسلطان قال له قولاً مسلوهاً خوفاً مثل قول دانيال النبي للشيخين المخالفين شهود سوسنة العفيفة قائلاً يا من عتق في ايامه السوء ملاك الرب يضربك ويقطعك نصفين مثل<sup>2</sup> ما ضرب الذي شهد على سوسنة بالزور في تلك الساعة عند تمام الكلام الخارج من فيه وقع ذلك الشقي على جنبه الايمن تحت<sup>3</sup> رجله وهو جانب يده اليميناء التي مدّها

1. E om. to العفيفة عادلاً add. فقال له الاب القديس. — 2. E om. to بالزور. — 3. E om. to بالسوء.

patriarch said to him : « Now is thy malady dangerous. Now we have tried upon thee every means of saving thy soul; but instead of checking thyself thou growest worse. Therefore now let thine injustice rest upon thine own head, as the prophet says in the psalm<sup>1</sup> ». And there was near them a picture, in which the glorious Lady Mary was painted with the Lord Christ in her lap; and it was set up in the chamber where the patriarch sat. So that superintendent looked upon it, and, stretching out a finger of his right hand, he said : « By her power, if I have told a lie in that which I have related, may this picture take vengeance upon me! » Now hear the bitter fate that befell this wretch according to the denunciation of that holy prophet, who spoke with authority. For he uttered against him words full of terror, like the words of Daniel<sup>2</sup> the prophet to the two old men who contradicted the testimony of the chaste Susanna, saying : « O thou that art grown old in wickedness, the angel of the Lord shall strike thee and cut thee in two, as he did to those who bore false witness against Susanna ». And at that moment, when the words which came from his mouth were ended, that wretched man fell at the patriarch's feet upon his right side, that being the side of his right hand, which he had stretched out towards the picture with evil intent; and he was struck with paralysis of one side, which lasted to the day of

1. Ps. vii, 17. — 2. Dan., xiii, 52, 55, 59 (Greek).

في الصورة بالسوء وانفلج الى يوم وفاته فلما نظروا الاعجوبة والامر الهائل خافوا جميعهم  
من كلامه الذي كان مثل كلام الانبياء

والآن يا ساداتي الابهاء واولاد الارثوذكسيين قد بدأت وذكرت لكم اني لا اقدر ان اتمى  
ذكر افعال ابائي لعظمها لانني كالسرات خلف الحتادين وليس لي قلب مضى لانني  
اراق في ظلمة ذنوبي وقد سمعنا من قوم ثقات صادقين كانوا يخدمون اباينا القديسين في  
الزمان ما نحن ذاكرون بعضه واذكر ايضا ما ظهر من هذا الاب ابنا مرقس البطرك  
كي تستعجبوا وتمجدوا الله من اجل الرأفة والرحمة التي يعملها مع اصفياه كما قال بولس  
من الذين يحبون الله يصنع معهم كل عمل جيد كان في زمان هذا القديس جبراد عظيم  
له في اعمال البحيرة والاسكندرية فاكل جميع اشجار الارض والكروم كما هو مكتوب  
في المزمور انه قال فجاء جبراد وجندب فاكل جميع عشب الارض فيحزن الاب عند<sup>6</sup>

1. E om. to add. عمل جيد. — 2. F add. قد ظهر. — 3. F om. —  
4. BDE فمار F ثمرات. — 5. E om. to عشب الارض. — 6. E om. to بذلك F بما علم بذلك.

his death. Therefore, when men saw this miracle and this terrible occurrence, they all feared the patriarch's words, which were like the words of the prophets.

- Now my lords and fathers, and ye children of the orthodox, I told you at the beginning that I could never give a perfect account of the deeds of my fathers, as the greatness of those deeds deserves; for I am like the gleaner after the reapers. And I have no illuminating wit, because I am plunged in the darkness of my sins. Yet from reliable and truthful persons, who were constantly ministering to our holy fathers, we have heard the narratives which we are relating in part. I will therefore give a further description of that which was manifested by this father, the patriarch Abba Mark, that you may marvel and glorify God for the mercy and compassion which he shows to his elect. As Paul says<sup>1</sup>: « For those that love God he does every excellent work ».

There was in the time of this saint a great plague of locusts, which appeared in the province of Al-Buhairah and near Alexandria, and devoured all the fruits of the earth and of the vineyards. As it is written in the Psalm<sup>2</sup>: « He spoke, and locusts and grasshoppers came, and ate up all the green things on the earth ». So the father was sad when he was informed of this calamity. And he bade the orthodox people proceed forth with incense

1. I Cor., ii, 9. — 2. Ps. cv, 34, 35 (Sept. civ).



معرفة بذلك وأمر الشعب الارثوذكسى ان<sup>1</sup> يخرجوا بالبخور والصلبان والاناجيل ويسألوا الله الرحوم ان يزيل عنهم الغضب الحال بهم وخرج معهم الاب وهو يسأل الله فى قلبه بدموع غزيرة وخرجوا خارج المدينة موضع الجراد كما قال لهم ونظروا الجراد وقد طار متعاليا الى الجوّ وكان امرا عظيما حتى غطا الجوّ وكانت دموع الشعب تختلط مع دعائهم والاب<sup>2</sup> البطرك يقول يا ربّ يا ربّ الرأفة والرحمة لا تهلكنا لاجل خطايانا وذنوبنا ولكن تجاوز عن سئاتنا لاجل رحمتك وكما سمعت صراخ اهل نينوى اسمع يا ربّ تضرّعنا واقبل دعائنا يا ربّ وكما سمعت دعاء موسى فى ذلك الزمان وازلت الجراد عن ارض مصر اسمع اليوم دعائنا وانظر دموع شعبك وتهددهم من عمق قلوبهم وأزل عنا هذا الغضب ولولا انا نكره<sup>3</sup> التطويل لشرحنا كلما قالوه من الدعاء والتضرّع بالاتضاع والحرقة والدموع والله العظيم الذى يسمع دعاء عبيده ويخلص الذين يصرخون اليه ويدعونه يا لعظم تلك الاعجوبة التى<sup>4</sup> لم تنقص شيئا عما كان فى ايام موسى يا لعظم قوّة المسيح التى فى ايننا البطرك

1. F ان يرفعوا البخور ويخرجوا بالاناجيل والصلبان — 2. E om. to ويدعون. — 3. F — 4. E om. to البطرك. نخشى من

and crosses and books of the gospel, and pray the merciful God to remove from them the wrath which had descended upon them. And the father went out with them and besought God in his heart with abundant tears. Thus they marched outside the city to the place where the locusts were, as Abba Mark directed them. There they saw the locusts, which had flown up high into the air; and there were so many of them that the air was darkened. And the tears of the people were mixed with their prayers. Then the patriarch said : « O Lord of mercy and pity, destroy us not for our sins and offences, but turn away from our transgressions for thy mercy's sake. As thou didst hear the people of Nineve, hear, O Lord, our supplication, and accept our petition. And as thou didst hear the prayer of Moses in ancient times, and drive away the locusts from the land of Egypt, so hear our request to-day, and look upon the tears of thy people and their sighs which come from the depth of their hearts, and remove this wrath from us ». If we did not abhor prolixity, we would fully report all the prayers and humble supplications that they offered, and their ardour and their weeping. And God is the Mighty one, who hears the prayers of his servants, and delivers those that cry to him. How great was that miracle, in no respect less than that which took place in the days of Moses! How great was the power of Christ in our father the patriarch! For at that very hour the locusts flew away over the heads of the people, and afterwards



ففى تلك الساعة طار الجراد فوق رؤوسهم الى<sup>1</sup> ان نزل فى ليجج بحر اليم ومات جميعه بصلاته<sup>2</sup>

اسمعوا<sup>3</sup> الآن يا ابائى<sup>4</sup> واخوتى<sup>5</sup> ما تفرح به قلوبكم برأفة الله التى جعلها فى هذا الاب لما كان بعد ذلك عند عودته من مصر وهو يفتقد<sup>6</sup> الشعب اجتاز ببلد تستى الآن غرورة<sup>7</sup> وقديما اغرا وخرجوا الكهنة للقائه كالعادة ليقرؤوا قدامه وجماعة من الشعب رؤساء<sup>8</sup> مقدّمون وبارك<sup>9</sup> عليهم ودعا لهم جميعهم فخرج مع الناس انسان به شيطان فصرعه بين الناس وخنقه حتى خرج الزبد من فيه فلما رآه ابونا حزن عليه وتحنن وامتلأ من روح القدس وقال لهم قدّموه التى ورسم على وجهه علامة الصليب وقال<sup>10</sup> الرب يسوع المسيح الكلمة<sup>11</sup> الوحيد من الاب الذى اخزى الشياطين وعشق خليقته منهم انت الذى عرفوك الشياطين وانت الذى القيتهم فى قعر الجحيم فصرخوا وقالوا ما لنا ولك يا يسوع ابن الله

بصلات ابونا F بقوة صلاة هذا الاب القديس E بقوة صلاة BG — 2. — ونزل الى اليم F. 1. — وكان ايضا عند عودة ابونا من مصر اجتاز ببلدة add. اغرا to om. E. 3. — مرس البطرك اغرورة B. 7. — يفتقد AFG. 6. — قلوبكم to om. F om. D. 5. — احياى DF. 4. — نسما اغرورة EG. 8. — امروبة E om. to جميعهم. 9. — م. Mss. om. — 10. — E om. to لما ابرأ. 11. — F كلمة الاب الوحيد الجنس. — عليه فخرج الشيطان مند فقال لد ابونا مر دا

came down again upon the waves of the sea, where they all perished, through his prayers.

Hear now, my fathers and brothers, a thing at which your hearts will rejoice on account of the gift of divine mercy, which God gave to this father. After this event, while he was returning from Miṣr, and was making a visitation of the people, he passed through a town now called Agharwah, but in former times Aghrâ. And the clergy came out to meet him according to the custom, that they might chant before him, with a body of the laity, chief men and leaders of the people; and he blessed them and prayed for all of them. And there came out among the others a person possessed by a devil, which threw him down in the midst of the people, and choked him until foam flowed from his mouth. So our father, when he saw that man, pitied him and was sorry, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, said to the people : « Bring him to me. » Then Abba Mark signed that man's face with the sign of the Cross, and said : « O Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Word of the Father, who didst confound the devils and free thy creatures from them, thou art he whom the devils recognised, and thou art he who didst cast them down to Hell, wherefore they cried ' : What have

1. S. Matth, viii, 29.

اتيت لتهلكنا قبل الوقت الذى نعذب فيه انت الآن يا سيدى يسوع المسيح اصرف هذا الشيطان النجس واخرجه من هذا الرجل فلمّا قال هذا سقط الرجل على الارض وانقطع<sup>1</sup> حسه وسبت<sup>2</sup> كأنّه نائم وقام بعد ساعة وقد خرج منه الشيطان بصلواته فسجد على قدميه المقدّسة وشكر الله على ما ناله من الخلاص حينئذ قال له الاب قول الرب الذى قاله فى الانجيل لصاحب اليد اليابسة لمّا ابراه قد عوفيت فلا تعود تخطئ فينالك اكثر من هذا وانظر كيف تصعد لتأخذ السرائر المقدّسة واعلم ان الذى حلّ بك هو بسبب انك كنت تتناول السرائر المقدّسة بجهل فاحفظ نفسك من الكلام البطال الذى يخرج من فيك فنظرتم<sup>3</sup> يا احبائى هذه النعمة العظيمة التى استحقّها ابونا ابنا مرقس وانه بكلام فمه يطرد الشياطين بأمر وسلطان مثل الحواريين تلاميذ المسيح الرسل الاطهار وكان يدهن جماعة من المرضى بالزيت باسم السيّد المسيح ويصلّى عليهم فيبرؤون عاجلاً فان قال

وكان يصنع add. فى جميع ايامه 3. E om. to — 2. F. وصار كالنائم — 1. ABDG. وقطع. —  
آيات كثيرة فى شفا المرضى والاعلاء وكان جميع الشعب فى هدوء وسلامة

we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come to destroy us before the time when we shall be chastised? Now, my Lord Jesus Christ, drive away this unclean devil, and cast him out of this man! » And when he had said this, the man fell upon the ground, and became unconscious and tranquil as if he were asleep; and when he arose, a moment afterwards, the devil had left him through the patriarch's prayers. So that man threw himself at Abba Mark's holy feet, and thanked God for the deliverance thus granted. Then the father repeated to him the words, addressed by Jesus in the gospel to the man with the withered hand, after he healed him : « Thou art made whole, therefore sin no more, lest worse things than this befall thee '. And beware how thou goest up to receive the Holy Mysteries, and learn that the punishment which overtook thee was because thou didst communicate of the Holy Mysteries unprepared. Therefore guard thyself from vain words, which come forth from thy mouth. »

You have seen then, my friends, this excellent grace of which our father, the patriarch Abba Mark, was counted worthy, and that by the word of his mouth he cast out devils by command and with authority, like the pure apostles and disciples of Christ. He also anointed many of the sick with oil in the name of the Lord Christ, and prayed over them, and they quickly recovered their health. And if any objector say : « Why did he

1. S. John. v, 14.

احد من المقاومين فلائى شىء لم يشف نفسه من وجع<sup>1</sup> الضربان<sup>2</sup> الذى كان<sup>3</sup> به فليقرأ<sup>4</sup> فى الكتب فيجد<sup>5</sup> قول<sup>6</sup> الله انه يجرب اصفياه بالعلل والتجارب مثل ايوب الصديق بالجدام ويوسف برميه فى الجب من ايدى اخوته ودانيال مع الاسود الضواري<sup>7</sup> والثلاثة فتية فى اتون النار واشعيا النبى بمنشار الخشب واهل هذه الطبقة من الانبياء والصالحين كثير لو شرحنا ما نال كل منهم لما وسعه السماع لان القديس بطرس الحواري<sup>8</sup> كان ظله اذا مر على مريض فى الطريق قد برئ من مرضه ولاجل هذا كانوا المرضى يجلسون فى الطريق التى يعبر فيها فيمر ظله عليهم فيبرؤون وكان فى ساق بولس نملة وهو متألم منها لا يقدر على بروئها<sup>9</sup> وانما ابلاه الله بها رحمة منه لتلا يكبر<sup>10</sup> نفسه<sup>11</sup> عند ما يعمل العجائب باسم المسيح وسمعان الحبيس كان به قروح تدودت لم يقدر على بروئها وكان بصلاته يبرئ العميان ويطهر البرص ويعمل اعمالا كثيرة وكلما اقام فى جلته ثلث سنين وابونا القديس انبا مرقس البطرك اقام اثنتى عشرة سنة فى وجعه وكان يشكر المسيح

1. F الرجى. — 2. F om. — 3. ABG om. — 4. F فينامل. — 5. F فيجدد. — 6. F فيجدد. — 7. B الاسود الضاري DF الاسود الضاري. — 8. F الاسود الضاري. — 9. F add. ركاذت الخرق التى نشد عليها فبرى المرحا. — 10. F يتكبر. — 11. F om.

not cure himself of the painful sickness from which he suffered? », let him read in the scriptures, and he will find that God declares that he tries his elect by sicknesses and trials. So, for example, he tried Job the truthful by leprosy; and Joseph by his being cast into the pit by his brothers; and Daniel with the fierce lions; and the three youths in the furnace of fire; and Isaias with the wooden saw. But the prophets and good men of this class are many, and if we were to relate all that each of them suffered, the volumes would not contain it. For if the shadow of the apostle Peter<sup>1</sup> passed over a sick man in the way, he was healed of his sickness; and therefore the sick used to sit in the road which Peter would traverse, and then his shadow passed over them, and they were healed. And Paul<sup>2</sup> had a pustule in his leg, from which he suffered, and which he could not cure; but God only tried him thereby in mercy to him, lest he should magnify himself when he was working miracles in the name of Christ. Simeon, the hermit, also suffered from inveterate ulcers, which he could not cure; although by his prayers he healed the blind, and cleansed lepers, and did many works; and he continued in his sickness three years. And our holy

1. Acts, v, 15. — 2. II Cor., xii, 7.



ويقول اشكرك يا ربى والاهى اذ جعلتني مستحقاً لهذه الآلام مثل العازر المسكين وكانت الشعوب وجميع كورة مصر فى سلامة وهدوء فى جميع ايامه

فلم يصبر مبغض الخير الشيطان لما رأى من اعماله وعجائبه<sup>1</sup> التى هى كل يوم تزيد فبدأ ان يقيم الفتن على كورة مصر وصار<sup>2</sup> حزن فى كل مكان وفى الاسكندرية<sup>3</sup> فلاحق<sup>4</sup> البطرك قلق عظيم حتى ان الانسان اذا سمعه لا يصبر عن البكاء وانا الآن اذكر لكم ذلك كان قد مات فى تلك الايام<sup>5</sup> هرون الرشيد ببغداد وجلس موضعه محمد ولده المعروف بالامين وكان سبب ذلك ان هرون الرشيد قد جمع قبل موته وجود دولته وقال لهم الخلافة بعدى للسيد<sup>6</sup> المأمون ولدى فلما وصل الخبر الى محمد الامين امتلأ غضباً<sup>7</sup> وجمع اليه جماعة وحاربه فقتله وجلس<sup>8</sup> على كرسي الملك ولما وقع الخلاف بين الاخوين قام<sup>9</sup> ثائر وحشد اليه<sup>10</sup> جماعة<sup>11</sup> وخلائق<sup>12</sup> لا يحصى عددها وحفظ طريق مصر والمشرق

1. E om. to يزيد. — 2. E om. to وفى. — 3. E والاسكندرية. — 4. E om. to مات add. — 5. E add. مات. — 6. ABDEFG للسيد ولدى المأمون. — 7. E غيضا. — 8. ABDEFG وجلس على الملك. — 9. F ثار. — 10. D عليه F om. — 11. DFom. — 12. DF خلائق E om.

father, Abba Mark the patriarch, continued in his pains twelve years. Yet he used to give thanks to God, saying : « I thank thee my Lord and God, because thou hast counted me worthy of these sufferings like Lazarus the beggar. » And the people and all the land of Egypt remained in peace and prosperity all his days.

But Satan, the hater of good, would not endure patiently, because he saw Abba Mark's works and wonders, which increased every day. Therefore he began to raise up seditions against the land of Egypt, and there was mourning in every place, including Alexandria. And great trouble came upon the patriarch, such that no man who hears of it can refrain from weeping. Now therefore I will relate to you that which happened.

In those days Hârûn ar-Rashîd had died at Bagdad; and his son Muḥammad, called Al-Amîn, sat in his father's place. The cause of offence was that Hârûn ar-Rashîd before his death had assembled the chief personages of the empire, and said to them : « After me, the caliphate belongs to my son, the lord Al-Ma'mûn. » But when Muḥammad al-Amîn heard of this, he was filled with anger, and gathered a host together, and made war upon his brother. But Al-Ma'mûn killed Al-Amîn, and sat upon the throne of the empire. When the strife broke out between the two brothers, a certain rebel arose, and assembled an innumerable army, and kept the road between

وكان يهرب جميع مال المسافرين الى مصر والصعيد والحيشة والنوبة حتى انقطع الطريق  
وجميع المسالك من خوفه واستطاع الثوار على مصر وجميع أعمالها بحكم الخسرات  
مملكة بغداد وخرجوا الخوارج على المملكة بمصر وجبوا الخراج لنفسهم وكان من  
جملتهم رجل يسمى عبد العزيز الجردى الخدم من صفوف الى الفراء فندبة مصر ليس  
وأعمالها ورجل اسمه السرى بن الحكم الخدم من مصر الى اسوان واسنوا على الخراج  
وقوم يستولون اخمات وجذام القباكين خدوا غربي مصر وأعمال الاسكندرية ومصر  
وملكوا البحيرة جميعها وكانت هاتان القباكين في كثير الاوقات منجاريين هرب منهم بعض  
وكان على البلاد منهما بلاد عظيم فلما استولوا على مدينة الاسكندرية دعوا اهلها واستعانوا  
بالرب يسوع ان يخلصهم من هذا الامة الفاسدة

وكان في تلك الايام غربي اسكندرية دين يسمى دين روح ديهه سبع حسن ومعه  
اعطى بعة ان ينظر روح القدس علامت في قلبه فليس له الشيع يوس فضل

برأس ٥ — EF (n). — ٤ E (n). — ٣ F (n). — ٢ F (n). — ١ E (n). — ٢ E (n). — ١ E (n).

Egypt and the East. And he robbed those that were journeying to Misr  
or Upper Egypt or Abyssinia or Nubia of all their goods: so that travelling  
was interrupted on the roads and all the tracks through fear of him. This  
attack upon Egypt lasted long on account of the disturbed state of the go-  
vernment of Bagdad. And the insurgents rose against the government in  
Egypt, and gathered the taxes for themselves. There was among them a  
man, called Abd al-Aziz al-Farisi, who seized the land from Shamal to  
Al-Finana, with the eastern province of Egypt, Bilbais and its territory.  
And there was one named As-Sari, son of Al-Hakam, who took the country  
between Misr and Aswan. These two men took possession of the revenues.  
Moreover these that are called Lakhmi and Ithmani, the two tribes, seized  
the western part of Egypt and the districts of Alexandria and Maryut, and  
ruled over the whole of Al-Buhairah. These two tribes were generally at  
war one with the other, and plundered one another: and the country suffered  
greatly from them. So when they reduced the city of Alexandria to extre-  
mities, the inhabitants prayed, and implored the Lord's help, and begged  
him to deliver them from this tyrannical people.

Now there was in those days to the west of Alexandria a monastery,  
known as the Monastery of An-Zagaj, at which there was an aged hermit,  
endowed with grace to see through the Holy Ghost signs and visions:  
and his name was John. And he said to the Alexandrians prophetically:

I see that you are distressed by this people. In the same way, believe



لاهل الاسكندرية بقوة اراكم قلتين من اجل هذه الامة هكذا صدقوني انه تجيء امة من الغرب وتهلك هذه الامة وهذه المدينة بغير رحمة وينهبون كلما فيها فلما كان بعد قوله هذا دخل الى اسكندرية قوم ومعهم شيء كثير من جزائر الروم يستولون<sup>1</sup> الاندلسيين واقاموا على هذه القضية من مصر<sup>2</sup> الى جزائر الروم ينهبون ويجيبون السبي الى الاسكندرية ويبيعونهم كالعبيد فلما نظر ابونا مرقس ذلك السبي حزن جدا لبيعهم الانفس مثل الغنم ويسلم<sup>3</sup> منهم كثير ومما في قلبه من الرحمة كان يشتري منهم كثيرا مثل رهبان واقساء وشمامسة وعذارى وامهات اولاد الى ان اشترى منهم ستة آلاف نفس وكان اذا اشترى منهم شخصا قد كتب له عتاقته لساعته وسلم له كتابا عتقه في يده ويقول لهم من اراد منكم ان يجلس عندي فهو مثل ولدي ومن اراد العودة الى بلده دفعت له ما يوصله الى اهله وكان جماعة منهم عند نظرهم افعاله يقعدون عنده فيسلمهم لمعلمين يعلمونهم السزامير وعلم البيعة ومن اراد منهم ان يروح لاهله زوده ودفع له ما يحتاجه

1. F om. to الروم. — 2. ABDG بمصر om. من. — 3. EF om. to كثير.

me, a nation will come from the west, and will destroy without mercy this people and this city, and plunder all that it contains. » And after he had said this, Alexandria was invaded by a host of those who are called Spaniards, laden with much booty from the islands of the Romans. And they continued to make raids from Egypt, as they had done elsewhere, upon the islands of the Romans, plundering them, and bringing the captives to Alexandria, and selling them as slaves. Therefore when our father Mark saw these captives, he was grieved because human beings were sold, as if they were cattle; moreover many of them became Muslims. And because his heart was compassionate he redeemed many of them, such as monks and priests and deacons and virgins and mothers of children, until he had bought as many as six thousand souls. When he purchased one of these prisoners, he wrote a deed of emancipation for him on the spot, and gave into his hand a letter which set him free. And Abba Mark said to those whom he liberated : « If any of you wish to settle with me, he shall be as my son. But to him that desires to return to his native country I will give the means of bringing him to his own people. » And many of them, when they saw his deeds, settled with him. And he placed them with teachers, who taught them the Psalms and the doctrine of the Church. But to those that preferred to go back to their people he gave provisions for the journey and all that they required. Then the report of him and what he did was spread abroad in the kingdoms and among the officials



فشاعت اخباره وما فعل الى ممالك<sup>1</sup> الملوك واهل<sup>2</sup> الدول وصار له بينهم سمعة جميلة فحسده الشيطان على افعاله فحرك عليه البلايا وظهر شوكة شره وكان في مدينة الاسكندرية في تلك الايام وال كبير في جنسه من المسلمين يستسى عمر بن مالك فتاروا عليه اللخميون<sup>3</sup> والجداميون<sup>4</sup> والمداجنة<sup>5</sup> وطلبوا قتله حتى يملكوا المدينة وبدؤوا يقاتلونه فما قدروا عليه وكان شيخ كبير من الاندلسيين وكان قد وصل الى الاسكندرية منذ صباه ويعلم كل مكر ودغل وكان يتوسط بين<sup>6</sup> لخم والاندلسيين ليساعدوه على قتل الوالى واتفق رأى الجميع على ذلك فاتوا اليه في اليوم العاشر من بؤونة سنة خمس مائة وثلاثين للشهداء فلما<sup>7</sup> اتفق رأى الشيخ معهم هداهم الى ما عملوه فقتلوا الوالى وملكوا المدينة والذي جرى بعد ذلك يحزن ويؤلم فلما كان ثاني يوم بعد قتل الوالى وهو الحادى عشر من بؤونة اتفقد ما<sup>7</sup> بين اللخمييين والاندلسيين وصار عوض الصلح عداوة وحرب والتقوا ولم ينزل الحرب بينهم الى الليل وظفروا الاندلسيون فلما نظروا

1. BG الى سائر الملوك F فى كل الممالك E فى كل الممالك الملوك BG. — 2. E om. with f. wd. — 3. E حرام وجدام. — 4. E om. F والمدالجنة. — 5. E om. to ذلك add. — 6. E om. to عملوه. — 7. ABDEG om.

of the various states, and he gained a fair fame among them. Therefore Satan was filled with envy against him on account of his deeds, and brought trials upon him and showed the sting of his wickedness.

There was in the city of Alexandria in those days a governor of high lineage among the Muslims, named Omar son of Mâlik. But the tribes of Lakhm and Judhâm and Madlajah rose against him and sought to slay him, that they might take possession of the city. So they began to fight with him, but could not prevail against him. And there was among the Spaniards a very old man who had come to Alexandria in his youth, and was skilful in all guile and deceit; and he acted as mediator between the tribe of Lakhm and the Spaniards, in order that the latter might assist the former to kill the governor; and they all came to an agreement upon this matter. Accordingly the Spaniards joined the Lakhmites on the 10th. day of Ba'ûnah, in the year 530 of the Martyrs; and, after the old man's suggestions had been accepted by them, he acted as their guide in this deed. Then they killed the governor and took possession of the city. And that which happened subsequently is such as to sadden and grieve us. For on the day after the murder of the governor, namely the 11th. of Ba'ûnah, there was a quarrel between the Lakhmites and the Spaniards; and instead of peace hostility and war broke out. And there was an encounter between

اهل الاسكندرية ذلك جردوا سيوفهم ومشوا في الاسواق والشوارع والحمّامات<sup>1</sup> والبيوت وقتلوا من وجدوا من الاندلسيين في كل موضع وكان عدة الذين قتلوا منهم ثمانتين نفساً فلما افرق القتال وانهزموا اللخميون<sup>2</sup> سالوا الاندلسيون عن قضية اصحابهم فأعلموا<sup>3</sup> ان الاسكندرانيين قتلوهم وامتلأوا غيظاً<sup>4</sup> كالاسد<sup>5</sup> الضارية لشجاعتهم<sup>6</sup> فجردوا سيوفهم وخرجوا في المدينة مغضبين وقتلوا كل من لقوه من اهل البلد من المسلمين والنصارى واليهود وأى موضع وجدوا فيه احداً من اصحابهم المقتولين<sup>7</sup> احرقوه بالنار فلما انتهوا الى بيعة المخلص وهي<sup>8</sup> السطير التي بناها ابونا مرقس وجدوا بعض اصحابهم على ابوابها مطروحين<sup>9</sup> لان المسلمين قتلوهم هناك في الدور وحملوهم رموهم عند باب البيعة فعند ذلك غضبوا جداً وظهر في ذلك الوقت شيخ<sup>10</sup> من فوق الدور ينظر الى الطريق وهو الشيطان الذي ظهر بذلك الشبه وقال للاندلسيين انا رأيت صاحب هذه البيعة وقد قتل

1. E om. with f. wd. — 2. E الجنداءيين. — 3. F فأعلموهم. — 4. FG غضبوا F add. — 5. E om. with f. wd. — 6. DEF om. — 7. G om. to اصحابهم. — 8. E om. with f. wd. — 9. A مطروحا. — 10. E om. to الشبد add. الشبد شيخ سر.

them, and the fighting did not cease till night, when the Spaniards were victorious. When the Alexandrians saw these things, they drew their swords and marched into the streets and lanes and baths and houses, and killed any of the Spaniards that they found in any place; and the number of those whom they slew was eighty souls. When the combatants parted, and the Lakhmites fled, the Spaniards enquired after their comrades; and, having been informed that the Alexandrians had slain them, were filled with fury like fierce lions, for they were very courageous, and drew their swords, and sallied forth raging through the city, and killed all the townsmen that they met, whether Muslims or Christians or Jews. And wherever the Spaniards found one of their comrades who had been slain, they burnt that place with fire. Thus when they reached the church of the Saviour, which is called the *Soter* and was rebuilt by our father Mark, they found some of their nation lying at its doors, because the Muslims had killed them there in the houses, and carried them out and cast them by the door of the church. This sight exasperated the Spaniards; and at that moment there appeared a wicked old man, looking down upon the street from the roof of the houses; and he was Satan who appeared in that form. And he said to the Spaniards: « I saw the master of this church kill your comrades. » Then they

اصحابكم فرموا النار في البيعة وكان النار تعلو جدا حتى انها احترقت اماكن بعيدة<sup>1</sup> فلما علم ابونا بهذا الامر بكى بكاء مزا وحزن جدا وقتلوا ما لا يحصى عدده من الخلائق ومواضع كثير نهوها واحرقوها وبعد<sup>2</sup> هذا نحن الان نريد ان نتكلم على ما دخل على قلب ايينا البطرك مرقس من الالم وخاصة بيعة السطير وكان ينوح بهذا<sup>3</sup> النوح كما قيل<sup>4</sup> في المزمور يا الله دخلت الامم الى ميراثك ونجسوا هيكل قدسك جعلوا يروشليم خرابا كمثل<sup>5</sup> ظلمة الحبس جعلوا جثث عبيدك طعاما لطير السماء ولحوم قديسيك لوحوش الارض وسفكوا دمائهم مثل الماء حول<sup>6</sup> يروشليم ولم يكن لهم من يدفنهم ثم نزل من على كرسيه وجلس على الارض وكان مداوما هذا النوح مثل<sup>7</sup> قول ايوب المغبوط انا كنت في السلامة بددني ونزع عني حلتي وارشق في سهامه ويقول هذا وما يشاكله ولم يفطر ذلك اليوم وتلك الليلة ولم<sup>8</sup> يقدر احد ان يجلسه على كرسيه ولا على حصير بل كان

1. اماكن كسرة F دور كسرة E دور كسرة واماكن بعيدة BG. — 2. E om. to وكان add. — 3. E om. to المزمور add. واما ابونا مرقس البطرك فاند صاير. — 4. BEG om. — 5. F add. فابلا. — 6. BC كظلمة الحبس DF مثل E om. to الحبس. — 7. F om. — 8. E om. to يدفنهم. — 9. E om. to يشاكله. — 10. E om. to بل.

set fire to the church; and the conflagration spread so far that it consumed buildings at a distance from the church.

When our father heard of this calamity, he wept bitterly and was exceedingly sad. For those men slew a countless number of people, and pillaged and burnt many buildings. After this narrative we now desire to speak of the sufferings which entered the heart of our father, the patriarch Mark, especially with regard to the church of the *Soter*. He lamented in the words of the Psalm<sup>1</sup>: « O God, the heathen are entered into thine inheritance, and have defiled thy holy temple. They have turned Jerusalem into ruins like the darkness of a prison. They have made the dead bodies of thy servants food for the birds of the air, and the flesh of thy saints for the beasts of the earth, and have shed their blood like water around Jerusalem, and they have none to bury them ». Then he descended from his throne, and sat on the ground, and continued this lamentation, as the blessed Job says<sup>2</sup>: « I was in peace and he scattered me abroad, and stripped my garment from me, and shot his arrows at me ». These and similar words he uttered, and did not break his fast that day nor that night; and none could make him sit upon his throne nor even on a mat; but he lay upon the ground mourning. Then at midnight he arose to pray according

1. Ps. LXXIX. 1, 2, 3 (Sept. LXXVIII; cf. 1 Mach., vii, 17. — 2. Job, xvi, 12.



مطروحا على الارض ينوح فلما كان نصف الليل قام ايضاً كعادته فلما أصبح خرج  
ومعه اثنان من اولاده<sup>1</sup> وقال<sup>2</sup> يا ايها المدينة المقدسة التي كثرت فيها القتل وملكها العدو  
يا كرسي الذي قد اعتقدت ان<sup>3</sup> لا اجلس عليه ايها الموضع الذي لابائي القديسين  
اللابسي النور الذي تتيحوا فيه بابتهاج وسرور وانا صرت غريباً منه لاجل خطايائي قال هذا  
وخرج من المدينة وسار من مكان الى مكان يشق بحار<sup>4</sup> مياد<sup>5</sup> واماكن صعبة فاقام في  
هذا الضيق خمس سنين من بعد خروجه من المدينة كمن هو سبي وكان في جميع  
ذلك شاكراً لله ليلاً ونهاراً وما ذا حل باولاد البيعة من البلايا في ذلك الزمان والاباء الاساقفة  
والاراحنة وكانوا يأتون اليه ويعزّونه ويسألونه وكل منهم يسأله ان يمضي به الى منزله ليأخذ  
بركته فلم يفعل وكان الارخن الديّين مقارة بن<sup>6</sup> سات<sup>7</sup> النبرواي من كرسي سمّود<sup>10</sup> فلما  
سمع ما جرى قام ومضى الى عند عبد العزيز المتولي على المشرق وخاطبه بسبب الاب  
البطيريك ابنا مرقس وان الامم الذين تغلبوا على الاسكندرية نهبوا جميع ماله وترك

1. F تلاميذه. — 2. E om. to هذا add. وهو يشرح ويكي. — 3. BG قتل. — 4. F  
وميا. — 5. AF بحائر. — 6. F واما انا فصرت. — 7. E وميا. — 8. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 9. B ثبات F ثبات. — 10. E سمّود.

to his custom. And early on the next day he went out in company with two of his sons. And he said : « O holy city, in which much slaughter has been committed, and of which the enemy has taken possession ! O throne on which I believed that I should never sit ! O home of my holy fathers, clothed with light, where they died in joy and gladness, while I have become a stranger therein for my sins ! » This he said ; and then he went forth from the city, and journeyed from place to place, crossing rivers of waters and passing over difficult ground. In this state of distress he remained during five years after his departure from the city, like one who has been taken captive. Yet all this time he used to thank God day and night.

What trials befell the children of the church at that time, and the fathers and bishops, and the chief of the laity ! But they used to come to the patriarch, and console him, and consult him ; and each of them begged to be allowed to entertain him as a guest, in order to receive his blessing ; but he would never consent. And the pious official Macarius, son of Seth, a native of Nebruwah, was of the diocese of Samannûd. Therefore when he heard what had happened, he arose and went to the residence of Abd al-Azîz, who was in possession of the eastern provinces, and solicited his protection for the father patriarch, Abba Mark, saying : « The tribes which have conquered Alexandria have robbed him of all his goods, and he has left his

كرسيه وجاء سكن تحت ظل الله وظلك فان كنت قد ظفرت بنعمة امامك فاكتب له كتاباً باسمك ليتقوى بأمرك ليكون في موضعه آمناً

حينئذ كتب له سجلاً عظيماً كما التمس الرئيس المحب لله حينئذ اخذ ذلك الارخن نصيب دروتاوس ارخن سخا الذي اوى اليه الاب القديس سويرس حتى تنيح عنده ثم انفذ رسلاً من عنده وسجل الامير الى الاب البطرك ان ياتي ويقيم في منزله فقام ابونا البطرك وصلى وسار الى ان وصل الى نبوة فخرج اليه ولقيه وكلمن معه من اجل الرئاسة فلما رأى الاب سجد له بقوة اماتته وقال الرب قد صنع معي اليوم رحمة عظيمة اذ جعل ابوتك ان تنزل بيت عبدك وانا اومن ان مجيئك الينا يكون بركة ومعافاة لانفسنا ثم مضى معه الى البيعة بالقراءة امامه كما يجب للبطاركة وجعله في موضع يشاكل رئاسته وهو موضع اعمره والداه على اسم القديس ابي مقار بوادي هبيب

ومع جميع ذلك لم يكن يتخلّى هذا الاب القديس عن الاهتمام بالبيع المقدسة

1. E om. to البطرك add. وانفذ الارخن الى الاب البطرك. — 2. E om. to هبيب.

see, and is come to live beneath the shadow of God and thy shadow. Therefore, if I have gained any favour before thee, write him a letter in thine own name, that he may be encouraged by thy command to dwell in his place in confidence ».

Then Abd al-Azîz wrote an urgent decree, as the pious official requested. At that time the official acted the part of Dorotheus, the magistrate of Sakhâ, with whom the holy father Severus lodged until he died; for he sent messengers from his house with the decree of the Amir to the father patriarch, praying him to come and live in the dwelling of that official. So our father the patriarch arose and prayed, and journeyed till he arrived at Nebrûwah. And the official came forth with all his household to meet the patriarch, in honour of his primacy, and, on seeing the father, prostrated himself before him in the power of his faith, saying : « The Lord has done for me to-day a merciful deed in bringing thy Paternity to lodge at the house of thy servant. For I believe that thy coming to us will be a blessing and a healing to our souls ». Thereupon he conducted him to the church, with chanting before him, as the rule for the patriarchs is. Afterwards he established him in a place befitting his primacy, in a building erected by that magistrate's parents, and dedicated to Saint Macarius of Wadi Habib.

But in spite of all these troubles the holy father did not relinquish his care for the holy churches at Alexandria, and the patriarchate, and the



بالاسكندرية والبطركية وبيعة الشهيد ابي مينا بمريوط وايضا لاجل اتحاد الاعضاء التي  
افترقت من بيعة انطاكية التي افرقها ابراهيم المطران ومن معه وفيما هو مهتم بهذه الامور  
اخذ الرب الاب كيرياقوس بانطاكية وتيسح وجلس بعدد انسان جيد اسمه ديونوسيوس فلما  
جلس المذكور على الكرسي بدأ بخطبة ابراهيم بخطاب ليّن واعاد جماعة ممن كان قد  
ضلّ معه فاظهروا<sup>1</sup> التوبة واعترفوا بضلاتهم فلما اتصل باينا القديس مرقس ذلك فرح  
جدا واسرع وكتب كتباً الى الاب ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية باهتمام<sup>2</sup> باعادة<sup>3</sup> الضالة اول  
كتابه هكذا مبارك الرب اله المجد الذي لم يزل في كل حين مهتماً بقطيعه وبيعته الذين  
اشتراهم بدمه الطاهر وعلم في البدء وان ابوتك يصير باسمه المقدس كما شهد عن بولس  
ان هذا يكون لي انا منتخبا باسمي امام الملوك والامم كذلك بارادته المقدسة احطفاك  
لا سيما في هذا الزمان الذي اقتناه<sup>4</sup> وهو<sup>5</sup> التمام كما قال الرسول المغبوط وانا اسأل الآن  
ابوتك ان تقدم صلوات ودعاء كثيرا الى السيد المسيح الرؤوف الهنا ليهدينا وبيعته لانا

1. E om. to بصلاتهم. — 2. E om. to كتابه. — 3. Mss. اعادة. — 4. F om. — 5. F هو.

church of the martyr Saint Mennas at Maryût, nor for the union of the separated members of the church of Antioch, who had been led astray by the metropolitan Abraham and his followers. While Abba Mark was taking thought for these matters, the Lord removed the father Cyriacus of Antioch, and he went to his rest. After him an excellent person, named Dionysius, was elected. When he took his seat upon the throne, he began to make gentle advances to Abraham, and brought back many of those who had erred in his company; and they showed signs of repentance, and confessed their error. As soon therefore as our holy father Mark heard of this, he rejoiced greatly, and hastened to write a letter to the father Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, expressing interest in the conversion of the erring. The opening of the letter was thus : « Blessed be the Lord and God of glory, who has never ceased to care for his flock, that is his Church, those whom he bought with his pure Blood and taught at the beginning. Verily thy Paternity will become by his holy name, as he testified of Paul<sup>1</sup> : He shall be for me a chosen vessel in my Name before kings and gentiles. So by his holy will he has elected thee especially at this time to which we have been assigned, and which is the end, as the blessed apostle says<sup>2</sup>. Now I beg thy Paternity to offer many prayers and supplications to the merciful Lord Christ, our God, that he may guide us and his Church, since we are in

1. Acts, ix, 15. — 2. I Cor., x, 11, etc.



قد افتقرنا جداً لان باحكامه<sup>1</sup> الغير مفحوصة يتم ما قد بدأ وقال ان الامم دخلوا الى ميراثه ونجسوا هياكلنا المقدسة وجعلوا المدينة العظمى الاسكندرية مثل محرس حبس لما جرى من الحروب فيها بين الامم حتى ان قتلاها لم يجدوا من يدفنهم واجساد كثير منهم صارت طعاماً لطير السماء ووحوش الارض وهذه الافكار كان يتكلم لانه مثل ما كتب عن يروشلیم في نواح ارمياء النبي لما جرى عليها بعد قيامة السيد المسيح لاجل ما فعلوه اليهود الكفار اسل عليهم طيطس ملك الروم الكافر المجوسى يفعل فيهم ما هو مشروح في كتاب يوسف ابن كرتوس<sup>2</sup> الذى اهتم وجمع اخبار اليهود في البيت الثانى ومن اجل ذلك خرجنا من المدينة لما<sup>3</sup> شاهدناه فيها لانهم لم يكفوا عن القتل والنهب والحريق وليس من يمنعهم ولذلك اخترنا ان نسكن في الغربة ونندعو الى السيد المسيح الالهنا واردنا اعلام<sup>4</sup> ابوتك ذلك ولكن حزن عظيم بسبب<sup>5</sup> الذين<sup>6</sup> افترقوا من الشيعة بـجـريـرة السسنى ابراهيم ولما اتصل بنا الان ان بعض منهم طلبوا التوبة ويعودون من ضلالتهم فرحنا

1. E om. to جعلوا add. الامم جعلوا. — 2. E om. to البيت الثانى. — 3. A رين. — 4. E om. to وكذلك. — 5. F ان نعلم. — 6. ABEG om. — 7. E الذى.

great poverty; for by his inscrutable decrees he will finish what he has begun ». Abba Mark continued : « The gentiles have entered his inheritance, and defiled our holy temples, and made the great city of Alexandria like a prison, through the fighting that has taken place therein between the tribes. At last the slain found none to bury them; and many of their corpses became food for the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth ». Such were the thoughts which he expressed, because these events were like that which is written concerning Jerusalem in the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremias, with reference to the fate of that city after the Resurrection of the Lord Christ, when, in punishment for the sins of the misbelieving Jews, God sent against them Titus, prince of the Romans, the miscreant Magian, to do to them what is described in the second part of the writings of Josephus, son of Cyrtus, who undertook to compile the history of the Jews. « For this reason, » pursued the patriarch, « we quitted the city because of what we had witnessed therein. For they refrained not from slaying and plundering and burning. And there was none to hinder them. Therefore we have chosen to live in exile, and to pray to the Lord Christ our God. These things we desired to make known to thy Paternity. But there is great sorrow on account of those that have separated themselves from the Church, through the fault of him that is called Abraham! The-

جداً ونسينا الاوجاع المحيطة بنا لانه اذا كان اتحاد في البيعة المقدسة وهي تحت السلامة  
تضاعفت عندنا النعم والآن<sup>1</sup> يا ابي القديس نحن نعلم رحمة السيد المسيح الالهنا الذي  
أتى الى العالم ليس لاجل الصالحين لكن من اجل الخطاة وافتح لهم الآن باب التوبة  
واهدهم الى طريق الحق لكي تفرح بعودتهم طغيمات السموات<sup>2</sup> لانهم أعدوا في ابنا النور  
فلما وصلت هذه الكتب<sup>3</sup> الى الاب ديونوسيوس فرح جداً وجميع<sup>4</sup> شعب سوريّة لكثرة<sup>5</sup>  
اهتمامه وصلاحه اعنى ابانا ابنا مرقس ولذلك اعاد الذين ضلّوا في تلك الايام عند سماعهم  
كتبه الا يسيراً مع ابراهيم الذي هو رأس الضلالة وهم يستّون الآن ابراهيميين وصارت بيعة  
انطاكية بفرح عظيم ثم ان الاب ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية كتب سنوديقا الى الاب ابنا  
مرقس يظهر<sup>6</sup> له اتحاد المحبة ويشكر محبته واهتمامه في خلاص كل احد ولذلك<sup>7</sup> صار  
فرح عظيم في كورة مصر والمشرق بهذا الاتحاد ومجدوا الله

بفرح<sup>1</sup>. E om. to النور. — 2. F السماويين. — 3. F الرسالة. — 4. Mss. وجميع; E om. to بفرح  
add. اتحاد المحبة. — 5. F فشكروا اهتمامه الخ. — 6. E om. to يظهر. — 7. E om. to الله.

refore when we heard recently that some of them have sought repentance, and are returning from their errors, we rejoiced greatly, and forgot the griefs which surround us. For if there were unity in the holy Church, and she remained at peace, graces would be doubled among us. Now, my holy Father, we know the mercy of the Lord Christ, our God, who came into the world not for the sake of the good, but for the sake of sinners. Therefore open to them now the door of repentance, and lead them to the way of truth, that the heavenly orders may rejoice at their return, because they are numbered among the children of light ».

When this letter reached the father Dionysius, he, as well as the whole Syrian people, was much pleased by the forethought and goodness of our father, Abba Mark. And by this means the patriarch brought back those that had gone astray in those days, when they heard his letter, all but a few who continued to adhere to Abraham, the source of their error, and who are called Abrahamites to this day. So the Church of Antioch rejoiced greatly.

Then the father Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, wrote a synodical letter to the father, Abba Mark, to show him the bond of charity which existed between them, and to thank him for his love and care for the salvation of all men. For this there was great joy in the land of Egypt and in the East, on account of this unity; and they glorified God.

فلما تمت هذه النعمة لم يجبر الشيطان الذى هو مقاوم الصلح فى كل حين ومقيم الشرور فبدأ وانزل على بَرِّيَّة وادى هبيب بلایا عظيمة التى<sup>1</sup> هى مسكن للعرب وكانت بَرِّيَّة وادى هبيب<sup>2</sup> مثل فردوس النعيم فنهبوها العرب وأسروا الرهبان<sup>3</sup> وهدموا بيعتها والمناشيب<sup>4</sup> وتشتتوا<sup>5</sup> الشيوخ القديسين فى كل موضع من الارض فلما نظر الاب انبا مرقس هذا الامر الصعب افكر<sup>6</sup> القديس معدن السحبة الروحانية التى تتبع منه السمجة والامانة لكل احد ولا سيما فى البرية المقدسة التى لاباننا فى تلك الامور فلم يحتمل هذا الحزن بل كان يسأل الرب من عمق قلبه ويقول<sup>7</sup> قول داوود فى المزمور اضطرب قلبى داخلى وفى كلاى اشتعل النار عرفنى يا رب انتهائى لان رجائى قد فنى وليس لى مينا سلامة انجو به لان قد انقضى افراح كوردة مصر ووادى هبيب الذى هو قدس القديسين صار خرابا مساكن السباع الضارية مساكن ابائى المباركين الذين رقدوا بصلواتهم صارت مأوى للبسوم ومغاير ثعالب السوء هذه الامة النجسة وكان<sup>8</sup> ابونا لا يفتر من البكاء

1. E om. to للعرب. — 2. F add. فى ذلك الزمان. — 3. F om. to ونشروا. — 4. D add. اعلنى القلاى. — 5. ABCEFG وسيرا. — 6. om. to تلك الامر. — 7. E om. to ان ينقلد من هذا العالم لاجل ما شاهده من خراب الديارات مسكن. — 8. Mss. وكانوا ابونا لا يفتر من البكاء دعا.

But when God's favour had thus been shown, Satan, the perpetual adversary of peace and supporter of evil, would not endure it. Therefore he began to bring great trouble upon the desert of Wādī Habīb, which is a place where the Arabs dwell. Now the desert of Wādī Habīb had been like the Garden of Eden. But the Arabs plundered it, and took the monks captive, and demolished the churches and the cells there. And the holy seniors were scattered in every part of the world. When therefore the father, Abba Mark, saw such a calamity, this saint and mine of spiritual charity, whence love and faith abounded towards all men, especially those in the holy desert of our fathers, meditated on these things. And he could not bear this grief, but besought the Lord from the depths of his heart, repeating the words of David in the Psalm<sup>1</sup> : « My heart is disquieted within me, and in my reins a fire is kindled. O Lord, let me know my end; for my hope is vanished, and I have no harbour of safety where I can be secure. For the joy of Egypt has ceased, and Wādī Habīb, the Holy of Holies, has become a ruin, the dwelling of wild beasts. The homes of our blessed fathers, who passed their nights in prayer, have become the resort of the owl and the dens of cruel foxes, namely this \*

1. Ps. xxxix. 4. 5 Sept. xxxviii.



ليلاً ونهاراً من أجل الضيق والحزن الموافق وخاتمة<sup>1</sup> خراب الديارات المقدسة وكنائسها فلما نظر الرب هذه البلايا والاحزان التي صبر عليها هذا القديس اراد ان يريحه من نفاق هذا العالم فاخذته حمى<sup>2</sup> اياماً قليلاً<sup>3</sup> فظهر له في المنام مرقس الانجيلي في<sup>4</sup> اليوم السابع عشر من شهر برمودة وكان يوم احد الفصح تلك السنة وقال له افرح يا مرقس خليفتي المأمون افرح ايها المجاهد على الحق هو ذا قد وهبك السيد يسوع المسيح هذه الموهبة ان ينقلك الى مساكنه الابدية في يوم<sup>5</sup> قيامته المقدسة كن مستعداً للقائه في هذه الليلة تفارق هذا الجسد وهذه علامة لك ان عند تناولك من السرائر المقدسة الله يقبل روحك اليه فلما استيقظ الاب القديس قال للاساقفة الجلوس عند اسرعوا لتتموا القداس مجدداً لقيامة المسيح ربنا فلما نظروه الالباء الاساقفة وهو قلق جداً ما ارادوا مفارقتة فلما صلب عليهم فعلوا ارادته وقدسوا فلما فرغ<sup>6</sup> القداس جاؤوا<sup>7</sup> اليه بالكأس فتناول

— 1. A. وبخاصة BDEFG وبخاص 1. — 2. الحمى F الحمى E حمة B. — 3. Mss. قلايل. — 4. E om. to السنة add. ليلة عيد الفصح. — 5. F ليلة. — 6. BEG قرغوا. — 7. D كملوا F قرغوا. — 8. D. جابوا اليد الكاس.

foul tribe. » Thus our father did not cease to weep night and day for the distress and grief which had come, and especially for the ruin of the holy monasteries and their churches.

So when the Lord saw these trials and griefs which this holy man was enduring, he desired to give him rest from the treachery of this world. Accordingly he was attacked by a fever during a few days. Then Mark the evangelist appeared to him in a dream on the 17th. day of Barmūdah, which was the Sunday of Easter that year, and said to him : « Rejoice, O Mark, my trusted successor; rejoice, O champion of the Truth! Behold the Lord Jesus Christ grants thee this favour, that he will transfer thee to his eternal mansions on the day of his holy Resurrection. Be ready to meet him this night, when thou shalt be parted from this body. And this shall be a sign to thee. When thou shalt partake of the Holy Mysteries, God will receive thy soul to himself. » Therefore the holy father on awaking said to the bishops sitting with him : « Hasten to celebrate the Liturgy in honour of the Resurrection of Christ our Lord. » But as the fathers and bishops saw him much agitated, they did not wish to leave him; nevertheless, after he had made the sign of the Cross over them, they did as he desired, and said the Liturgy. And when the Liturgy was finished, they brought the Chalice to him; and he partook of the Body and Blood of Christ our God. Afterwards, having said to them : « I com-

جسد ودم المسيح الالهنا ثم قال لهم انا اودعكم جميعكم للرب وفتح فاد واسلم الروح  
يا لعظم ذلك الحزن الذي نال جميع الارثوذكسيين فاجتمعوا اليه وقرؤوا عليه كما  
يجب وكفنوه وجعلوه في تابوت خشب في بيعة نبروة الى زمان اراد الله ان ينقله الى  
مدينة الاسكندرية والذي اقام على الكرسي عشرون سنة وسبعون يوما وكان نياحته في  
الثاني والعشرين من برمودة خمس مائة خمس وثلاثين للشهداء وهو<sup>1</sup> ماسك البيعة المقدسة  
وكتب في ايامه احدا وعشرين مصطاغوجيا وعشرين اريطستيكا وسكن<sup>2</sup> مع القديسين في  
كوردة الاحياء والمجد<sup>3</sup> للاب والابن والروح القدس الى الابد امين

ابا يعقوب البطرك

وهو من العدد الخمسون

كان قبل نياحة الاب القديس ابا مرقس كانت البرية المقدسة بوادي هبيب خرابا  
التي<sup>4</sup> ذاق خرابها الاب المذكور حتى انه سأل الرب في نقاه من هذا العالم وألا يبقيه

1. E om. to end. add. عباد وبركاته تكون معنا امين. — 2. F om. with 2 f. wds. add. السبح لله دائما ابديا امين. — 3. D om. to end. add. وصار الى النياح الابدى. — 4. E om. to end. add. والصعد من. عبادته تكون معنا ونسبنا الى النفس الاخيرة امين. — 5. E om. to end. add. لما نالها من العرب والذي بقي بعد العمل من الابا القديسين الساكنين فيها دفنوا في المدن والديارات بمصر والسعيد.

mend you all to the Lord », he opened his mouth and gave up the ghost.

O how great was that sorrow which fell upon all the orthodox! The-reupon they gathered around his body, and read the appointed office over him, and enshrouded him, and laid him in a wooden coffin, which they placed in the church of Nebrūwah, until God should permit its removal to Alexandria. Abba Mark had occupied the see twenty years and seventy days; and he died on the 22nd. of Barnūdah, in the year 535 of the Mar-tyrs, ruling the holy Church. He wrote during his pontificate twenty one books of Mystagogia, and twenty Festal Letters. And he went to dwell with the Saints in the Land of the Living. Glory belongs to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen.

JAMES, THE FIFTIETH PATRIARCH. A. D. 819-830.

Before the decease of the holy father, Abba Mark, the holy desert of Wadi Habib had been laid waste; and this devastation had so tried the

المحزون الذى ناله على تلك المواضع لما نالها من العرب المخالفين وكونهم ملكوها وطردوا  
 اباؤنا القديسين الذين كانوا فيها وقتلوا منهم جماعة واحرقوا البيع والمناشيب<sup>1</sup> اعنى<sup>2</sup>  
 القلالي<sup>3</sup> بالنار ولاجل ما<sup>4</sup> نالهم من القتل تفرقوا الرهبان فى المدن والقرى والديارات  
 باعمال مصر والصعيدين ولم يبق فيها منهم الا نفر يسير ممن اختار الموت ليفدى<sup>5</sup> نفس  
 اخوته بنفسه فورث الحياة الابدية بصبره وحفظهم الرب فلم يرجع احد يؤذيهم ولا يضرهم  
 وكان فى ذلك الزمان فى دير ابينا ابي مقار قس مضى الافعال اسمه يعقوب هذا لما  
 بدأ خراب الديارات خرج منها ومضى الى دير فى الصعيد ليتعبد فيه منتظرا زمانا يعود  
 فيه الى<sup>6</sup> الجبل المقدس ميزان القلوب وادى هبيب والرب محب البشر العارف<sup>7</sup>  
 السرائر المخفية التى يظهرها لقديسيه فى كل زمان ويفعل ارادته فيهم صنع امرا عجيبا  
 فى هذا الانسان المذكور القس يعقوب القديس وهو<sup>8</sup> انه استحق ان ينظر جليانا<sup>9</sup> لانه

1. F om. with f. wd. — 2. D om. with f. wd. — 3. F والقلاى. — 4. DF om. to القتل  
 add. ذلك. — 5. E om. to يضرهم. — 6. E om. to ام النور. — 7. Mss. عارف. — 8. AB DG  
 om. with f. wd. — 9. F om. to ظهرت له add. النور فراها.

said father, that he besought the Lord to remove him from this world, and not to leave him to the sorrow which he endured for those monasteries, because of what they suffered at the hands of the miscreant Arabs, through their having taken possession of them and driven out our holy fathers who dwelt there, and killed many, and burnt the churches and the *manshübahs*<sup>1</sup>, that is to say, the cells, with fire. In consequence of this slaughter, the monks were dispersed among the cities \* and villages and monasteries, in the various provinces of Egypt and the two Thebaid. Thus none was left in the cells of Wādī Ḥabīb save a few persons, who chose death, that they might redeem the life of their brothers by their own life, and so inherited eternal life by their endurance. And God protected them, so that none did them any further hurt or injury.

At that time there was in the monastery of our father Macarius a priest, called James, who shed light around him by his conduct. When the devastation of the monasteries began, he quitted them and departed to a monastery in Upper Egypt, that he might serve God there, while awaiting a time when he might return to the holy mountain of Mizân al-Kulûb, or Wādī Ḥabīb. And the Lord, the Lover of mankind, who knows the hidden secrets, which he reveals to his saints at all times, working his will among them,

1. Coptic ⲙⲁⲛⲩⲱⲃⲁⲥ.





لأن بك يجتمعون أولا دى الى مواضعهم التى بددهم منها الشيطان فاقام فى وسط من  
بقى من الرهبان يعزيهم ويسليهم يوما بعد يوم ولما نظر المنام زاد فى نسكه واعماله  
الحسنة حتى شاهد امورا عجيبة عظيمة علوية<sup>1</sup> وكان<sup>2</sup> كما من يشاهد النور الذى هو  
حائط به يعلم ان الله قد اصطفاه ثم اظهر الله امرا عجيبا له فيما هو قائم يصلى للسرب  
بالليل ويجعل بقية ليله فى<sup>3</sup> عمل يديه كعادته لحقه خوف ورعب وبكى جدا فقال له  
من كان معه ما الذى حل بك يا ابنى القديس ما انت نائم فقال لهم يا اولادى افكارى  
اختلطت الى فوق وسمعت امرا لاجل ابينا القديس انا مرقس ان يقيم على البطريركية  
اربعين سنة ثم بعد ذلك سمعت امرا اخر من عند الرب بأن ينسح ابانا البطرك فى هذه  
السنة ولاجل ذلك بكيت بحرقة قلب فسألت الرب ان يصطفى من يجلسه على هذا  
الكرسى باستحقاق ثم سكنت ولم يمض بعد نظره الرويا الا زمان يسير حتى بدأ الاب  
مرقس القديس ان يمرض مرض وفاته كما شرحنا انه سأل الرب ان ينقله اليه وكان عنده

وكان لما مرض الاب انبا add. وبركة لجميع الارثوذكسيين 1. DF om. — 2. E om. to مرقس مرض وفاته وكان عنده ابا اساقفة فسألوه من يستحق الجلوس بعده واقسموا عليه باسم  
الرب فبعد جهد اخبرهم ان يعقوب القس بدير ابو مقار مستحق لذلك لعمل 3. F

Thus James continued among the monks who had remained in their places, comforting and consoling them day after day. After he had seen that dream, he grew in devotion and in good works, until he witnessed great and sublime wonders; and all those that saw the light that shone around him knew that God had chosen him. At that time God granted him a wonderful communication. While he was standing in prayer at night, and spending the rest of the night working with his hands according to his custom, fear and dread came over him, and he wept sore. His companions said to him : « What has befallen thee, my holy Father, art thou not asleep? » And he replied : « My sons, my thoughts have been caught up to high places, and I heard things concerning our holy father, Abba Mark, that he would remain patriarch forty years. But afterwards I heard another thing from the Lord, that he will take our father the patriarch to his rest this year. Therefore I wept with a burning heart. Then I prayed the Lord to choose him whom he will seat upon this throne for his merit ». After these words he was silent. And only a short time passed after he had seen that vision before the holy father Mark first fell sick of his mortal sickness, as we have related that he prayed the Lord to remove him to himself. And there were with the father Mark bishops, who prayed him humbly,

اباء اساقفة فسألوه بتضرع قائلين يا ابانا المغبوط نسألك ان تقول لنا ما اظهره الرب لك من يستحق ان يجلس بعدك على الكرسي الانجيلي ولم يكن الاب القديس يظهر للاساقفة ولا<sup>١</sup> يوجد لهم انه يعرف شيئا من هذا بل قال لهم قد اوقد الرب المصباح وجعله على المنارة ليضيء على سائر من في بيته الذي<sup>٢</sup> هو البيعة فوقف احد الاساقفة مسن كان فيه امانة قويّة في الاب البطرك وبدأ ان يسأله ويقسم عليه باسم الرب والكرسي المقدس ان يقول له من الذي اصطفاه الرب للجلوس بعدد على الكرسي فاجاب بصوت خفي وقال للاسقف يعقوب<sup>٣</sup> القديس الذي من بيعة ابينا القديس ابي مقار هو الرجل المنزّه بافعاله وتقدّم الى الاسقف ان لا يعلم احدا بهذا واقسم عليه بالبيعة على ذلك حتى ينظروا مجد الله يتم<sup>٤</sup> فيه ثم تنيح الاب القديس كما ذكرنا انما فيا لهذا المجد العظيم الذي لكرسي القديس ماري مرقس الانجيلي واكلم من يجلس عليه لانه بنعمة روح القدس النار يصطفى ويختار بجلوله على كل واحد منهم كما قال الرب لتلاميذه ورسالته<sup>٥</sup> هو ذا انا معكم كل الايام والى انقضاء العالم

1. DF om. with f. wd. — 2. ABDG الذي هي F الى هي — 3. F prefixes هو. — 4. F om. — 5. F om.

saying : « Our blessed Father, we beg thee to tell us what the Lord has revealed to thee. Who is worthy to sit after thee upon the evangelical throne? » But the holy father would not reveal nor declare to the bishops that he knew aught of this matter, only answering them thus : « The Lord has lighted the lamp, and set it on the candlestick, that it may give light to all in the house, which is his Church ». But one of the bishops, in whom was a firm faith in the father patriarch, stood up and began to beg and adjure him, in the name of the Lord and of the holy see, to declare who it was that the Lord had chosen to sit after him upon the throne. Then he answered in a low voice and said to that bishop : « The holy James of the church of our father, Saint Macarius, is the man adorned by his deeds ». And he commanded the bishop not to disclose this secret to anyone, and made him swear this for the sake of the Church, that they might see the glory of God perfected in him. After that the holy father died, as we have before related. O the great glory of the throne of Saint Mark the evangelist, and of all that sit thereupon! For by the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Fire, they are chosen and elected through his descent upon each one of them. As the Lord said to his disciples and apostles<sup>1</sup> : « Behold, I am with you all days even unto the end of the world ».

1. S. Matth., xxviii. 20.



وانا اشرح<sup>1</sup> لكم يسيرا<sup>2</sup> من اعمال يعقوب القديس القس في رهبته قبل ان يجعلونه قسا ومن قبل ان<sup>3</sup> يجلس على الكرسي غير اني<sup>4</sup> اعرف عجزى واني لا ابلغ شيئا من عظم افعاله ومجد الثالوث الحائط به ولذلك اختصر في الكلام<sup>5</sup> فلما بداية اسمه وما صبر عليه فهو ربح وبركة لجميع الارثوذكسيين

لسا تسيح ابونا البطرک ابنا مرقس حزن<sup>6</sup> البيعة عليه حزننا عظيما وجميع الشعب وخاصة المدينة المحبة لله الاسكندرية لعدمهم نظر ايهم من بينهم ومن غيبته عنهم وبعد ايام زال الحرب والقتال من الاسكندرية ومصر وجميع قبائل الاندلسيين<sup>7</sup> والمايخيين<sup>8</sup> والمدالجة وبدؤوا يتهلون ويصلون الى الله في<sup>9</sup> ان يذكر بيعته التي اشتراها بدمه<sup>10</sup> ويظهر<sup>11</sup> لهم راعيهم الذي يرعاهم ويعزيهم في قلقهم فاجتمع الاباء الاساقفة والشعب المحب للمسيح وطلبوا<sup>12</sup> من<sup>13</sup> يستحق هذه الرتبة<sup>14</sup> وذكروا جماعة وفيهم المضيء يعقوب القس وكان هذا

1. DF. — 2. بعض اعمال القس يعقوب F. اردت ان اشرح F اردت اشرح D. — 3. DF في F. — 4. F om. to واني add. واعلم اني. — 5. F om. to. — 6. E om. to عنهم add. البيعة والشعب. — 7. BDEG. — 8. E om. with f. wd. — 9. BDEFG om. — 10. F add. الكريم. — 11. E om. to الرتبة. — 12. So DF; ABG om. — 13. ABDG لمن. — 14. F الرياسة.

Now I would recount to you a few of the deeds of the holy James, the priest, while he was a monk, before he was ordained priest, and before he sat upon the throne, if I did not know my incapacity, and that I cannot at all attain to an adequate description of the magnitude of his actions, and of the glory of the Trinity which surrounded him. For this reason I will abridge my discourse. As for his ordination and that which he endured at first, those things were a profit and a blessing to all the orthodox.

When our father, the patriarch Abba Mark, went to his rest, the Church and all the people mourned for him deeply, and above all the God-loving city of Alexandria, because they missed the sight of their father among them, and because of his absence from them. After a time the fighting and conflict ceased in Alexandria and Egypt, and among all the tribes of the Spaniards and Lakhmites and Madlajites. Then the people began to pray and beseech God to remember his Church, which he bought with his Blood, and to show them their shepherd, who should feed and console them in their trouble. So the bishops and the Christ-loving laity gathered together, to seek one who was worthy of this degree. And they mentioned many names, and among them that of the illuminator, James the priest. This was a dispensation from God, who placed this name in

تدبير من الله وجعل اسمه في فهم<sup>1</sup> لانه<sup>2</sup> المستحق لهذا الرئاسة<sup>3</sup> فذكر الاسقف  
السقوط<sup>4</sup> الذي كان قال له الاب البطرك مرقس المتيسح من اجل العمود المضيء يعقوب  
فاعلم السر لجماعة الاساقفة فصرخوا بصوت واحد يستحق يستحق الذي<sup>5</sup> افعاله  
مثل افعال الملائكة وهو الارضى وهو سمائي فاسرعوا وجاؤوا الى البرية الى بيعة  
القديس ابي مقار واخذوا القس يعقوب بغتة قبل ان يعلم وساروا<sup>6</sup> به الى مدينة  
الاسكندرية وكان يبكي ويقول مبارك هو الرب الويل لي انا الغير مستحق لهذا الكرامة  
العظيمة لنقصي<sup>7</sup> عن هذا الامر والمجد العظيم الذي انا قادم عليه ويسأل الله ليله ونهاره  
اجمع ان يخرج من العالم قبل ان يتقدم هذا الامر وهو<sup>8</sup> ذا هو باك<sup>9</sup> وسائل في هذا  
اذ رأى مناما عجيبا كعادته ان الله يعزيه ويقول له كما قال ليعقوب الاب الاول لا تخف  
يا يعقوب فهو ذا انا معك الى<sup>10</sup> مصر واقويك واكون<sup>11</sup> معك في جهادك لتستحق الاكليل

1. DF add. حلوا. — 2. BEG اند DF راند. — 3. F البرية. — 4. E om. to لجماعة add.  
— 5. E om. to سمائي. — 6. ADF وساروا. — 7. DF om. to العظيم: E om. to عليه. — 8. EF om. with f. wd. add. رغبنا. — 9. E om.  
to اذ add. هكذا. — 10. E om. with f. wd. — 11. E om. to يربح.

their mouths because James was the one worthy of this primacy. Then the blessed bishop, to whom the deceased patriarch Mark had spoken of James, the pillar of light, mentioned this fact, and made the secret known to the assembled bishops. Therefore they cried with one voice : « He is worthy, he is worthy, he is worthy, whose deeds are as the deeds of the angels. He is of earth, and yet he is of heaven ». So they hastened, and came to the desert, to the church of Saint Macarius, and took the priest James suddenly, before he knew. And they conducted him to the city of Alexandria, while he wept, saying : « Blessed is the Lord ! Alas for me, who am unworthy of this great honour ! For I am unfit for this office and the great glory to which I am promoted ». And he prayed God the whole of that night and day to remove him from this world, before investing him with this dignity. And behold, while he was weeping and praying for this release, he saw a wonderful dream, as he often did ; for God consoled him, and said to him, as he said to Jacob<sup>1</sup>, the ancient father : « Fear not James, for behold I go with thee to Egypt ; and I will strengthen thee and be with thee in thy conflict, that thou mayest deserve the crown like thy militant brethren Severus and Dioscorus, whose life thine own resembles ». Then he awoke trembling. Afterwards he was brought

1. Gen., XLVI, 3, 4.

مثل اخويك المجاهدين ساويرس وديسقرس اللذين سيرتك مثل سيرتهما فاستيقظ يربع<sup>1</sup>  
ثم دخلوا به الى الاسكندرية وقسموه رئيسا على الاساقفة بيد<sup>2</sup> كاملة وشرطونية صحيحة  
واستوجب ان ينظر<sup>3</sup> شيخ راهب كان خرج من البرية عند ما فرشوا الانجيل فوق رأسه  
صورتين احديهما تشبه صورة ديسقرس والاخرى تشبه صورة ساويرس تمسكان الانجيل  
من هاهنا ومن هاهنا واسم يعقوب البطرك في وسطهما فلما نظر هذه الاعجوبة وفيما هو  
مفكر رأى قوما<sup>4</sup> يتحدثون ويقولون هذا الانسان فعله يشبه فعل هذين الرجلين بالتحقيقة  
يا<sup>5</sup> ابائي<sup>6</sup> ان هذا القديس كانت سيرته فاضلة مثل سيرة القديس ساويرس في افعاله  
وكان عظة<sup>7</sup> للمخالفين بالخوف وبحسن امانته واعترافه وطقسه وكانوا يهابون كلامه لانه  
عند جلوسه عمل مقالة نوثاتيريون<sup>8</sup> يقطع فيه جميع الهاريسيس الاكسارسطوس<sup>9</sup> والمجمع  
الطمث الخلقدونى واصحاب<sup>10</sup> الخيال الذين هم الغايسيون<sup>11</sup> هؤلاء الذين ينكرون الآلام

1. F مبرعا. — 2. E om. to صحيحة. — 3. This passage is acc. to F: ABDG have ان ينظر شيخا راهبا خرج من البرية فلما فرشوا الانجيل فوق راسه شاهد صورتين احديهما تمسكت الانجيل من هاهنا والاخرى هاهنا متشابهتان اسم الواحد ديسقرس واسم الآخر يراند. — 4. ABEG وهما. — 5. E om. to لاند add. — 6. F add. القديسين. — 7. DF وعظة. — 8. A نواسريون BFG نواسرون. — 9. ADG الكساريطوس E om. F اللساريطرس. — 10. E om. to بالجلوس. — 11. F الغابايسين.

into Alexandria, and consecrated archbishop with full authority and valid ordination. And he was counted worthy of this — that an aged monk, who had come out of the desert, when the open book of the gospels was held over the head of Abba James, beheld two forms, one of them like the picture of Dioscorus and the other like that of Severus, which grasped the gospels on this side and on that; and the name of the patriarch James was between them. After he had witnessed this wonder, and while he was thinking upon it, he saw men conversing together, who said : « This man's conduct indeed resembles the conduct of these two men ».

O my fathers, the life of this saint was virtuous like the life of the holy Severus! Moreover Abba James was an admonition to the heretics, because they stood in awe of him, and because of the excellence of his faith, and his confession and his office; and they held his words in reverence. For when he was enthroned, he delivered an admonitory discourse, in which he anathematized all the banished heresies, and the impure council of Chalcedon, and the Phantasiasts, that is the Gaianites, who deny the



المحيية التي لله الكلمة التي قبلها بالجسد وفي بعض الايتام قُرب الشعب وجاء<sup>1</sup> الى منزله وكانت عادة الاسكندرانيين ان يدعون عندهم المخالفون ليروا اعيادهم ومجد البطرك وكانوا<sup>2</sup> يفعلون هذا حتى يظهروا لهم المجد الذي اعطاهم الله وما يظهر لهم من اعمال الاباء الذين جاؤوا<sup>3</sup> وجلسوا<sup>4</sup> على كرسي البشير مرقس ففعلوا هذا مع الاب البطرك يعقوب وحضر<sup>5</sup> جماعة منهم فظنوا الممتئي من نعمة الروح القدس<sup>6</sup> وهم<sup>7</sup> مختلطون مع الارثوذكسيين<sup>8</sup> وقال مثل ما قال بولس الرسول اي شركة للحق<sup>9</sup> مع الاثم او اي شركة للنور<sup>10</sup> مع الظلمة او<sup>11</sup> كيف يتفق المسيح مع الشيطان او اي نصيب للمؤمن<sup>12</sup> مع مخالف<sup>13</sup> وقال ليكونوا هؤلاء المخالفون وجماعتهم مبعودين من هذا المجمع<sup>14</sup> المؤمن المبارك<sup>15</sup> وكما ان ليس لهم معنا نصيب في الروحانيات ولا يكون لهم في الجسدانيات فخرجوا جميعهم بخزي وخجل من باب البيعة وكان فيهم انسان غنى مسلط<sup>16</sup> على جباية

1. F جا. — 2. E om. to مرقس. — 3. DF om. — 4. DF جلسا. — 5. E om. to add. ما قال. — 6. D add. ونظروهم. — 7. F om. to add. الروح القدس وقال. — 8. ABDE add. فامتلى من روح القدس. — 9. E add. الحق للآثم. — 10. E add. مع النور والظلمة. — 11. E om. to الشيطان. — 12. DF add. للمؤمن مع المخالف. — 13. E كافر. — 14. DF add. المقدس. — 15. DF om. — 16. BE مسلط.

lifegiving Passion of God the Word, which he accepted in the flesh.

On a certain day the patriarch communicated the people, and then came to his residence. Now it was the custom of the Alexandrians that the heretics used to pray with them, in order to see their festivals and the glory of the patriarch. And they used to do this, that the orthodox might show the glory that God had given them to the heretics, and the works which he manifested for his people of the fathers, who came and sat upon the throne of Mark the evangelist. So the heretics did the same thing with the father and patriarch James; for a company of them were present, and saw him full of the grace of the Holy Ghost, while they were mixed with the orthodox. Thereupon he exclaimed, like Paul the apostle<sup>1</sup>: « What fellowship has truth with error, or light with darkness? Or how does Christ agree with Satan? Or what share has one that believes with a heretic? » Then he added: « Let these heretics and their congregation remain far from this faithful and blessed assembly! For as they have no share with us in spiritual things, so they shall have none in material things! » So all the heretics went out in shame and confusion through

1. II Cor., vi, 14, 15.

خراج الاسكندرية في ذلك الوقت وكان له سلطان في الاندلسيين وولاية فمضى مسرعاً واعلم صاحب الخراج ما جرى وتكلم في الاب بطرك ابا يعقوب وقال له انه قد احرمهم فلما سمع المخالف هذا امتلاً غضباً على ابينا بطرك وقال كلاماً عظيماً وارسل الى الاب وقال له اني ادعك ان تلتفت في البيعة اذا قلت السلام لا تجد انساناً يقول لك ومع روحك فلما سمع ابونا هذا الكلام من المخالف قال بنعمة روح القدس هكذا نعم ما تنبأ به على هذا المخالف اشعياء النبي اذ يقول ان غضبه وزخرد وفكره يرجع على رأسه وظلمك وغضبك قد صعد التي فانا اربطك بلجام في شفئك ولا يزول من مكانه حتى تتم القضية عليه وهكذا تكون قضيته وحقاً اقول لكم انني لا ادخل بيعة الرب حتى يتم الله هذا الحكم فيه عاجلاً وبعد ذلك وقع للمذكور خصومة وقتل واخذ جميع ما في بيته ولم يبق له شيء فلما نظروا المخالفون الذين في الاسكندرية هذا العجب الذي كان وتمام ما قاله الاب المشتمل بروح القدس لم يقدر احد من

يرد عليك add. روحك 2. E om. — 1. E متولي.

the door of the church. And there was among them a rich man, who had been set over the collection of the taxes at Alexandria at that time, and had authority and superintendence among the Spaniards. Therefore that man quickly departed, and informed the superintendent of the revenue of what had happened, and accused the father patriarch, Abba James, declaring that he had excommunicated them. The heretic, on hearing this, was filled with wrath against our father, the patriarch, and uttered violent words, and sent a message to the father, saying : « I will make thee turn round in the church, when thou sayest Peace be with you, and not find a person to answer And with thy spirit ». But our father, when he heard these words from the heretic, answered by the grace of the Holy Ghost thus : « Well did Isaias' prophesy against this heretic, saying that his wrath and fury and imagination should return upon his own head. And thy violence and anger have come up to me, and therefore I will fasten thee with a bridle between thy lips. And he shall not remove from his place till this judgment be executed upon him; and so his fate shall be. And I tell you truly that I shall not enter the church of the Lord before God shall swiftly carry out this sentence upon him ». After that, a lawsuit was brought against this man, and he was put to death, and everything that was in his house was seized, and nothing was left that belonged to him. Therefore, when the heretics of Alexandria saw this wonder that had

1. Is., xxxvii, 29; IV Kings, xix, 28.

المخالفين ان يخاطبه بكلمة وكان بطركهم يوقره ويخافه ويحيد عنه وكانت اعماله الحسنة تتزايد وتنمو اكثر من اعمال رهبانيته ولم يكن ينظر مجد الناس بل يعمل باعمال الله وعقله فوق مثل بولس الرسول الذي لم يكن يفتر من الكرازة والبطارة باسم يسوع المسيح ويسبح الله فقال لشعبه سمعت ان منكم قوما بطالين كسالى وانا اطالب اليكم ان تعملوا اعمالكم بدعة وتاكلوا خبزكم كما قال بولس الرسول ان<sup>1</sup> يدي كنت اخدم ولم اثقل عليكم ونعم اصلاح نصيب المحتاج ولا ياخذ من احد وكان هو يسير من الدنيا يكفيه وليس ينصب للسوائد مثل الناس بل ياكل خبزه بالدموع بل كانت اعماله تنير في وجهه وكلما يطلبه من الله يعطيه وكلمته تقطع اكثر من سيف ذي فسين

واخبركم<sup>2</sup> يا اخوتي انه كان في ايام هذا السغبوط البطرك ابنا يعقوب له قرابة محب لمسيح رئيس مقدم في نبوة اسمه مقارة فلما سمع بجلاوسه على الكرسي فرح فرحا

1. E om. to يكتفئ باليسير add. وكان هذا الاب يكتفئ باليسير. — 2. E om. to قرابة add. وكان. لهذا الاب قريب.

taken place, and the fulfilment of that which was said by the father, who was overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, not one of them could say a word against him. And their own patriarch respected and feared him, and would not oppose him. And the good works of Abba James increased and grew more than those of his monastic days. And he did not look for the praise of men, but worked the works of God; and his mind was set on high like that of Paul the apostle<sup>1</sup>, who did not cease to proclaim and preach the name of Jesus Christ, and to praise God.

And Abba James said to his people : « I hear that there are among you vain idlers. But I pray you to do your work quietly, and eat your bread, according to the words of the apostle Paul<sup>2</sup> : I served with my own hand, and was not a burden upon you. And it is good to improve the lot of the needy ». And he did not take from anyone, and little of this world's goods sufficed him; nor did he take up arms against misfortunes, as men do; but he ate his bread with tears. Yea, his works shone forth in his face. And all that he asked of God he gave him. And his word was sharper than a two-edged sword.

Now I will inform you, my brethren, that in the days of this blessed father, Abba James, there was a near relation of his, named Macarius, who loved Christ; and he was a prominent official at Nebruwah. This man,

1. Eph., ii, 6; Phil., iii, 20; Col., iii, 1. — 2. I Thess., ii, 9; II Thess., iii, 8; cf. I Cor., iv, 12; II Cor., xi, 9.



عظيما ومجد الله الذي يختار اصفياء وزاد في الصدقة ومحبة الاخوة وارسل الى الاسكندرية ما تحتاج اليه البيع بحكم<sup>1</sup> انه قريب البطرك وكان<sup>2</sup> يكرم الاساقفة ويخافهم<sup>3</sup> وبدأ الغلاء والسبي يفل<sup>4</sup> في الاسكندرية ولم يجد البطرك ما يدفع للبيع كالعادة ولم يبق معه شيء وانقطع مضى الشعب من كل موضع الى بيعة الشهيد ماري مينا بمريوط ومنه<sup>5</sup> كان البطرك بالبيع وسبب هذا الحرب والقتال الذي كان بين المصريين والمدالجة والاندلسيين وكان هذا بالاسكندرية وكان شماس اسمه جرجة من مقدمي كهنة الاسكندرية وكان قيما لبيعة الاسكندرية فبدأ يتكلم عن هذا الاب حتى انه قال له تدفع<sup>6</sup> لنا ما نحتاج اليه كما جرت العادة وآلا فامض<sup>7</sup> الى البرية من حيث جئت<sup>8</sup> فلما سمع<sup>9</sup> قول هذا العاتي الاب البطرك وانه<sup>10</sup> ما احتشم منه وزاد في كلامه قال له لا تعود من الآن تدخل رجلك من هذا الباب الى هذا الموضع فخرج الشماس بغضب عظيم من عنده

1. E om. to البطركى. — 2. A وكان يكرم F om. to ويخافهم. — 3. E om. — 4. BDEG انا F om. — 5. DEF om. to بالاسكندرية. — 6. E يدفع. — 7. E فيمضى. — 8. E انا. — 9. E سمع قول هذا الباس. — 10. E om. to كلامه.

when he heard that Abba James had been enthroned, rejoiced greatly, and glorified God who chooses his elect, and increased in almsgiving and in charity towards his brethren, and sent to Alexandria what was needed by the churches, on the ground that he was a kinsman of the patriarch. And Macarius honoured the bishops and respected them.

But famine and plunder began to reappear at Alexandria; and the patriarch could not find that which he was wont to give to the churches, for nothing was left to him. And the visits of the faithful from all parts to the church of the martyr Saint Mennas at Maryût were interrupted; and with them the patriarch used to trade. The cause of all this was the war and fighting that took place between the Egyptians and the Madlajites and Spaniards; and the scene of these disturbances was at Alexandria. And there was a deacon, named George, who was one of the chief of the clergy of Alexandria, and superintendent of the church of Alexandria. But he began to speak against this father, Abba James, and even said to him : « Thou shalt give us what we need according to custom, or else go back to the desert whence thou camest ». When the father patriarch heard this rebel speak thus, and perceived that he stood in no awe of the patriarchal dignity, but increased in his insolence, he said to him : « Henceforth thy foot shall never again enter through this door into this chamber ». And the deacon went out in great wrath from his presence, and departed to

مضى<sup>1</sup> الى بيته ولم يلتمس من الاب القديس تحليلاً ولا تاب فالحقه حتى<sup>2</sup> صالبه وكانوا  
يمسكونه من قوّة النيران التي تلحقه وتوقى في يومه واعلموا البطرك بهذا فحزن حزناً عظيماً  
وطلب الى الله ان يحل نفسه من الرباط الذي<sup>3</sup> ارتبط به ويحله ايضاً من الخطيئة ومن  
يوم وفاة هذا الشماس دخل السموت والفناء الى جميع بيته ولم يبت فيه احد الى اليوم  
فلما نظر الجمع هذه الاعجوبة وان كلامه بسلطان كمثل الرسل خافوا وفزعوا<sup>4</sup> وارتعبوا<sup>5</sup>  
ولم يجسر احد ان يخاطبه وكان<sup>6</sup> عندهم مثل نبي

فلما<sup>7</sup> قربت الاربعون يوماً الصوم المقدس اراد الاب ان يسكن الى بزيّة ابى مقار  
ليقوى<sup>8</sup> الاخوة الرهبان ويعزيهم ويقيم عندهم الى عيد الفصح المقدس كما جرت عادة  
الآباء لبطاركة فلما وصل اليها فرح<sup>9</sup> جميعهم ولقود<sup>10</sup> وصاحوا مبارك الآتى باسم الرب  
وجاء كل الآباء الشيوخ من مغايرهم والجبّال<sup>11</sup> يجرون كمثل الوحوش المشتاقين الى

فلما مات add. اليوم E om. to بيند — 2. BE حمة. — 3. E om. to اليوم add. — 4. DF om. with f. wd. — 5. E om. — 6. E om. to نبي. — 7. E om. المقدسة يوم الاربعين يوم المقدسة E. — 8. E om. to المقدس. — 9. F om. with f. wd. — 10. AD ولقود BEG ولقود — 11. E om. to عظم.

his own house, and did not beg for absolution from the holy father, nor did he repent. And a fever, accompanied by shivering fits, attacked him; so that they had to hold him on account of the violent convulsions which seized him; and he died on that very day. When the patriarch was informed, he lamented deeply, and prayed God to absolve the soul of the deacon George from the bonds of excommunication with which he was bound, and to absolve him also from sin. And from the day on which that deacon died, death and dissolution visited all his household, and none of them has remained to this day. Therefore when the multitude saw this wonder, and that the word of Abba James had authority like that of the apostles, they were awestruck, and trembled with fear; and none dared to rebuke him, for he was among them as a prophet.

On the approach of the Forty Days, the holy fast, the father resolved to visit the desert of Saint Macarius, that he might comfort and console the brethren and monks, and remain among them till the feast of holy Easter, as the custom of the patriarchs was. When he reached the desert, the monks rejoiced, and met him, crying: « Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord ». And all the fathers and seniors came from their caves and from



مجارى الماء وكانوا يأخذون بركته بفرح عظيم وكانت هذه البرية مثل فردوس الرب  
 بسلامة الاب بطرك ومساعدة<sup>1</sup> بنى المعمودية المصريين<sup>2</sup> وكان للبطرك محبة عظيمة  
 لبرية اكثر من الرهبان ويفعل فيها مثل قرنيلىوس فى زمانه فارسل الى جميع الابهاء  
 والمناسيب<sup>3</sup> وقال كل من يحتاج الى شىء لمنشويته<sup>4</sup> ياتى ياخذ لان البربر كانوا قد نهبوا<sup>5</sup>  
 جميع<sup>6</sup> مالهم وهدموا البيع واحرقوا القلالي بالنار فلما اجتمعوا الابهاء الرهبان سبّحوا الرب  
 على تجديد النعمة عليهم ومجدوا الله على ذلك ولما رأى الاب ان الحمام قد عاد الى  
 وكرة الاول فرح وكان فى ايام قسييته<sup>7</sup> قد بدأ بعمارة هيكل على اسم القديس شنودة  
 قبلى هيكل القديس ابي مقار وكانوا الرهبان يجتمعون اليه عوض البيع المهدومة  
 وكملة وجدد<sup>8</sup> البيع وسبّحوا ومجدوا الشالوث كالملائكة فلما رأى الشيطان هذا زار  
 كمثل السبع واعدّ سهاماً للبطرك وللبعية وكان فى ذلك الزمان للبطرك شماس يختص

1. DF om. to انبا يعقوب F add. المصريين — 2. E om. to زمانه. — 3. EF om. F add.  
 ابهاث القلالي. — 4. E لثلايته. — 5. E نهبرهم. — 6. E om. to البيع. — 7. E قسانيته. — 8. E  
 om. to كالملائكة.

the mountains, running like deer which long for the waterbrooks<sup>1</sup>. And they received his blessing with great gladness. And this desert was like the Paradise of the Lord, through the prayers of the father patriarch and the assistance of the baptized Egyptians. The patriarch had a great affection for the desert, more than the monks had. And he acted there as Cornelius<sup>2</sup> did in his time; for he sent a message to all the fathers and to the cells, saying : « If anyone need anything for his cell, let him come and take it ». For the barbarians had robbed them of all their goods, and wrecked the churches, and burnt the cells with fire. So when the monks came together again, they praised the Lord for the renewal of his favour upon them, and glorified God for these mercies. The father also rejoiced, seeing that the doves had returned to their former nest. In the days of his priesthood he had begun to build a sanctuary in the name of Saint Sinuthius, to the south of the sanctuary of Saint Macarius; and there the monks began to assemble instead of the ruined churches. Now he finished it, and restored the other churches. And they praised and glorified the Trinity, as the angels do.

But when Satan saw this, he roared like a lion, and prepared arrows to discharge against the patriarch and the Church. Now the patriarch had at that time a deacon, who was attached to him for his service, and who did

1. Ps. xlii, 1 (Sept. xlii). — 2. Acts, x. 2. 31.



به<sup>١</sup> لخدمته ويفعل<sup>٢</sup> ما<sup>٣</sup> يريد بغير مشاورة فضرب احد التلاميذ لاجل شيء عمله وعنف<sup>٤</sup> عليه فمن كثرة ما ضربه مات وكانت<sup>٥</sup> منصوبة من فيخاخ العدو الشيطان فلما شاهدوا المدالجة خفراء<sup>٦</sup> الدير ذلك مسكوا الاب البطرك واقتلوه لاجل موت الانسان وطلبوا منه الشماس ليقتلوه عوضه وكان الاب مجتهدا في خلاص نفس الشماس لاجل<sup>٧</sup> تربيته له من<sup>٨</sup> صباه وكان يظن انه يقدمه في درجة الكهنوت ولما راوا المدالجة<sup>٩</sup> اعتناء الاب به وعلموا انه ما يسلّمه اليهم تشددوا في طلبه وطلبوا منه مالا جزئيا ولم يكن مع البطرك شيء يدفع لهم فاعانوه الاساقفة والشعب المحبون لله الى ان دفعوا لهم شيئا وخاصوه من ايديهم ثم خرج الاب المغبوط يعقوب الى الصعيد ليفتقد الشعب والديارات فلما لقوه الشعب والرهبان كانوا يسجدون الله ويقولون<sup>١٠</sup> مبارك الآتي باسم الرب وتعجبوا<sup>١١</sup> من اعساله ويقولون<sup>١٢</sup> مبارك ابونا ايلياس الجديد واقام عندهم اياما قليلا<sup>١٣</sup> وعاد وكانوا<sup>١٤</sup> يفتخرون

1. F لخدمته. — 2. E om. to مشاورة. — 3. F ساير ما. — 4. ABEG راعف; DF om. with f. wd. — 5. DF وكان ذلك. — 6. E خفرا. — 7. E om. to الكهنوت. — 8. F عند. — 9. E العفرا. — 10. E om. to الرب. — 11. DF om. to الجديد. — 12. E om. to الجديد. — 13. Mss. طلائل. — 14. E om. to وفصائل.

what he liked without taking advice. This deacon punished one of the disciples by a severe beating for something that he had done; and the blows were so many that the disciple died. And this accident was caused by the snares of the Enemy, the Devil. When therefore the Madlajites, the protectors of the monastery, heard of this crime, they seized the father patriarch, and troubled him on account of the death of that person, and demanded of him that he should deliver the deacon to them, that they might put him to death in retaliation for the murder. But the father strove hard to save the life of the deacon, whom he had brought up from his youth, and had intended to promote to a higher degree among the clergy. Thereupon the Madlajites, seeing that the father was greatly interested in that deacon, and would not give him up to them, grew violent in their demand, and required a large sum of money. But the patriarch had nothing with which to satisfy them, and therefore the bishops and the God-loving people assisted him, and contributed a sum of money, and so saved him from the hands of that tribe.

After this the blessed father James departed to Upper Egypt, to make a visitation of the people and the monasteries. And whenever the people and the monks came out to meet him, they glorified God, saying: « Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord ». And they marvelled at his works.

بأعماله وفضائله وذكر أبونا الاتحاد والمحبة والرباط الذي بينه وبين ديونوسيوس بطررك  
انطاكية وكان يحب النظر اليه بالمشاهدة او بالمكاتبة ويسمعه من ذلك الحروب التي كانت  
بارض مصر وفي الطرق لأنها اقامت اربع عشرة سنة وكان يطلب الى الله ان يثبت المحبة  
بين الكرسيين الجليلين<sup>2</sup> الاسكندراني<sup>3</sup> والانطاكي ويدعوا<sup>4</sup> الى الله ان يجمع بينهما بالمشاهدة  
والمكاتبة فلم يرفض الله صلاة هذا الاب بل كملها بنظر الاب ديونوسيوس بالجسد<sup>5</sup> وانا  
اعلمكم بالسبب واعلمكم القلق والضيق الذي لحق ارض مصر والاب يعقوب البطررك  
وملكوا الاندلسيون الاسكندرية وعبد العزيز الجروى ملك بعض البلاد وكان<sup>6</sup> الاب  
مبتهلاً وباكياً لاجل خراب البلاد وطول استمرار الحروب في القتال وان اجساد الناس طعام<sup>7</sup>  
لطيور السماء<sup>8</sup> وان الجرهى ما<sup>9</sup> كان يفتر من قتل الناس واخذ اموالهم وكان يدفن ما  
ياخذه من الاموال ليلاً في الارض واذا دفن المال يقتل الذين يساعدونه<sup>10</sup> على دفعه حتى

وملكوا<sup>1</sup>. — 2. EF om. — 3. E om. with f. wd. — 4. F ويسال. — 5. E om. to  
F صارت طعاما. — 6. E om. to الجروى. — 7. D صاروا طعاما  
F والوحوش البرية. — 8. D add. ووحوش الارض. — 9. E وما. — 10. E  
om. to القرى add. يدفونه معد.

and said : « Blessed is our father, the new Elias ». He remained among  
them a few days, and then returned. But they continued to boast of his  
deeds and excellent virtues.

And our father remembered the unity and charity and bonds between  
himself and Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, and desired to see him either  
by bodily presence with him or by interchange of letters. But he was  
hindered in this by the wars, carried on in the land of Egypt and on the  
roads to Syria; for they lasted fourteen years. And he used to pray God  
to confirm the love between the two glorious sees, the Alexandrian and the  
Antiochene; and he implored God to join them together by personal inter-  
course and by letters. And God did not disregard the prayer of this father,  
but granted it by allowing him to behold the father Dionysius in the body.  
I will give you an account of this event, and of the trouble and distress  
that came upon the land of Egypt and upon the father James, the patriarch.

The Spaniards had possession of Alexandria, and Abd al-Azîz al-Jarawî  
ruled over part of the country. And the father was praying and weep-  
ing over the devastation of the land and the long continuance of the  
wars and fighting, and because the bodies of men became food for the birds  
of the air, and because Al-Jarawî did not cease to slay the people and take  
their goods. Al-Jarawî used to bury in the ground by night the money that





ذلك المتكبر ان الناس قد هلكوا ففتح فمه وقال كلمة ولم يقلها الله انا ادعهم ان يبيعوا القمح قدحا بدينار فكمل عليه كلام ناحوم النبي اذ قال يقول الله لى الانتقام بعصيتي واهلك مقاومى واعدائى عاجلاً فرحم الرب تنهد الخلق وما يراة من الغلاء وما الناس فيه وانتقم الله منه هكذا لانه مضى بجيشه الى الاسكندرية ليقاتل الاندلسيين فهربوا منه الى داخل السور واغلقوا الابواب حتى اكلوا دوابهم من الجوع وكان قد قوى عليهم وصار<sup>1</sup> يضرب الحصن بالمنجنيقات ليهدم الحصن ووطن انه يهلك كل من فيها بالسيف وكان يطلب البطرك لانه انفذ اليه يشفع فى انسان ان يصلحه اسقفا فلم يفعل ان يخرج عن قانون البيعة فلما نظر المحب<sup>2</sup> لله مقارنة<sup>3</sup> غضب عبد العزيز الجروى كتب الى الاب البطرك وطلب اليه ان يقسم ذلك الانسان اسقفاً ففعل وكان الجروى حريصاً فى طلب البطرك وقال انه يهدم البيع ويقتل الاساقفة فى كل موضع ان لم يجتمع به البطرك فسمع<sup>4</sup> مقارنة

1. ABDG وصاروا يضربوا E وكان يضرب E. — 2. E الارض مقارنة المحب لله. — 3. ABG om. — 4. E om. to فكتب add. فارسل مقارنة المذكور.

which God did not say : « I will make them sell wheat at a kadah for a dinar ». But in him the words of the prophet Nahum<sup>1</sup> were fulfilled, where he says : « God declares : To me belongs vengeance upon my foe, and I will destroy my adversaries and my enemies swiftly ». For the Lord pitied the sighs of men, and the dearth which he beheld, and the condition of the people, and took vengeance on that man Abd al-Aziz, as we will now relate. For he departed with his army to Alexandria, to fight the Spaniards; and they fled from him within the walls, and shut the gates. And the blockade lasted until they were driven by hunger to devour the flesh of their horses. Meanwhile Abd al-Aziz was beating upon the walls with catapults, in order to demolish them; and it was his intention to destroy all the inhabitants of Alexandria with the sword. At the same time he was in pursuit of the patriarch, to whom he had sent a message, in order to intercede for a certain person, and to request the patriarch to make that person a bishop. But the patriarch refused to break the canon of the church. Nevertheless the pious Macarius, seeing how angry Abd al-Aziz al-Jarawi was, wrote to the father patriarch, and begged him to ordain that person bishop; and the patriarch consented to do so. Still Al-Jarawi was eager in pursuit of the patriarch, and declared that he would demolish the churches and slay the bishops everywhere, if the patriarch would not meet him. Then Macarius,

1. Nah. i. 2. Cf. Dent. xxii, 35, 41, 43; Ps. xciv, 1 (Sept. xciii; Rom., xii, 19; Hebr., x, 30).

الارخن النبراوى فكتب الى البطرك كتابا يقول له لا بد من ان تجتمع بهذا الرجل والا فهو يهدم البيع ويقتل الناس وحلف له وقال انى ادفع جميع مالى عنك ولا ياحقك ما يغمك فقال البطرك كلمة اشعياء النبي ان ليس نفسى عندى عزيزة وانها لله ولينظر الرب خلاصى لانى توكلت عليه فلا اخاف ما يصنعون بى الناس فقام وخرج للقاءه وكان معهم قس محب لله اسمه يوساب لبيعة القديس ابي مقار استحق ان يجلس على الكرسي الرسولى<sup>1</sup> ونحن نذكر فضائله فى هذه السيرة وبينما هو فى الطريق وقد فرغ من صلاته فقال للقس يوساب آمين بالله يا ولدى ان هذا الرجل لا ينظرنا ولا ننظره حيا فلما كان الصباح وقع عليه حجر من<sup>2</sup> الحصن فطارت عيناه من وجهه فطار<sup>3</sup> يافوخه ومات هكذا وتنت عليه كلمة زكرياء النبي انه فكر بالسوء وما بلغ ان يفعله وخلصوه من الحجارة فلما رأوا اصحابه هذا حملوا جسده ودفنوه فى بعض الضياع وكانوا يسدون آناهم

1. E om. to السرد. — 2. E om. to جسده add. ودفنوه. — 3. DF om. with f. wd.

the magistrate of Nebrûwah, having heard of this threat, wrote a letter to the patriarch, saying : « Thou canst not avoid consenting to an interview with this man: for otherwise he will destroy the churches and kill the people ». Macarius also swore to Abba James, saying : « I will give all my money for thee, that thou mayest suffer no distress ». Thereupon the patriarch repeated the words of the prophet Isaias : « My life is not precious to me, but belongs to God: therefore let the Lord see to my salvation, for I trust in him, and fear not what men can do to me! ». So he went out to meet Abd al-Aziz. And there was with them a priest, who loved God, named Joseph, of the church of Saint Macarius; and this priest was counted worthy to sit upon the apostolic throne; and we shall record his virtues in this history. So while the patriarch was on the way, after he had finished his prayers, he said to the priest Joseph : « I trust in God, my son, that this man will not see us, nor we see him alive ». And when morning came, a stone from the wall fell upon Abd al-Aziz, and his eyes were struck out of his face, and the top of his skull was fractured, and so he died. Thus on him was fulfilled the word of the prophet Zacharias<sup>2</sup> : « He purposed evil, but did not attain to the performance of it ». And he was extricated from the stones: and when his companions saw this, they carried his body away, and buried it in one of the hamlets. And they stopped their noses for the odour of him and the stench of his corpse. And when the news came to the

1. Is., lii. 12; Ps. lvi. 5, 12; cxviii. 6 (Sept. lv. cxviii); Hebr., xiii. 6. — 2. Zach., vii. 10; viii. 17; Job, v. 12; Ps. xxxiii. 10 (Sept. xxxii.).

من رائحته وتن جنته فوصل الخبر الى الاب<sup>1</sup> فمجدوا الله اصحابه<sup>2</sup> الذين كانوا معه  
وسمعوا ما قاله لهم قبل ان يكون فقالوا للاب قد تم ما قلته يا<sup>3</sup> ابانا فقال يا اولادى هذا  
فعله الله به لان هذا الانسان اراد قتل بنى بشر بالجوع

ثم تولى ولده بعده وكان اسمه على ولم<sup>4</sup> يعمل باعمال ابيه فجاء رخاء عظيم حتى نسي  
الناس ما كانوا عليه من الغلاء وقالوا<sup>5</sup> نسبحك اللهم فى ذلك اليوم كما قال اشعياء النبى  
لانك غضبت علينا ثم رددت غضبك عنا ورحمتنا لانك ربنا ومخلصنا وتوكلنا عليك وبعد  
هذا نظر الله تشرده<sup>6</sup> الرهبان اولاد ابى مقار وتشتمهم<sup>7</sup> فى كل مكان فاعادهم الى  
مواضعهم المقدسة فشكر الله الاب البطريك ومجده وقال<sup>8</sup> كما قال داود النبى فى  
المزمور دكه<sup>9</sup> رجعت واحييتنا شعبك يفرح بك ارنا يا رب رحمتك واعطنا خلاصك  
وايضا تكلم بالسلام على شعبه وابراره فرأى الاب ابنا يعقوب هيكى ابى شنودة انه لا

1. E add. معد. والذين معد. — 2. E om. to بالجوع. — 3. ABG om. to به. — 4. AB  
DEG وكان. — 5. E om. to add. وشكروا الله وشكروا. — 6. DEF تشتم. — 7. E  
om.; DF om. to مكان. — 8. E om. to وابراره. — 9. F الثانى والاربعون.

father, his friends who had been with him glorified God; and, as they had heard what he said to them before the event, they exclaimed: « Our father, what thou didst foretell has been accomplished! » He answered: « My children, God has punished this man thus, because he desired to kill human beings by starvation ».

Then the son of Abd al-Azîz became governor after him, and his name was Ali; and he did not act according to the deeds of his father. So there came a great abundance, such that men forgot the dearth, from which they had suffered. Therefore they said: « We praise thee, O God, on this day according to the words of the prophet Isaias<sup>1</sup>. For thou hast been angry with us, and then didst turn thine anger from us and have mercy on us; for thou art our Lord and our Saviour, and we trust in thee ». At that time God looked upon the dispersion and separation of the monks, the sons of Saint Macarius, in every place, and so he brought them back to their holy dwellings. For this cause the father patriarch gave thanks to God, and glorified him, saying like the prophet David in Psalm<sup>2</sup> 83: « Thou hast brought us back to life. Thy people rejoice in thee. Show us, O Lord, thy mercy and grant us thy salvation ». And again: « He speaks peace concerning his people and his saints ». Now the father, Abba James, saw

1. Is., LVII, 17, 18; XXV, 9, etc. — 2. Ps. LXXXV, 7, 8, 9 (Sept. LXXXIV).



يسمع جماعة الرهبان فبنى البيعة التي على اسم ابي مقار وهي هيكمل بنيامين لانه كان قد  
دثر وزينها بكل زينة وكتلها وكبرنها اول يوم من برمودة وكان هذا تذكارا للبطرك  
ومجدا للرب

وكان مقاردة النبراوى الارخن يشتهي ان يرى الاب البطرك ويبان عليه في منزله وجاء  
الى بيته وكان قد ولد له ولد ذكر ففرح به وكان عندد وعمال صدقات كثيرا ورحمة واراد ان  
ان يمجّد البطرك بهذا السبب فاطهر هذا الاعجوبة وبعد ايام يسيرة اعتل الصبي ومات  
فاخذد بامانة وجاء به الى قلاية البطرك مثل ما فعل رئيس الجماعة الذي اقام المسيح  
ابنته وقال الارخن للبطرك اعن عبدك فان ابني يموت فقال احضرد الى فاحضرد فقبل  
الصبي اليه وصاب على صدرد وفوادد وجهته وقال يا سيدى يسوع المسيح معطى الحياة  
والمنعم بالنعمة من عندد اقم هذا الطفل لايه دفعة اخرى حيا فعادت اليه نسمة الحياة

1. E om. to رجا. — 2. E om. to الرب. — 3. ABG om. to الارخن. — 4. E om.  
to add. الاب البطرك وقال له. — 5. E om. to add. فاحذد الاب. — 6. E  
om. to add. حيا. — 7. E om. to add. حيا.

that the sanctuary of Saint Sinuthius was not large enough to contain the congregation of the monks; and therefore he rebuilt the church which is named after Saint Macarius, and which is the sanctuary of Benjamin. For it was in a state of decay, but Abba James adorned it with every kind of ornament, and, when it was completed, he consecrated it on the first day of Barmudah. And this edifice became a monument to the patriarch, and a glory to the Lord.

Now Macarius of Nebnawah, the magistrate, desired to see the father patriarch and congratulate him in his own dwelling, and therefore came to his house. A son had been born to Macarius, in whom he took delight; and he remained with the patriarch, and gave large alms, and did works of charity. And it was God's purpose to glorify the patriarch on this occasion; and so he manifested the following miracle. For after a few days the child fell sick and died. Then his father took him in faith, and brought him to the patriarch's cell, like the ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter Christ raised. And the magistrate said to the patriarch: « Help thy servant, for my son is dying ». The patriarch replied: « Bring him to me ». So he brought the child, and the patriarch received him, and made the sign of the Cross on his breast and heart and forehead, saying: « O Lord Jesus Christ, who givest life and bestowest grace from thyself, restore this infant to life for his father ». Thereupon the breath of life returned to the child, and he

وفتح عينيه وحرك يديه ورجليه فقال ابونا بصوت<sup>1</sup> عال لاييه الارخن مقادة كما قال السيد المسيح لرئيس الجماعة ان ولدك لم يميت بل كان نائماً فلما رأى الارخن هذا العجب العظيم لحقه خوف شديد منه ومجد الله صانع العجائب في قديسيه وفي تلك الساعة زاد الارخن في صدقته وفعله الخير وكانت<sup>2</sup> صدقته تفيض من يديه كالنهر الجارى الفائض ودفع ثلث ماله<sup>3</sup> للارامل والايتام ويكسوهم<sup>4</sup> الثياب ويفعل كلما يجب فعله ووصل هذا الخبر الى مدينة يروشلیم وانفذ مقادة الارخن وبنى فيها بيعة وهى الآن<sup>5</sup> ملجأ الارثوذكسيين الى اليوم ولمن يطرق المدينة للصلاة فيها بناها تذكراً له الى الابد وهى تعرف ببيعة المجدلانية فبارك الله عمل يديه وضاعف له امواله مثل<sup>6</sup> القديس ايوب واراد الله ان يرى هذا الرجل سراً عظيماً عجيباً من كثرة امانته ومحبتته ليرزقه الله رجاء الحياة الابدية وفي بعض الايام اقسم يميناً ان يتسم فعلين وهما ان لا يرّد احداً يسأله ولا يعلق بابه في وجه احد اسمعوا ما جرى له كان له امانة ورجاء بشفاعة القديس تاودرس<sup>7</sup> وكان يرشده في اعماله

1. E om. to الجماعة add. لا يرد. — 2. E om. to الفايض. — 3. E add. للمعوزين. — 4. E om. to فعله. — 5. E om. to تعرف add. المعروفة. — 6. E om. to الابدية. — 7. E add. مترجياً بشفاعة ومعونته في كل امور.

opened his eyes and moved his hands and feet. So our father said in a loud voice to Macarius, the father of the child, as the Lord Christ said to the ruler of the synagogue : « Thy son is not dead, but was asleep ». And when the magistrate saw this great miracle, he was struck with profound awe of the patriarch, and glorified God, who works wonders among his saints. And at that hour the magistrate increased in his almsgiving and doing good; and his alms flowed from his hands like a running and overflowing river, and he gave a third of his wealth to the widows and orphans, and clothed them with garments, and did all that it was right to do. And a report of these things reached the city of Jerusalem, whither Macarius the magistrate sent, and built a church there, which is now to this day the place of refuge of the orthodox, and of those who make pilgrimages to that city, in order to pray there. Macarius built this church as a monument of himself for ever; and it is called the church of the Magdalene. Therefore God blessed the work of his hands, and doubled his wealth, as he did to the holy Job. Moreover it was God's will to show this man a great and wonderful mystery for his abundant faith and charity, that God might give him the hope of eternal life. And on a certain day Macarius took an oath that he would carry out two resolutions, namely that he would never repulse any one who begged of him, nor shut his door in the face of any one.

Hear now what happened to him! He used to put faith and hope in the

ويقتضى حوائجه وكان في زمان خلافة هرون الرشيد كثيرا الخراج على مقارده هذا لكثرة وصاياه<sup>2</sup> واعماله فمضى الى الملك ليوفى ما عليه فطال مقامه وانفق جميع ما كان معه لانه لم يكن يمتنع من دفع الصدقة ولم يجتمع بالملك فجاز يوم وهو ماض الى قصر الملك فرأى في الطريق منزلا عظيما مزينا لم يراه قبل ذلك اليوم فقال لغلمانه قد ضللتنا عن طريقنا لان هذه الدار لم نراها في طريقنا قبل اليوم ومار مثل انسان قد سها او بغير عقله فنظر الى انسان نير وقد خرج من الدار يشبه معرفة له لما كان بارض مصر فقال للارخن يا مقارة لك ايام منذ وصلت الى هاهنا ولم تفتقد بي فكلمه الارخن مقارة بحضور من معه فتقدم اليه وعاتقه وقبل بعضهما بعضا ومسك صاحب الدار يد الارخن ودخل به الى الدار من عدة ابواب وجاء به الى موضع فيه مال عظيم يشبه خزائن الملوك وقال له خذ جميع ما تحتاج اليه لنفقتك واذا مضيت الى بلدك فانت تعيده التي وانا اليوم انجز

1. BEG om. with f. wd. add. كثرت الحرايج. — 2. ABDEG وصاياه.

intercession of Saint Theodore, who guided him in his conduct, and satisfied his wants. Now under the caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rashīd the taxes which Macarius had to pay were very heavy, because of his large fortune and extensive possessions. So he left his home and went to the prince, in order to pay what was due from him, and was away so long, that he spent all the money that he had with him. For Macarius did not refrain from almsgiving, and could not have an interview with the prince. But there came a day when Macarius was proceeding to the prince's palace, and he perceived on the way a large mansion, highly adorned, which he had not seen before that day. So Macarius said to his servants : « We have missed our way, for we have never seen this house on our road before to-day ». And he became like a person bewildered or without his senses. Then he beheld a shining personage, resembling one whom Macarius knew in Egypt, who came out of the house, and said to the official : « O Macarius, many days have passed since thou camest hither, and yet thou hast not visited me ». And the magistrate, in the presence of those who accompanied him, answered his acquaintance, who approached and embraced him; and they kissed one another. And the master of the house took the magistrate's hand, and led him into the building through many doors, and brought him into a chamber containing much money, which looked like kings' treasures, and said to him : « Take all that thou needest for thy expenses, and when thou shalt return to thine own country thou shalt repay me. Moreover to-day I will accomplish what thou requirest with the prince, and do all that



حاجاتك عند الملك وكلما تحتاج اليه فاخذ الارخن المال من بيت ذلك الانسان النير  
الذى كان يخاطبه وخرج ودفعه لمن كان معه من غلمانه القيام على الباب وركب الرجل  
فرسه واسرع قدام الارخن فلما قرب من القصر بدؤوا الاعوان ينادون اليه ويقولون اين  
مقارة المصري فاخذوا بيده وادخلوه الى الملك فخطبه الملك وقال له اطلب جميع  
حوائجك وكلما تحتاج اليه حتى اقضيه لك في هذا اليوم فانجز له حاجاته والانسان النير  
الذى خاطبه خرج به من القصر فلما صار به من القصر غاب عنه ولم يعد الارخن  
ينظره وظن انه قد عاد الى داره التي اجتاز به فيها فلما وصل الى الموضع الذى كانت  
فيه الدار لم يجد لها اثرًا بالجملة فشخص الرجل وغاب عقله ساعة وبعد هذا فهم انه  
الشهيد العظيم تادرس الاسفهلار لاجل محبته له فمجّد الله وزاد على الرحمة والصدقة  
والاعمال الحسنة وكان ثابتًا على هذا الحال الى الزمان الذى نقله الله من هذا العالم  
فنعود<sup>1</sup> الآن الى ذكر بقية قصّة الاب انبا يعقوب البطرك فما فعلنا هذا وذكرنا جبر

واما الاب انبا يعقوب فكان يوصى الارشى دياقن. I. E om. to فدعا add.

is necessary for thee ». Accordingly the official, having received the money from the house of that bright being who was conversing with him, went out and handed it over to his servants, who had accompanied him and were standing at the door. And the man mounted his horse, and rode off in haste before the magistrate. So as soon as the latter approached the palace, the courtiers began to call for him, saying : « Where is Macarius, the Egyptian? » Then they took his hand and led him to the prince, who addressed him, saying : « Ask for all that thou needest and whatever thou requirest, so that I may accomplish it for thee this day ». So the prince brought to pass that which Macarius desired. But the shining personage, who had accosted him, after having conducted him through the palace, and brought him outside, disappeared from beside him. The magistrate, seeing him no longer, supposed that he had returned to his own house, where the two friends had first met one another. When, however, Macarius reached the spot where the mansion had stood, he found no trace of it at all. Thereupon the man gazed around, and lost his understanding for a moment. But after a time he comprehended that his benefactor was the great martyr Theodore, the commander of the troops, who had acted thus because Macarius had a devotion for him. Therefore Macarius glorified God and increased in charity and almsgiving and good works, and remained steadfast in this way of life until God removed him from this world.

Now let us proceed with the history of the patriarch Abba James. For

هذا الارخن مقارة الآ غرضاً في عزّ الاراختة<sup>1</sup> الارثوذكسيين فإن الله لا يدعهم في هذا الدهر ولا في الآتي كما قال بولس الرسول لا تدع عمل الخير حتى تحصد ما بذرتك وما دام الزمان معنا نفعل الخير مع كل احد ولا سيما اخوتنا اهل الايمان ثم انه كان يوحى طيماتاوس ولده<sup>2</sup> ويقول له اكثر من تذكّار فعل الخير للمؤمنين عند ما يكتبه يقول له هكذا ان اغنياء هذا الزمان تقدّم اليهم بان لا تتكبر قلوبهم ولا يجعلوا رجاءهم وتوكلهم على الاغنياء فان الغنى لا ربح فيه لكن يكون توكلهم على الله الذي يعطينا كل شيء بغنى ويكون فعلنا في الخير ويكون غنانا في الافعال الحميدة لنكون مستقيمين مسحّبين ليكون لنا اساس ثابت فيما يابى وتمسك بحياة الحق فلذلك ابطوا عذري واسمعوا منى بقية اعمال هذا الاب القديس المؤيد الذي هو نبى واعطاه الله ان ينظر الاسرار من البعد لما ذكر الرب كورة مصر الضعيفة لينزل منها الحروب اظهر الامر للاب<sup>3</sup> القديس وعرفه<sup>4</sup> ان هذا يكون قريباً غير بعيد وكان يعلم ان الارشيدياقن<sup>5</sup> الذي له يفعل افعالا بغير ارادته

1. F pref. الشيوخ. — 2. F تلميذه. — 3. F لاينا يعتوب. — 4. ABDG om. — 5. ABDEG الارشيدياقن.

our only purpose in relating these incidents in the life of Macarius, the magistrate, was to show the value of the orthodox laity, since God does not desert them in this world nor in the world to come. As Paul the apostle says<sup>1</sup> : « Cease not to do good, so that thou mayest reap what thou hast sown. As long therefore as our time lasts, let us do good to all men, especially to our brethren, the people of faith ». Again he exhorted Timothy, his son, saying to him more concerning the doing of good to the faithful. For he writes<sup>2</sup> thus to him : « Charge the rich of this world that their hearts be not proud, and that they set not their hope and trust on the rich, for there is no profit in riches; but let their trust be in God, who gives us all things richly; and let our actions be good, and let our riches be in laudable works, that we may be upright and loving, so that we may have a firm foundation in the time to come, and may lay hold on the true life ». Therefore accept my excuse, and hear from me the remaining deeds of this holy and inspired father, who was a prophet, and to whom God granted the gift of seeing hidden things from afar.

When God remembered the sick land of Egypt, that he might make wars to cease therein, he revealed the matter to the holy father, that it was near and not far off. So Abba James, as he had learnt that his archdeacon was

1. Gal., vi. 9, 10. — 2. I Tim., vi. 17, 18, 19.



فدعاه وقال له يا ولدى سوف يجىء سلطان الى بلاد مصر قريباً ويملك على مصر وعلى رؤسائها وعلى الاسكندرية وجميع كورتها فاذا وصلنا مع<sup>2</sup> سلامة الله الى الاسكندرية فايك ان تسمع من احد من الناس او تمد عينك الى شىء من هذا العالم فتكون مظلماً في اعمال الله ونكون ذليلين عند الامة المخالفة الذين اذلهم قدامنا والشيطان امامهم واعلم انك اذا خلّيت كلامى فتقع بيعة الله في بلاء عظيم ثم بعد ان قال له هذا القول بتقابل وصل الى كورة مصر امير من عند ملك المسلمين اسمه عبد الله بن طاهر وكان رجلاً خيراً رحوماً في دينه مجباً للعدل مبغضاً للظلم ومن اجل ذلك اخضع الله له كل عاص واذل له امة الاندلسيين التى بالاسكندرية واقام بمصر اياماً حتى استقامت له الامور نعود<sup>3</sup> الان الى خبر ابنا يعقوب مع ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية وانه لم يمكنه ان ينفذ سنوديقا لاجل الحروب بمصر والمشرق وكذلك الاب بطرك ديونوسيوس كان يسمع بافعال الاب بطرك ابنا يعقوب وكان يشتهى ان يسلم عليه وهو في الجسد فلما اتفق له

1. E om. to كورتها. — 2. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 3. E om. to مصر add. رفى حال مجى الامير عبد الله المذكور الى مصر حضر صحبت ابنا ديونوسيوس بطركى انطاكية

acting against his will in certain matters, called him and said to him : « My son, a governor will come soon to the land of Egypt, and rule over Misr and her chiefs and over Alexandria and all her province. Therefore when we come to Alexandria with the peace of God, beware of listening to any man, or of raising thine eye to anything that belongs to this world. For in that case thou wilt sin against the works of God, and we shall be abased before the heretical tribe, which God has abased before us with their wicked leader. Know then that if thou shalt neglect my advice, the Church of God will fall into great trials ». Shortly after he had said this, there came to Egypt from the prince of the Muslims an Amir, named Abd Allah son of Tâhir, who was a good and merciful man in his religion, and loved justice and hated tyranny. Therefore God subdued all rebels under him, and humbled before him the tribe of the Spaniards who were at Alexandria. And he remained some days in Egypt until public affairs were settled.

Now let us return to the story of Abba James and his relations with Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch. Abba James had been unable to send a synodical letter on account of the wars in Egypt and the East. In this way the father patriarch Dionysius, since he was hearing of the works of the father patriarch Abba James, desired to salute him, while he was still in the body. Therefore when this Amir, on his way to Egypt, made an agree-



هذا الامير وهو متوجّه الى مصر سار صحبته اليها حتّى وصل الى مصر فلما نظروا ابونا  
ابا يعقوب فرح فرحا عظيماً روحانيّاً وتلقّاه احسن تلقّ وتهلّلت جميع كورة مصر  
بمشاهدتهما بعضا لبعض وكانوا الكهنة المصريّون يقرؤوا قدامهما من قول داود الرحمة  
والعدل التقيا والصدق والسلامة اقبلا اليها ثم اقام الاب ديونوسيوس البطريرك بانطاكية عند الاب  
ابا يعقوب البطريرك اياماً كثيرة ليسبع كل واحد منهما من قدس الآخر فبدؤوا اساقفة  
كورة مصر ان يحضروا خصائم بين يدي الاب ديونوسيوس لاجل الارشيدياقن<sup>1</sup> الذي  
لاينا الاب ابا يعقوب من اجل انه حوّله كلما بدينا وقلنا فبدأ الاب ديونوسيوس مثل من  
يريد ان يذكر لهذا القديس ابا يعقوب ان يردع الارشيدياقن<sup>2</sup> وان لا يكون فيه ضجر على  
الاساقفة ولا يخاطبهم الا بما يجب فلما سمع ذلك العمود المضيء ابا يعقوب نبعت منه  
روح النبوة وقال للاب ديونوسيوس وكيف حتّى استجروا الاساقفة وقالوا فيمن هو مصطفى  
الله وبشر به فطوبى<sup>3</sup> له مثل الذي عمل ساعة واحدة في الكرم مع صاحب الاحدى

G فالطربا 9. ABDEF — 2. ABDEG الارشى دياقن — 1. ABDEG الارشى دياقن  
فالطربى.

ment with the patriarch Dionysius, he travelled in his company as far as this country. Our father, Abba James, on seeing Dionysius, rejoiced with a great spiritual joy, and met him with the best of welcomes. And the whole land of Egypt exulted when those two beheld one another. And the Egyptian clergy chanted before them from the words<sup>1</sup> of David : « Mercy and justice have met together, truth and peace have come to us ». Then the father Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, remained many days with the father, Abba James the patriarch, that each of them might be satisfied with the holiness of the other. But the bishops of Egypt began to lay complaints before the father Dionysius concerning the archdeacon of our father Abba James, « because he imparts to him all that we undertake or say ». Upon this the father Dionysius began as one who wished to remind this holy man, Abba James, that he should reprove the archdeacon, and that he ought not to be a cause of distress to the bishops, nor to address them unless he were required by the canons to do so. But when the pillar of light, Abba James, heard this, the spirit of prophecy flowed forth from him, and he said to the father Dionysius : « How could the bishops send this message, and accuse one who is the elect of God and preaches him? But blessed is he, like him who worked for one hour in the vineyard<sup>2</sup>, together with him

1. Ps. LXXXV, 11 (Sept. LXXXIV). — 2. S. Matth., xx, 6 ff.

عشرة ساعة فاخذ اجرة النهار اجمع فلما سمع ديونيسيوس البطرك كلام الاب ابنا يعقوب  
البطرك ونظر الى روح القدس يتلألا في وجهه وضع له مطانوة وقال<sup>1</sup> كما قال داود النبي  
كما سمعنا كذلك رأينا انا او من انى شاهدت انسانا له عند الله منزلة ان يشفع في كورة  
مصر ثم سأل ابانا البطرك يعقوب ان يدعه ليمضى الى كرسيه فدفع<sup>2</sup> له كرامات عظيمة  
كقدر رئاسته ثم ودّعه هو والاساقفة بسلام يمجّدون الله ويباركونه لاجل مشاهدتهم لقدسه  
وحسن صورته وهيبته وعفافه فلما وصل الى المشرق<sup>3</sup> بلد<sup>4</sup> سورية كان<sup>5</sup> يحدث بما شاهد  
من قدس ايننا ابنا يعقوب ويشكر<sup>6</sup> السيّد يسوع المسيح الذى يمجّد اصفياء

فاما الامير عبد الله بن طاهر فعند وصوله الى مصر ولّى اميراً من اصحابه على مدينة  
الاسكندرية وعلى جباية الخراج بها وباعمالها واسم الذى ولّاه ايلىاس بن يزيد فاما<sup>7</sup> ذلك<sup>8</sup>  
الشّمس الذى لاينا<sup>9</sup> يعقوب<sup>10</sup> فسها<sup>11</sup> عن الخطاب الذى كان خاطبه به اولاً وهو قوله له

1. E om. to add. ليمضى ثم توجد. — 2. E om. to add. سورية. — 3. F om. with f. wd. — 4. D pref. الى. — 5. E وكان. — 6. E om. to add. اصفياء. —  
— 7. ABDEFG فلما. — 8. ABDEFG ذكر E om. — 9. E om. with f. wd. add. كان. — 10. ABDEFG add. قد. — 11. ABDEFG سها.

who had worked eleven hours, and received the wages for the whole day ». When the patriarch Dionysius heard the words of the father, Abba James, and saw the Holy Ghost shining forth in his face, he prostrated himself before him and said, like the prophet David<sup>1</sup> : « As we have heard so have we seen. I believe that I have beheld a man who holds with God the post of intercessor for the land of Egypt ». Then he prayed our father the patriarch James to let him depart to his see. So Abba James gave him splendid gifts in proportion to his primacy, and then with the bishops bade him farewell in peace, glorifying and blessing God, because they had witnessed his holiness and comeliness and dignity and chastity. And when Dionysius reached the East, the land of Syria, he discoursed on what he had witnessed of the holiness of our father Abba James, and thanked the Lord Jesus Christ, who glorifies his elect.

The Amir Abd Allah, son of Tahir, on arriving in Egypt, appointed an Amir, who was one of his companions, as governor of Alexandria and collector of taxes there and in the neighbouring districts. And the name of him whom he thus nominated was Elias, son of Yazid. At that time the

1. Ps. lxxviii, 3 (Sept. lxxvii).

أنّه لا يمدّ عينه الى شيء من امور العالم عمد الى ضياع اخذ منها بقطبا وظنّ بذلك أنّه يحصل شيئا للبيعة ولم يعلم ان سوف يتم ما قاله وتتّبأ الاب يعقوب فلذلك لحق الاب والشمّاس احزان كثيرة لما الزما به من الخراج وليس معهما ما يقومان<sup>1</sup> به وكان الاب المبارك يقول قول<sup>2</sup> الحكيم بولس الرسول لذلك الشمّاس ما<sup>3</sup> كان يجب لك يا ولدى ان تجعل عليك حجة بل تسمع ما وصّيتك به بامانة ومحبّة للسيد المسيح او ما سمعت يا ولدى ما قاله بولس ان الذين يريدون ان يكونوا اغنياء يقعون في البلايا والعشرات وشهوات الجهل اللاتى<sup>4</sup> لا<sup>5</sup> يربح<sup>6</sup> شيئا<sup>7</sup> ويطرحن<sup>8</sup> الناس في الفناء والهلاك واصل كل الشرور محبّة الفضة التى احبّها قوم كثير فضلّوا عن الامانة وجذبوا لهم هموما عظيمة فبكى ذلك الشمّاس وسأله ان يغفر له مخالفته وبدأ ذلك الامير ان يشدّد<sup>9</sup> على الاب في طلب الخراج ولم يكن معه ما يدفع كما<sup>10</sup> ذكرنا من عدم البيعة لانتقطاع الناس عن الحضور الى بيعة

1. ABDEG يقوم بهم F يقوموا ند. — 2. E om. to الرسول. — 3. E om. to عظيمة add. — 4. Mss. om. — 5. Mss. يا ولدى اسمع ما وصّيتك بد لان اصل كل الشرور محبّة الفضة. — 6. Mss. يربحوا. — 7. A add. الذى. — 8. A يطرحوا BG يطرحوا DF om. to. — 9. DEF يشدّد. — 10. E om. to المحبوب add. لد.

deacon of our father James, mentioned above, neglected the advice which he had formerly given him, namely that he should not raise his eyes to any of the things of this world, for he went to certain villages and levied a rate upon them, thinking that he would gain something for the Church thereby. For he did not know that the prophecy of the father James would be accomplished; and therefore both the father and the deacon fell into great sorrow through the taxes which they were compelled to pay, when they had not the means of paying them. And the blessed father repeated to that deacon the words of Paul, the wise apostle, saying : « It was not right for thee, my son, to make for thyself an argument, but to obey what I enjoined thee to do, in faith and love of the Lord Christ. Hast thou not heard, my son, what Paul said<sup>1</sup>, that those who desire to be rich fall into trials and errors and foolish longings, which do not profit at all, but cast men into destruction and perdition? For the root of all evil is the love of money, which many have loved; and so they have gone astray from the faith, and drawn upon themselves great cares ». Thereupon that deacon wept and begged the patriarch to pardon his disobedience.

Now that Amir began to act harshly towards the father in demanding taxes when he had nothing with which he could pay, as we related, through

1. 1 Tim., vi, 9, 10.



القديس الشهيد ماري مينا كثيرة الحروب ولما لم يجد شيئاً يدفعه في الخراج اخبر آية البيعة للامة السخافة والرب محب البشر الذي يظهر عجائبه في كل حين في بيعته وجعلها غالبية للسلوك في كل زمان اظهر اعجوبة يجب ان تعجب منها لما جلس الامير يوماً من الايام ليكسر الآنية وفيما الصائغ يكسر كأساً من الكؤسات المقدسة سكب دم على يديه كثير جداً مثل دم خروف قد ذبح فلما نظروا هذه الاعجوبة نزل عليهم خوف عظيم وخاف الامير وكل من حضر وأمر ان لا يكسر شيء منها ثم انه خاف ان يجعلها في خزائنه فأمر باعادتها الى الاب واخذها<sup>1</sup> اشد<sup>2</sup> بالقيام بمال الخراج فثاله صعوبة عظيمة قبل ان يوفي ما عليه من الخراج ثم بعد ذلك عزل الامير بمدينة الاسكندرية وسار الى كورته ولاحقه علة هناك وكانت علة موته وبعد ايام كثير ذكر العجب العظيم وهو خروج الدم من الكؤس وفي ذلك الوقت تقدم الى اولاده واكد عليهم بان ينفذوا الى مصر بالمال الذي اخذه من البطرك ليسلم الى من يوجد بطركاً على مدينة الاسكندرية ففعلوا اولاده ذلك<sup>3</sup>

في ايام من يذكر فيما بعد. add. السيرة — 3. E om. — 2. DF om. — 1. E وادره.

the poverty of the Church, arising from the interruption of the pilgrimages to the church of Saint Mennas, the Martyr, in consequence of the continual wars. When Abba James found no means of paying the taxes, he brought forth the vessels of the church, to give them to the miscreant tribe. But the Lord, who loves mankind and shows his wonders at all times in his Church, and makes her victorious over princes in all ages, manifested a miracle, at which we must marvel. While the Amir was sitting one day that he might break up the vessels, and the goldsmith was breaking up one of the holy chalices, much blood flowed over his hands, like the blood of a Lamb<sup>1</sup> that had been slain. So when they saw this miracle, great fear fell upon them, and the Amir and all these that were present were afraid. And the Amir commanded that none of those vessels should be broken; and after that he feared to place them in his treasury, and therefore he ordered that they should be restored to the father. But he demanded the taxes with greater severity than before, and the patriarch was in great difficulties before he could pay the taxes that he owed.

Afterwards the Amir in the city of Alexandria was removed, and departed to his own country, where he was attacked by a mortal sickness. Many days later he remembered the great miracle of the issue of blood from the Chalice; and at that time he commanded his sons with insistence to send

1. Apoc., v, 6, 12.

وتمّت هذه الاعجوبة في ايام من استحقّ ان تتمّ<sup>1</sup> على يديه كما انا نظهر الامر لسحبّكم عند تمام هذه السيرة

فاسمعوا عجباً آخر ايضاً ظهر في ايام هذا القديس ابا يعقوب البطرك لما كان في ايام ايلياس الامير الوالى بالاسكندرية توقّى اسقف في الصعيد على كرسي فاو فانفذوا انسانا للبطرك يوسمه عوضه فخاف الرجل الا يطلع الله البطرك على اعماله فيمنعه فسعى الى الامير ودفع له مالا وسأله ان يتقدّم الى الاب البطرك ابا يعقوب باصلاحه فلما سال الامير في اصلاحه امتنع الاب البطرك لقوة اعتقاده وتشدده في القوانين فسألوه الحاضرون وقالوا له تجيب سؤال الامير لئلا يجرى عليك وعلى البيعة شر ولم يزالوا يلطفون به الى ان اصلاحه اسقفاً فلما سارا قال عليه امرا هو هكذا مثل قول بطرس لسيمون الساحر في ذلك الزمان فقال موضع توكل هذا الاسقف على اخذ النعمة به فهو يضمحل بعد قليل

1. AD تشر. — 2. AD عن BFG om. to السيرة add. اذا انتهينا اليه. — 3. E om. to. — 4. Mss. عار. — وايضاً اعجوبة اخرى add. البطرك

to Egypt the money that he had taken from the patriarch, that it might be handed over to him who should be found to be patriarch of Alexandria. So his sons obeyed him. And this miracle was accomplished in the days of one who deserved that it should come to pass in his hands, as we will show to your charity at the end of this history.

Now hear another wonder which was also manifested in the days of this holy man, Abba James, the patriarch. While the Amir Elias was governor of Alexandria, a bishop, who held the see of Fau in Upper Egypt, died; and a person was sent to the patriarch, that he might consecrate him as successor to the deceased. But this man feared lest God should make his conduct known to the patriarch, who would then refuse him. Therefore he went to the Amir, and gave him money, and prayed him to command the father patriarch, Abba James, to appoint him. In consequence of this the Amir requested that the appointment might be made; but the father patriarch refused, because his faith and his attachment to the canons were strong. Those that were present, however, asked him, saying: « Wilt thou consent to the request of the Amir, lest evil befall both thee and the Church? » Thus they did not cease to cajole him until he appointed that man. But when the newly made bishop departed, Abba James uttered concerning him the following words, like those of Peter to Simon the Magician in his time; for he said: « In the place where this bishop expected to gain wealth, he shall disappear after a little while, and the wealth which he has acquired



فتكون النعمة التي نالها بعيدة<sup>1</sup> منه فلما سار وقرب من كرسيه اعتل في الطريق ومات قبل  
 أن ينظر الكرسي فمن<sup>2</sup> الآن لا يخاف من هذه الاعمال العجيبة فيمجد الله الذي يظهرها  
 من هذا المصطفى ولو أننا نذكر يسيراً من كثير سعادته من عجائب هذا القديس وجهاده  
 الجيد لكثير القول جداً ولا نقدر أن نشرحها لضعف عقولنا المظلمة عنها لكن نذكر مما  
 يجب ذكره ونشرح تمام جهاده ربحاً لمن يسمع وبركة

لما كان عند<sup>3</sup> توجهه إلى الشرق ليفتقد البيع والشعب ووصل<sup>4</sup> إلى ضيعة<sup>5</sup> تسمى بيت<sup>6</sup>  
 تشمت<sup>7</sup> انضموا له شاباً به شيطان قد أخرسه واطرشه وسألوه أن يضع يده عليه وإن الأب  
 اخذ زيتاً يسيراً من على عظام القديس ساويرس ودهن به الصبى ورسم على وجهه وأذنيه  
 وقال باسم السيد يسوع المسيح الذي انتقد خليقته من عبودية الشيطان ليعاف هذا الشاب  
 وينحل عنه رباط الشيطان وللوقت عوفي وانفتح فوه وأذناه وتكلم وسمع<sup>8</sup> وكل من أبصره تعجب

1. Mss. بعيداً. — 2. E om. to توجهه add. — 3. ABG من. — 4. E om. to تشمت. — 5. F om. to تشمت add. بعض الضياع. — 6. D om. with f. wd. — 7. BG سميت. — 8. E om. to والد الغالب add. وكانت السيدة أم النور تظهر له وتكلمه.

shall be far from him ». And when that bishop drew near to his diocese, he fell sick on the way; and he died before he could see his diocese. Who now will not fear these wonderful works, and glorify God, who shows them forth in this chosen one? But if we were to record a few out of the many miracles and the noble struggles that we have heard related of this holy man, the account would be long. And we cannot explain such things, because our darkened understanding is too weak to deal with them. Yet we will relate what must be related, and describe the end of his conflict, for the profit of those that listen, and as a blessing to them.

When Abba James proceeded to the eastern provinces, to visit the churches and the people, and came to a village called Bait Tashmat, they brought to him a young man possessed by a devil, which had made him dumb and deaf; and they begged the patriarch to lay his hand upon him. Then the father took a little oil from the lamp which hung over the bones of Saint Severus, and anointed the youth therewith, making the sign of the cross on his face and ears, and saying : « In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who delivered his creatures from the service of Satan, may this young man be healed, and may the bonds of Satan be loosed from him! » And the young man was healed on the spot, and his mouth and ears were opened, and he both spoke and heard; and all that saw him marvelled,



ومجدوا الله بالحقيقة وكان هذا الاب في قدسه مثل التلاميذ لما صبر عليه من التجارب وما تم على يديه من العجائب احيا الميت واخرج الشياطين واعلاء كثير ابراهيم والسيدة ام النور ظهرت له قبل ان يصير بطركا والسيد المسيح ايضا والقديسون الذين استحق ان يراهم ثم انه انتهى ان يقيم في مدينة تندا<sup>1</sup> اياما قليلا<sup>2</sup> عند عبوره عليها فلما اقام بها شهد لنا بعض الاساقفة من الثقات الصادقين وقال اني مضيت اليه لافتقده واخذ بركته فلما وقفت على باب موضعه سمعته يقول كلاما خفيا وهو يا سيدتي وام سيدى انا اسالك ان تغفري لى وانا مستعد لما تأمرينى به ان اتسمه واكون حافظا له الى النفس الاخير قال الاسقف ولما عولت ان اتطلع من الباب الذى هو داخله وقبل وصولى صاح بصوت<sup>3</sup> عظيم<sup>4</sup> من هذا الذى يرى فخنقت من هيئته ورجعت الى ورائى فسمعته يقول الله يغفر لك ايها الاخ الذى منعنى الا<sup>5</sup> اشاهد مجد سيدتى ونورها وتركها ان تمضى عنى فلما نظر الطوبانى البطرك هذه الاسرار العظيمة التى ظهرت شهد ان ما يجلس احد من البطارقة على هذا

1. AG يبدأ BDF يبدأ. — 2. Mss. دلائل. — 3. ABG بصوت. — 4. ABG om. — 5. Mss. ان.

and glorified God in truth. Now this father was in his holiness like the disciples, through the trials that he endured and the miracles performed by him; for he brought the dead to life, and cast out devils, and cured many that were sick. And our Lady, the Mother of the Light, appeared to him before he became patriarch, and the Lord Christ also, and the Saints whom he was counted worthy to see.

Then Abba James desired to remain a few days in the city of Tandà, when he passed by it. And when he stayed there, one of the bishops, an honourable and trustworthy man, bore witness to us, saying : « I went to him, to pay him a visit and receive his blessing. And when I stood at the door of his chamber, I heard him say something in a low voice; and the words were : O my Lady, Mother of my Lord, I pray thee to pardon me, for I am ready to carry out what thou commandest me, and to observe it to my last breath ». The bishop continued : « And when I was intending to show myself through the door within which he was, and before I could enter, he cried aloud at what he saw, and I was afraid through my respect for his dignity, and turned back. But I heard him say : God pardon thee, my brother, for having hindered me from beholding the glory and light of my Lady, and allowed her to depart from me. »

After the blessed patriarch had seen these great mysteries which were shown to him, he bore witness that no patriarch sits upon this throne except

الكرسى إلا من يختاره الرب لكن الشيطان يقاوم تقدمتهم ولا يدعهم ان يفعلوا الخير وقوم يقولون فى قلوبهم ان تقدّمنا واخذنا الدرجة هو من مولدنا وليس هو هكذا بل رب المجد هو الذى يختار والاب ابا يعقوب القائل هذا قبل موته ان الله الذى يختار من يقيمه والشيطان مضاد له والله الغالب وكانت عادته اذا اراد ان يقسم الاساقفة ان يسهر ويصوم ويطوى حتى يظهر الله له اعمالهم وكان يحفظ ايام نياح الابهاء من مرقس الانجيلي الى مرقس ابيه بالروح ويعيد لهم ويلبس فيها ويقدّس ان<sup>1</sup> كان فى المدينة او فى الديارات او فى القرى مجداً لسيّدنا المسيح وتذكّراً لابائهم

فلما اراد الله ان يريحه من التعب وينقله الى مساكن النورانيين السماوية فظهر له الرب وهو راكب سحابة من نور ومعه الاثنا عشر تلميذاً فقال له تقوّ ايّها العبد الصالح الذى عمل فى وزنات سيّده وربح انا الآن آخذك الى واريحك من تعبك وتجلس مع اصحابك

1. E om. to لا بايد.

those whom God chooses, but that Satan resists their advancement and hinders their doing good. There are indeed men who say in their hearts : « If we advance so far as to receive this degree, that is on account of our birth ». But it is not so, for it is the Lord of glory who chooses. And the father Abba James said this before his death, that it is God who elects the man whom he will appoint; and although Satan tries to oppose him, it is God who prevails.

It was the custom of this patriarch, when he purposed to appoint bishops, to watch and fast strictly, so that God might reveal their deeds to him. He used also to observe the anniversaries of the death of the fathers, from Mark the evangelist to Mark, his own father in the Spirit. On such days he used to keep festival in their honour, and put on his vestments, and celebrate the Liturgy, whether he were in the city or in the monasteries, or in the villages, to the glory of our Lord Christ, and in commemoration of his fathers.

And when God willed to give him rest from labour and translate him to the heavenly mansions of the illuminated, the Lord appeared to him, seated on a cloud of light, and accompanied by the twelve disciples, and said to him : « Have courage, thou good servant, who hast made use of the talents of thy Lord, and gained a profit. Now will I take thee to myself, and give thee rest from thy labours; and thou shalt sit with thy companions, who carried on the warfare like thee, for thou hast become perfect like them ». Now before this marvellous vision, Zacharias, bishop of Tandâ, had died; and the archdeacon, whom we have before mentioned, and of whom we said that he

الذين جاهدوا مثلك وكملت مثلهم وقبل هذه الرويا العجيب تنيح زخرياء اسقف تنداء  
وجلس موضعه الارشيدياقن<sup>١</sup> الذي قدّمنا ذكره وقتلنا عنه انه يكون وعاء مختاراً لله واعتل  
ابونا يعقوب البطرك وضعفت قوّته وفي اربعة عشر يوماً من امشير تنيح وهو يوم تنيح  
فيه الاب القديس ساويرس في<sup>٢</sup> اربع ساعات من الليل سمعوه قائلاً جيد يا ابوي ساويرس  
وديسقرس مجيكمما ورجع قال العالم كله في حلّ بصلوات القديسين واسلم الروح في يد  
الرب ففاح من جسده بخور طيب حتّى ملأ جميع الموضع

فلما اصبح الصبح كفّوا جسده وقدموا القربان تذكّراً للابوين المغبوطين ساويرس  
والاب يعقوب وكملت رؤيا الراهب القديس عن الصورتين اللتين رآهما تكرر زانه بالانجيل  
وهكذا تمّت سيرته بشيخوخة حسنة وهو ماسك الكرسى المقدّس الانجيلي عشر سنين  
وثمانية اشهر وسلم القطيع لرب الصباؤوت ثابتاً واستحقّ ان يسمع الصوت القائل تعالوا الي  
يا مباركى ابى ارثوا الملك المعدّ لكم من قبل خلق العالم

1. ABEG بيذا DE بيذا. — 2. ABDEG الارشى دياض. — 3. E om. to end, add.  
وكفّوا جسده الطاهر وقدموا القربان وبعد تمام القداس دفنوه وكان مدة مقامه عشرة سنين وثمانية  
اشهر وجعل جسده في مدينة بيذا وبعد ايام يسيرة تنيح الاسقف بصلوات ابد البطرك بركة  
صلواتهم تكون معنا امين.

would be a chosen vessel of God, had been enthroned in his stead. So our father James fell sick, and his strength diminished; and on the 14th. day of Amshir he went to his rest, that being the day of the death of the holy father Severus. And at the fourth hour of the night they heard him saying : « Happy is your coming, my fathers Severus and Dioscorus ». And again he said : « The whole world is absolved through the prayers of the saints ». Thereupon he gave up his spirit into the hand of the Lord. And a sweet perfume exhaled from his body, and filled the whole chamber.

When morning came, they enshrouded his body. And they offered the Sacrifice in commemoration of the two blessed fathers, Severus and the father James. Thus the holy monk's vision of the two figures, which he saw consecrating Abba James with the gospel, was fulfilled. And so his life ended in a good old age, when he had held the evangelical see during ten years and eight months. He committed his flock to the Lord of Sabaoth, strong in the faith; and he was worthy to hear the voice saying<sup>1</sup> : « Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the creation of the world ».

1. S. Matth., xxv, 34.



والاخ الذى كان قد تتبأ عليه رسمه اسقفًا قويًا متقنًا لا يكثر درهما واحداً غنيًا  
بأعمال الرب وبالكتب الروحانيّة واستحقّ ان يغمض عينيه بيده ويأخذ بركته ومن قوّة اماتته  
جعل جسده فى تابوت وتركه فى مدينته التى هى تندا ليتبارك به وينشفع بقدميه وبعد ايام  
يسيرة تسيح الاسقف بصلوات ابيه التى صلاحها عليه امام السيّد المسيح له المجد مع ابيه  
وروح القدس المحيى المساوى من الآن والى ابد الابد امين

### السيرة العشرون<sup>1</sup> من سير البيعة المقدّسة

الاب ابنا سيمون البطرك وهو من العدد الحادى والخمسون

ولمّا تسيح الاب القديس الجليل البطرك ابنا يعقوب مصطفى الرب ومختاره العمود  
النير ومضى الى الرب ووصلواته التى قدّمها له بدّد الله العساكر والحروب والقوم الذين كانوا  
يشيرونها فى كل وقت الذين<sup>2</sup> كانوا على مدينة الاسكندريّة بمصر وأعمالها ومن بعد وفاته

1. BG الحادية والعشرين. — 2. E om. to أعمالها.

The brother, who had prophesied of him, he ordained bishop; and he was firm and strong, and did not lay by for himself a single dirhem, but was rich in the works of the Lord, and in spiritual writings. He was counted worthy to close the patriarch's eyes, and to receive his last blessing. And in the strength of his faith he laid the body of Abba James in a coffin, and kept it in his city of Tandà, that he might be blessed by its presence, and offer intercessions at its feet. And after a short time the bishop died, through the prayers which his father offered for him before the Lord Christ. To whom belongs glory, with his Father and the Holy Ghost, the Giver of life, the Consubstantial, now and for ever. Amen.

## CHAPTER XX

SIMON II, THE FIFTY-FIRST PATRIARCH. A. D. 830.

After the going to rest and departure to the Lord of the holy and glorious father, the patriarch Abba James, the chosen and elect of the Lord, and the pillar of light, through whose prayers God had scattered the armies and the wars and the ceaselessly fighting tribes, which prevailed over Alexandria and the provinces of Egypt, then a short time after his decease

بمئة يسيرة قدموا عوضاً منه بأمر الله تعالى شماساً راهباً اسمه سيمون من مدينة الاسكندرية من نسل طيب وكان ولد الاب ابنا يعقوب وفي قلايته وتربى منذ صباه عند الاب البطرك ابنا مرقس المتتيح واقام على الكرسي الانجيلي خمسة شهور وستة عشر يوماً وتتيح في اليوم الثالث من بابه وكان مدة مقامه بوجع النقرس يتوجع<sup>1</sup> منه وجعا شديداً الى ان تتيح الرب يرحمنا بصلواتهم اجمعين

الاب ابنا يوساب البطرك

وهو من العدد الثاني والخمسون

فلما تتيح الاب سيمون اجتمع الشعب الارثوذكسي بمدينة الاسكندرية وتشاوروا في ان<sup>2</sup> يقيموا بطركاً يحكم ان الكرسي خال لانه كان قد اقام غير بطرك بعد الاب ابنا يعقوب مدة<sup>3</sup> كبيرة وتسلوا باقامة<sup>4</sup> الاب ابنا سيمون فلما تتيح زاد قلقهم<sup>5</sup> وكانوا يقولون كما قال داود النبي لا تذكر يا رب اثامنا الاولى بل لتذكرنا رافتك سريعاً لانا افتقرنا

1. E om. to end, add. بهوكه عذاباً نكروياً معنا امين. — 2. E اقامه. — 3. F ايام كبير. — 4. BG بامانة. — 5. AB بقلقهم.

they appointed as his successor, by the command of the most high God, a deacon and monk, whose name was Simon, a native of the city of Alexandria of good family. He was a son of the father, Abba James, and dwelt in his cell; and he had been brought up from boyhood with the late father Abba Mark.

Abba Simon remained upon the evangelical throne five months and sixteen days. And he went to his rest on the third day of Bâbah. During the whole time that he occupied the see he was afflicted by the disease of the gout, from which he suffered greatly until he died.

May the Lord have mercy upon us through the prayers of all of these saints!

JOSEPH, THE FIFTY-SECOND PATRIARCH. A.D. 830-849.

So after the father Simon went to his rest, the orthodox people met in the city of Alexandria, and deliberated together with a view to the appointment of a patriarch, since the see was vacant. For it had remained without a patriarch after the father, Abba James, during a long interval; but then they had received consolation in the appointment of the father, Abba Simon. Then upon his death, their trouble increased; and they said, like the pro-

جداً وكان كل منهم يتقصى بالمدينة ويحثوا جمع الاسكندرانيين والاباء الاساقفة وطلبوا من يصلح ان<sup>1</sup> يجلس على الكرسي واتم عارفون باهل الاسكندرية انهم محبتون لنعيم الجسد فافتكروا<sup>2</sup> فكراً ردياً في<sup>3</sup> تلك الايام خارجاً عن القوانين البيعية وكان بفسطاط مصر في ذلك الزمان رجل ذو جنس وذو<sup>4</sup> مال له<sup>5</sup> واجنسه من الذهب والفضة والاثاث وكان صاحب ديوان السلطان الذي هو ملك مصر اسمه اسحق السيد ابن اندونة فلما<sup>6</sup> نظروا الجماعة<sup>7</sup> اهل<sup>8</sup> الاسكندرية محله وغناه مع جاهه كتبوا<sup>9</sup> اليه<sup>10</sup> كتاباً يقولون له انا ما نختار احداً نقدمه بطركاً سواك وكان رجلاً<sup>11</sup> علمانياً وهو متزوج بامرأة<sup>12</sup> فانعزل بعض الاساقفة عن هذه<sup>13</sup> النوبة التي فعلوها المراءون اهل الاسكندرية واتبعوا<sup>14</sup> هذا لاجل مجد الناس ولم يذكروا ما هو مكتوب في داود<sup>15</sup> *يذكر* ان الرب

1. E om. to الجسد. — 2. E add. اهل الاسكندرية. — 3. E om. with 2 foll. wds. add. لمحببتهم في نعيم الجسد وذلك ولد من الذهب والفضة ما لا. — 4. F om. to الاثاث add. — 5. E om. to اجنسه. — 6. E om. to جاهه. — 7. DF om. — 8. ABG put this and foll. wd. after غناه. — 9. E فكتبوا. — 10. E add. اهل الاسكندرية. — 11. E om. with 2 foll. wds. — 12. E om. — 13. E om. to يردلهم add. هذا الراى. — 14. D om. to يذكروا add. ونسوا F om. to داود add. ونسوا. — 15. B مزامير داود G مزامير داود. — 15. B مزامير داود G مزامير داود.

phet David<sup>1</sup> : « Remember not, O Lord, my first offences, but let thy mercy reach us soon, for we are become very poor. » And all of them went about the city, and the community of the Alexandrians and the bishops sought and enquired who was fit to sit upon the throne. You are acquainted with the people of Alexandria, and are aware that they love material pleasures. Accordingly they devised an evil plan in those days, contrary to the canons of the Church. For there was at Fustât Miṣr at that time a man of family and wealth; and he and his kinsmen possessed gold and silver and furniture. He was the chief of the Divan of the governor of Egypt; and his name was the lord Isaac, son of Anthony. So, when the Alexandrians saw his position and his wealth, together with the consideration in which he was held, they wrote him a letter, saying : « We will not elect any man, to appoint him patriarch, except thee ». But he was a layman and married to a wife. So some of the bishops held aloof from this transaction of the hypocritical Alexandrians, who followed this man for the sake of human glory, not remembering that which is written<sup>2</sup> in the fifty-second Psalm of David : « The Lord shall scatter the bones of those that act hypocritically towards men. » And again he says : « They are ashamed because the Lord

1. Ps. xxv, 7, 16 (Sept. xxiv). — 2. Ps. lxxv, 6 (Sept. lxx).



يبدّد عظام المرائين للناس وايضاً فيخزون لان الرب يرذلهم ثمّ مضى بعض الاساقفة الى هذا اسحق وساعده وقالوا له ما لنا بطرك الا انت واسماؤهم زكريّا اسقف وسيم وتادرس اسقف مصر ثمّ انهما جعلاه ان<sup>1</sup> يكتب<sup>2</sup> كتاباً الى الاسكندرية يعدّ<sup>3</sup> كهنّتها<sup>4</sup> واهلها بجميل كثير يفعلهم معهم متى صار بطركاً<sup>5</sup> ويقول انّى اذا جلست على هذا الكرسيّ بنيت لكم ما انهدم من بيعكم وجددت عمارة رباع البيع وازيل عنكم الجوالى جميع ايامى اقوم بها من مالى عن الكهنة وضعفاء الشعب ووعدهم باشياء اخرى كثيرة فلما سمعوا ذلك مالوا اليه<sup>6</sup> ورغبوا اليه ونسوا قول الانجيل لا يأخذ احد كرامة من ذاته الا ان يعطاها من السماء من عند الله

وكان فى ذلك الزمان اساقفة قديسون ممّن يقول الحق ممثّنين<sup>7</sup> من النعمة وهم انبا ميخائيل<sup>8</sup> اسقف بليس وانبا ميخائيل<sup>9</sup> اسقف صا وانبا يوحنا اسقف بنا وكثير مثلهم كاملين فى الدين والامانة فلما بلغهم ما فعله الاسقفان وجماعة اهل الاسكندرية تحركت فيهم

1. Mss. om. — 2. Mss. كتب. — 3. ABC يردد DEF يوعدهم. — 4. DEF om. with foll. wd. — 5. Mss. om. — 6. Mss. om. — 7. E om. to والامانة. — 8. Mss. خيال. — 9. Mss. خيال.

brings them to nought. » At that time some of the bishops visited Isaac, and paid court to him, saying : « We can have no patriarch except thee ». The names of these bishops were Zacharias, bishop of Wasim, and Theodore, bishop of Misr. These two men next persuaded Isaac to write a letter to Alexandria, promising to confer many benefits on the clergy and people there, when he should become patriarch. For he said : « If I take my seat upon this throne, I will rebuild your ruined churches for you, and restore the dwellings attached to the churches. And I will relieve you of the taxes as long as I live, by paying them out of my own money for the clergy and the poorer laity ». And he promised them many other things. Therefore when they heard all this, they were inclined to him, and desired him, forgetting the words<sup>1</sup> of the gospel : « No man takes an honour of himself, unless it be given him from heaven from God ».

But there were at that time holy bishops, such as speak the truth, and are filled with grace. Such were Abba Michael, bishop of Bilbais, and Abba Michael, bishop of Şâ, and Abba John, bishop of Bana; and there were many like them, perfect in faith and religion. And when they were informed of what the two bishops and the assembly of the Alexandrians had

1. S. John, iii. 27. Heb., v, 4.

النعمة<sup>1</sup> الإلهية وجمعوا لهذين مجعاً وتوجهوا الى الاسكندرية على<sup>2</sup> ما يقتضيه القانون ولما حققوا رأى الاسكندرانيين قالوا لهم اين تركتم خوف الرب وخالفتم القوانين حتى انكم عمدتم الى رجل علساني متزوج بامرأة لتجلسوه على كرسى مارى مرقس الانجيلي بخلاف ما<sup>3</sup> جرت به العادة والقوانين<sup>4</sup> فعند ذلك سكتوا ولم<sup>5</sup> يجاوبوهم بحرف واحد لعلمهم بغلظهم وسعونة<sup>6</sup> الله الذى يفتقد شعبه فى كل حين ويضئ وجهه على ميراثه ذكر انسان قدس كامل<sup>7</sup> فى فعل الخير فثبت ذكره عند الجمع بتدبير نعمة الله الذى هو المصباح المضئ يوساب القس والقيّم ببيعة القديس ابي مقار بوادى هبيب وعند ذكره ابتهج قلبى وتهلل لسانى

واردت ان اذكر يسيراً من سيرته فى رهبنته والاعمال التى فعلها فحفت ان اقطع ذكر صفة الحال فى جلوسه ولكننى اذكر ذلك فيما بعد ليستهج قلب من يسمع سيرة هذا

- وقالوا لاهل الاسكندرية add. قالوا لهم — 2. E om. — 3. E om. to العادة F om. to بد. — 4. DF om. E om. و. — 5. E om. to بغلظهم. — 6. E قس اسمد يوساب قيم بيعة القديس ابو مقار بوادى add. انبا مرقس — 7. E om. to. وبنعمة هبيب فطاب قلوب الجمع بد. والاساقفة والكهنة لمعرفتهم بد.

done, the grace of God stirred within them, and they called together a synod concerning those two. And they proceeded to Alexandria, as the canon prescribes. Having subsequently verified the design of the Alexandrians, they said to them : « Where have you left the fear of the Lord, since you have broken the canons so far as to have recourse to a layman married to a wife, in order to seat him upon the throne of Saint Mark the evangelist, in opposition to custom and to the canons? » Thereupon the people were silent, knowing their fault, and uttered not a syllable in answer to the bishops. Then by the inspiration of God, who visits his people at all times, and makes his face to shine<sup>2</sup> upon his heritage, mention was made of a holy man, perfect in good works; and his name was confirmed in the assembly by the dispensation of God's grace. This man was the shining lamp Joseph, the priest and superintendent of the church of Saint Macarius in Wadi Habib. And when he was named, my heart rejoiced, and my tongue sang praises.

Now I should desire to relate a little of his life and the works which he did while he was a monk, only I fear to interrupt the description of the events which took place at his enthronement. Yet will I relate those things subsequently, that the hearts of those that hear the history of this holy

1. Num., vi, 25; Ps. xxxi, 17 (Sept. xxx), etc.

القديس فلستا طابت قلوب الجمع به مع الاساقفة والكهنة لمعرفتهم به عند كونه مصباحاً للاب انبا مرقس فانفذوا بعض الاساقفة وكهنة الاسكندرية الى الوادي وبينما هم سائرون قالوا هكذا ان كان الرب يختار تقدمه هذا الانسان فانا نجد باب قلايته مفتوحاً فلستا وصلوا الى الدير بالغداة وقفوا على باب قلايته فيوجدوه قائماً وقد خرج ليغسل<sup>1</sup> الباب خلف اولاده وقد مضوا ليمسئوا<sup>2</sup> الماء فبهتوا ونظر بعضهم الى بعض قائلين قد تم ما قلناه في الطريق وقد سهل الرب طريقنا ونحن نؤمن انه قد احطفى الله هذا القديس فلستا نظر اليهم المغبوط المتمسك بالطهر والاتضاع سجد لهم وسلم عليهم ودخل بهم الى قلايته بسرعة فلما صاروا داخل بيته ضربوا بيدهم اليه وطرحوا القيد الحديد في رجليه وقالوا له انت بالحقينة مستحق البطريكية فبدأ ان يبكي بكاء عظيماً<sup>3</sup> ويقول<sup>4</sup> ما ربح رجل ناقص يدخل تحت هذا النير العظيم فعزوه وطيّبوا قلبه واجتمعوا في البيعة واخذوا السرائر المقدسة لانه كان يوم عيد الملاك ميخائيل الثاني عشر من هاتور وتبارك من الاباء القديسين وسألهم ان<sup>5</sup>

1. ABEG يغلق. — 2. Mss. يمسئوا. — 3. E om. to العظيم add. عراً. — 4. ABG om. — 5. E om. to سعيد add. الدعا.

man may rejoice. When the assembly, together with the bishops and clergy, had accepted him, because they knew him when he was a lamp to the father, Abba Mark, then they sent some of the bishops and Alexandrian clergy to the Wâdi. And while they were on the journey, they said thus : « If the Lord approves the appointment of this person, we shall find the door of his cell open ». So when they reached the monastery on the morrow, and presented themselves at the door of his cell, they found him standing there, for he had come out to shut the door after his sons, who had gone to draw water. Upon this they marvelled, and looked one at another, saying : « What we said on the way is fulfilled. The Lord has made our journey easy; and we believe that God has chosen this holy man. »

When this blessed one, steadfast in purity and humility, saw the visitors, he made obeisance before them, and saluted them, and at once conducted them into his cell. As soon as they were within his chamber, they laid hands upon him, and put the iron fetters over his feet, and said to him; « Thou art indeed worthy of the patriarchal office ». But he began to weep profusely, saying : « What is the use of an incompetent man, who takes upon him this heavy yoke? » On hearing these words, they consoled him and pacified him. And they assembled in the church, and partook of the Holy Mysteries; for it was the feast of the Angel Michael, the 12th. of Hatur. And Joseph received the benediction of the holy fathers, and



يدعوا له ان يتم الله سعيه فدعوا له وباركوا عليه جميعاً من عمق قلوبهم وودّعوا باكين<sup>1</sup> لأنهم عدموا من ديرهم انساناً قديساً فيه روح الله فلما ساروا ووصلوا<sup>2</sup> ظهر الصخرة وهو معهم سمعوا صوتاً خلفه قائلاً الرب يصحبك يا يوسف ويقويك لتصبر على البلايا التي تحل بك وبها تنال اكليل الحياة فلما سمع القديس والذين معه هذا الصوت العظيم ولم ينظروا احداً تعجبوا وبهتوا وعلموا<sup>3</sup> ان سوف تناله تجارب عظيمة واحزان شديدة ووصلوا الى مدينة الاسكندرية فلما سمع الجميع خرجوا للقائهم متهللين مسجدين الله فعرفوهم ما جرى لهم في<sup>4</sup> الطريق وكيف وجدوا باب قلائته مفتوحاً واخذهم اياه والصوت الذي<sup>5</sup> سمعوه خلفهم عند طريق الشارويم ظهر الصخرة فمجدوا الله صانع العجائب وحده في كل حين واعلموا الامير والى الاسكندرية وكان اسمه عبد الله بن يزيد بوصولهم بهذا القديس ليأخذوا رأيه قبل قسمته وامره كما جرت العادة في كل زمان فامتنع الوالى ولم يمكنهم

1. E om. to الله. — 2. ABG وصلوا. — 3. E om. to شديدة. — 4. E om. to اياه add. — 5. E om. to الصخرة. من فتوح باب قلائته.

begged them to pray for him, that God would bring his course to an end. So they all prayed for him, and blessed him from the depth of their hearts, and bade him farewell, weeping because they had lost from their monastery a holy man, full of the Spirit of God.

So they started on their homeward journey. When they reached the top of the rock, Joseph being with them, they heard a voice behind him saying : « The Lord will be with thee, Joseph, and strengthen thee, that thou mayest endure the troubles which will befall thee, and by which thou wilt obtain the crown of life ». The holy man and his companions, hearing this great voice, but seeing no one, marvelled and were amazed, and knew that great trials and bitter griefs would come upon him. Then they arrived at the city of Alexandria. And the multitude, as soon as they heard that the envoys had returned, came forth to meet them, singing praises and glorifying God. Then the people learnt from the envoys what had happened to them on the way, and how they had found the door of Joseph's cell open, and how they had taken him prisoner, and of the voice which they had heard behind them near the road of the Cherubim on the top of the rock. Therefore the people glorified God, who alone works wonders at all times.

After this they informed the Amir, who was governor of Alexandria, and was called Abd Allah son of Yezîd, that they had brought this holy man, in order to obtain the governor's consent and order, according to the perpetual custom before they consecrated the patriarch. But the governor

من ذلك وقال اسحق بن اندوثة الذي من مصر انفذ الّتي ووعدني بالف دينار اذا  
 جلس على هذا الكرسي فان كنتم قد اخترتم هذا فادفعوا لي ما<sup>1</sup> قد وعدني به اسحق  
 ومنعهم من قسمته ايّامًا وكانوا الّباء الاساقفة ملازمين داره طالبين منه متضرّعين في  
 تمكينهم وهو لا يفعل لمحبتته في المال فاجتمعوا الاساقفة الذين<sup>2</sup> من المشرق وقالوا له  
 ليس نحن تحت سلطانك فان لم تسكنّا وآلا مضينا الى فسطاط مصر ونقسمه هناك فلما  
 نظر ثباتهم وانهم يفعلون ما ذكروه فاذن لهم فاجتمعوا الى بيعة مرقس الانجيلي على ما  
 جرت به العادة في احد وعشرين يومًا من هاتور سنة خمس مائة سبع واربعين للشهداء  
 وكمّلوا الصلاة على الهيكل وبدؤوا ان<sup>3</sup> يصعدوا به الى الرتبة البطركيّة يباركون ويمجّدون الله  
 وآلآن فاريد هاهنا ان<sup>4</sup> اذكر سيرته منذ صباه ذلك<sup>5</sup> الطوباني القديس ليمجّد الله كلّ من  
 سمعها قبل ان اذكر تمام قسمته وما جرى عليه من الشدائد وصبره عليها هذا القديس  
 من اباء اخيار مشهورين من مدينة منوف<sup>6</sup> العليا معروفين من مقدّمي مصر فلما ماتوا

1. E om. to اسحق add. المبلغ. — 2. A الذي BDEF الّتي. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. DEF  
 om. — 5. E om. to عليها. — 6. BEG منوف.

refused, and would not authorize them to appoint Joseph, saying : « Isaac, the son of Antony, of Miṣr, has sent to me, and promised me a thousand dinars, if he shall sit upon this throne. Therefore, if you have elected this man, give me the same sum that Isaac has promised me ». Thus Abd Allah prevented them from ordaining Joseph for some days. But the bishops continued to visit the governor's house, begging and imploring him to give them his consent. Yet he refused, because he loved money. Then the bishops from the eastern provinces assembled, and said to him : « We are not under thy authority. Therefore, if thou wilt not grant our request, we will go to Fustāṭ Miṣr and ordain him there. » So when he saw their firmness, and understood that they would do what they said, he gave them his permission.

So they met together in the Church of Mark the evangelist, as it is customary, on the 21st. day of Hatur in the year 547 of the Martyrs. And they recited all the prayers in the sanctuary, and inaugurated the elevation of Joseph to the rank of patriarch, blessing and glorifying God.

Now I desire in this place to record the life of that blessed saint from his youth, so that all who hear it may glorify God, before I describe the end of his consecration, and the troubles which befell him, and which he patiently endured. This holy man was of a good family of repute in the city of Upper Manūf, and his fathers were well known among the chief men



بقى القديس يتيما فنظره انسان ارخن محب لله كان متولّى كورة مصر اسمه تادرس من اهل تقيوس وهو يتيم فاخذه اليه ليصيّره له ولدا محبة للمسيح لعظم جنسه واقام عنده مدّة طويلة ففكر في نفسه وقال هو ذا انا اليوم يتيم وما لى اجود من البريّة المقدّسة فهى مأوى اليتما فمضى الى الرئيس<sup>1</sup> الذى هو عنده وقد ربّاه وسأله بتواضع ان يفسح له فى المسير الى البريّة المقدّسة فقال له يا ولدى انت من جنس جيّد وتربّيت فى نعمة فيدحك تعب فى<sup>2</sup> البريّة ولا تقدر على شقاها فلم<sup>3</sup> يمكنه من الخروج وانفذه<sup>4</sup> الى مدينة الاسكندريّة الى الاب البطرك ابنا مرقس وكتب اليه كتاباً يذكر فيه له قصّة حاله وسلّمه<sup>5</sup> اليه مثل الوديعة

ففرح به القديس مرقس وسلّمه الى انسان شمّاس<sup>6</sup> كان<sup>7</sup> له ولد القلاية يومئذ وكان<sup>8</sup> عالماً ليعلمه الكتابة بلغة اليونانى وكانت<sup>9</sup> معونة الله معه ولا تدعه ان<sup>10</sup> ينسى ما كان اراده

1. E ارخن. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. E om. to الخروج. — 4. E ثم انفذه. — 5. E om. to الوديعة. — 6. E add. عالماً. — 7. ABEG كان ولد القلاية. — 8. ABDG له كان ولد القلاية D كان ولد القلاية. — 9. E om. to مع. — 10. Mss. om.

of Egypt. When his parents were dead and the saint was left an orphan, an official, named Theodore, who had the rank of metwalli in Egypt, and was a native of Nakyûs, saw Joseph in this condition, and took him to himself, that he might make him his son for the love of Christ, and on account of his honourable kindred. So the child remained with that magistrate a long time. Then Joseph thought within himself : « Behold, I am now an orphan; therefore there is nothing better for me than the holy desert which is a place of refuge for orphans ». So he went to the chief in whose house he lived, and who had brought him up, and begged him humbly for permission to depart to the holy desert. But Theodore replied : « O my son, thou art of an excellent family, and hast been brought up in the midst of wealth. Thou wouldst therefore be overcome by weariness in the desert, and couldst not endure its hardships. » Thus Theodore would not allow him to depart thither, but sent him to the city of Alexandria to the father patriarch, Abba Mark, to whom the magistrate wrote a letter, in which he recounted the history of Joseph's life, and confided him to the patriarch as a pledge.

So the holy Mark rejoiced over him, and put him under the care of a deacon, who had charge of the sons of the Cell at that time and was a learned man, that he might teach the youth to write in the Greek language. And God's assistance was with Joseph, and did not allow him to forget



من المضي الى الديارات فلما اقام عند الاب القديس انبا مرقس ايتاما قلائل ضرب له  
السلطانة وساله ان ينفذه الى الجبل المقدس فنظر شهوته واظهر الله له ما يجدد الصبي من  
النعمة فانفذه<sup>1</sup> سريعا الى دير ابي مقار الى عند قس قديس اغومنس<sup>2</sup> اسمه بولا وكان  
يتعجب<sup>3</sup> الناس من سيرته وان الله يظهر له<sup>4</sup> اسرارا ونبؤات فلما نظر الى الصبي فرح به  
جدا وبحسن طريقته وتواضعه ولم يزل يغديه بالتعاليم المقدسة<sup>5</sup> التي<sup>6</sup> الالباء الرهبان ولا سيما  
لسا<sup>7</sup> نظر طريقته وكان يبارك عليه ليلا ونهارا فاستحق ان يصير شماسا وبعد قليل استحق  
ان يكون<sup>8</sup> قسايدا ابنا مرقس البطرك ولما كبر هذا الاغومنس بولس اعتل<sup>9</sup> عللا  
مختلفة وكان هذا القديس يخدمه النهار<sup>10</sup> والليل برجاء<sup>11</sup> وامانة<sup>12</sup> لينال بركته وكان هذا  
الشيخ يجعل يده على رأسه ويباركه بركات عظيمة لا تحصى فلما قربت وفاته بدأ ان<sup>13</sup>  
يقول للصبي الذي حات روحه عليه يا يوسف هو ذا الرب قد انعم عليك بنعمته وميراثه

1. D ارسله F ارسله. — 2. E ايغومنس. — 3. E om. to. — 4. E add. الله. — 5. F  
الروحانية. — 6. E om. to طريقته. — 7. ABDG om. — 8. DF يصير. — 9. ABDFG راعتل. —  
10. E ليلا ونهارا. — 11. E om. with foll. wd. — 12. ABDG om. بر. — 13. Mss. om.

his desire to retire to the monasteries. Accordingly, after a short sojourn with the holy Abba Mark, Joseph made a prostration before him, and prayed the patriarch to send him to the holy mountain. And the patriarch observed how he longed to go thither, and knew by revelation from God that the youth had found grace. For this reason Abba Mark speedily despatched him to the monastery of Saint Macarius, and placed him in charge with a holy priest and hegumen named Paul, whose mode of life was admired by all. For God revealed secrets to him, and enabled him to prophesy. So Paul, when he looked upon the young man, was pleased with him and with his good conduct and humility, and did not cease to nourish him with the holy teachings of the monks, and blessed him by night and by day, especially on seeing his modesty. Then Joseph was counted worthy to be made a deacon, and shortly afterwards to be ordained priest by the father, Abba Mark, the patriarch. As the hegumen Paul grew old, he fell sick of various diseases, and Joseph, the young saint, served him day and night in hope and faith, in order to obtain his blessing. And the old man laid his hand upon Joseph's head, invoking upon him great blessings without number, and, on the approach of death, began to say to this young man, upon whom his spirit rested : « Behold, Joseph, the Lord grants thee his grace and his inheritance that thou mayest inherit it ». Afterwards the

لترثه<sup>١</sup> ثم قال مثل<sup>٢</sup> قول الرب لبطرس وانت ايضا ارجع زمانا<sup>٣</sup> وثبت اخوتك الذين هم قد صاروا مشاركين لك في تعب هذه الخدمة وقدمهم كهنة وكان<sup>٤</sup> له اولاد عنده يخدمونه غيره فتم قوله عند جلوسه على الكرسي واستحقوا هؤلاءك الاخوة له في الخدمة النعمة الشّاسيّة والقسييّة مدّة في بيعة القديس ابي مقار وذكرت هذا ليكون منفعة لكل من سمعه من<sup>٥</sup> الاولاد الرهبان ليعلموا ان الله يصطفى من يخدمه بنيّة صادقة

والآن فاعود الى بقيّة خبر هذا القديس الاب الجليل ابنا يوساب لثما<sup>٦</sup> جالس<sup>٧</sup> على الكرسي الانجيلي وكانت البيعة ليس لها شيء فبدأ ان يعمل تذكارات كروما وطواحين ومعاصر للبيعة فلم يصبر عليه مبغض الخير الشيطان كعادته فاثار حربا عظيما في بداية قسمته في الاعمال التي شرقي مصر وغربها حتّى انهم كانوا ينهبون كل المواضع ويقتلون وكان<sup>٨</sup> حرب عظيم في كل مكان كما قال عاموص النبي ان هذا ما قاله الرب الضابط ان

1. ABDEG لثريثا. — 2. AD add. من الاول BG add. مثل E om. to لبطرس add. — 3. F om. — 4. E om. to غير. — 5. E om. to يوساب. — 6. E ولما. — 7. E add. — 8. E om. to موضع. — الاب القديس ابنا يوساب.

hegumen added, using the words of the Lord<sup>1</sup> to Peter : « Return some time, thou also, and strengthen thy brethren, who have become thy partners in the labour of this ministry, and promote them among the clergy ». For Paul had sons with him, who ministered to him, besides Joseph. And Paul's words were fulfilled when Joseph was seated on the throne, and those brethren of his in service were counted worthy of the grace of the diaconate and the priesthood for a time in the church of Saint Macarius. I have related this incident, that it may be profitable to all who hear it among the young monks, that they may learn that God chooses those who serve him with an honest intention.

Now I will return to the continuation of the history of this holy man, the glorious father Abba Joseph. When he had taken his seat upon the evangelical throne, since the Church had no real property, he began to make monuments, vineyards and mills and oil-presses, which were to belong to the Church. But Satan, the hater of good, as he is wont, would not endure this peace, and stirred up, at the beginning of Abba Joseph's pontificate, a great war in the eastern and western parts of Egypt, which led to universal plunder and slaughter. For there was much fighting throughout the country. In the words of the prophet Amos<sup>2</sup> : « This is what the Lord, the Ruler, says. There shall be lamentation in all places ».

1. S. Luke, xxii, 32. — 2. Am., v, 16.

يكون نوح في كل موضع فلما نظر الاب القديس ذلك حزن وسأل الرب ان يستر على البيعة ويحفظها والشعب الارثوذكسي في كل موضع ويدعوا<sup>1</sup> ويقول كما قال داؤود في المزمور ٥٨ يا رب اذكر مجيئك الذي كان من البدى ونجيت عصا ميراثك جبل صهيون الذي سكنت فيه ارفع يدك على كبريائهم الى الابد لان كثيرة هي الاسواء التي صنعها العدو ولم يفتقر الشيطان من اثاره الحروب والقتل وكان متولّي الخراج في ذلك الزمان رجلان احدهما اسمه احمد بن الاسبط والآخر ابراهيم بن تميم هذان مع ما كانوا الناس عليه من البلايا لا يدعان طلب الخراج بغير رحمة وكانوا الناس في خيق زائد لا يحصى واصعب ما عليهم ما يطلبه<sup>2</sup> منهم متولّي الخراج وطلب ما لا يقدرون عليه وبعد هذا انزل الله الكريم باحكامه الحق غلاء عظيما على كورة مصر حتى ان القمح بلغ خمس ويات دينار ومات بالجوع خلق كثير من النساء والاطفال والصبيان والشيوخ والشبان ومن جميع الناس ما لا يحصى عدده من شدّة الجوع وكان متولّي الخراج

1. E om. to add. الطلبة. — 2. Mss. يطلبه.

So when the holy father saw these calamities, he mourned, and besought the Lord to protect and preserve the Church and the orthodox people, wherever they were. For the patriarch prayed, saying, like David in the 73rd. Psalm<sup>1</sup> : « O Lord, remember thy congregation, which has been from the beginning. And thou hast delivered the rod of thine inheritance, mount Sion wherein thou hast dwelt. Raise up thy hand against their pride for ever, for many are the wicked deeds that the enemy has done ».

Thus Satan did not cease to stir up wars and murder. Two men at that time were overseers of taxes, one of whom was named Ahmad son of Al-Asbat, and the other Ibrahim son of Tamm. These two men, in spite of the troubles from which the people were suffering, persisted in demanding the taxes without mercy, and men were increasingly and incalculably distressed. Their greatest trouble arose from the extortion practised by the two overseers of taxes; for what they could not pay was required of them. After this the merciful God by his righteous judgment sent down a great dearth upon Egypt, so that wheat reached the price of one dinar for five waibahs. Many of the women and infants and young people, and of the old and the middle-aged, died of starvation, in fact of the whole population a countless number, through the severity of the famine. And the overseer of taxes was doing harm to the people in every place. And most of the

1. Ps. LXXIV. 2 Sept. LXXIII).



يؤذى الناس في كل مكان وأكثر النصارى البشوريين كانوا يعذبونهم بعذاب شديد مثل بنى اسرائيل الى ان باعوا اولادهم في الخراج من كثرة العذاب لانهم كانوا يربطونهم في الطواحين ويضربونهم حتى يطحنوا مثل الدواب وكان الذي يعذبهم رجلاً اسمه<sup>1</sup> غيث وتمادت عليهم الايام وانتهوا الى الموت فلما نظروا اهل البشوريين ان ليس لهم موضع يخرجون منه وموضعهم لا يقدر عسكر يسلكه لكثرة الوحلات فيه وما يعرف طريقه الا هم فبدؤوا ان ينافقوا ويمتنعوا ان يدفعوا خراجاً واتفقوا وتوأمروا على ذلك وكان الملك في ذلك الوقت عبد الله المأمون ابن هرون الرشيد ولما انتهى اليه حال مصر وما فعلوه المتغلبون والمتولون انفذ اليهم عسكراً مقدّمه امير اسمه الافشين فقتل الذين نافقوا والخوارج من شرقي مصر الى ان انتهى الى المدينة<sup>2</sup> العظمى<sup>3</sup> الاسكندرية فاراد ان يقتل كل من<sup>4</sup> فيها من اهلها اذ لم يقاتلوا لانهم مكّنوا العدو من الدخول الى مدينتهم فمنعه الله من ذلك لاجل دموع المؤمنين وصلاة البطرك ابنا يوساب وكان الافشين يقتل حتى

1. ABG add. يعربى. — 2. E مدينة F om. with foll. wd. — 3. E om. G add. مدينة. — 4. E om. to يقاتلوا add. اهلها.

Bashmurite Christians were severely chastised, like the Israelites; so that at last they even sold their own children to pay their taxes, because they were greatly distressed. For they were tied to the mills and beaten, so that they should work the mills like cattle. And their tormentor was a man named Ghaith. So, after long and wearisome days, death put an end to their sufferings.

But afterward the Bashmurites, seeing that they had no means of escape, and at the same time that no troops could enter their country on account of the abundance of marshes which it contained, and because none was acquainted with the roads except themselves, began to rebel and to refuse to pay the taxes. And they came to an agreement and plotted together over this matter. Now the prince at that time was Abd Allah al-Ma'mûn, son of Hârûn ar-Rashid. When the state of Egypt and the conduct of the conquerors and the overseers was reported to him, he sent an army thither under the command of an Amir, named Al-Afshîn. Then this man slew the conspirators and rebels, from the eastern parts of Egypt until he reached the great city of Alexandria. He even wished to kill all the inhabitants of Alexandria, since they had not fought, because they had allowed the enemy to enter their city. But God prevented his doing this on account of the tears of the faithful and the prayers of the patriarch, Abba Joseph. For Al-Afshîn used even to put the innocent to death for



السلطان فهو يقاوم<sup>1</sup> حدود الله والذي يقاومه يدان<sup>2</sup> ولما وصلتهم كتب البطرك مع اساقفته ونظروا<sup>3</sup> اولئك الاشرار الالباء الاساقفة وثبوا عليهم ونهبوا كل ما معهم واهانوهم<sup>4</sup> فعادوا الى البطرك وعرفوه<sup>5</sup> ما جرى عليهم فقال ما يبطئ عن<sup>6</sup> هؤلاء<sup>7</sup> الهلاك<sup>8</sup> بل<sup>9</sup> يتم عليهم ما قاله النبي اشعيا<sup>10</sup> اني اسلمكم للسيف<sup>11</sup> ويقع جميعكم بالقتل لاني ناديتكم فلم تسمعوا كلامي وخالفتم وفعلتم الشر امامي ولاجل هذه البلايا والاحزان المذكورة ما<sup>12</sup> تمكن الاب البطرك ان يكتب سنوديقا الى شريكه في الخدمة والامانة<sup>13</sup> بطرك انطاكية وكان مهتما بذلك اكثر مما ناله من التجارب فانه<sup>14</sup> لم يجد<sup>15</sup> راحة يوماً<sup>16</sup> واحداً منذ جلس<sup>17</sup> ليكتب الى كرسي<sup>18</sup> انطاكية باتحاد السجبة وثبات<sup>19</sup> الارثوذكسية ولم يدعه محب البشر في حزنه هكذا لاجل<sup>20</sup> اتحاد الكرسيين الاسكندرية وانطاكية فدبر<sup>21</sup> بامر<sup>22</sup> عجيب ان يصل الاب<sup>23</sup>

1. ABG يقاوم. — 2. F يهلك. — 3. E فلما نظروا. — 4. E om. — 5. F واعلموه. — 6. B عنهم F على. — 7. F om. D om. with foll. wd. — 8. F الغضب. — 9. E om to امامي. — 10. BG بالسيف. — 11. F لم يمكن. — 12. F add. اعنى. — 13. E om. to الارثوذكسية. — 14. BG add. يوماً AD add. يوماً. — 15. ABDG om. with f. wd. — 16. BG جلس. — 17. BG كرسي. — 18. B وثبات. — 19. ABDEFG ولاجل E om. to وانطاكية. — 20. DF تدبر G دبر الله. — 21. DF امرا عجيبا. — 22. B pref. الى.

resists the ordinances of God, and he that resists him shall be condemned ». When the patriarch's letters by means of his bishops were conveyed to the Bashmurites, those wicked men as soon as they saw the bishops assaulted them, and robbed them of all that they had with them, and treated them with ignominy. Therefore the bishops returned to the patriarch, and made known to him what had been done to them. Then he said : « Destruction will not be slow in coming to those men. Yea, the words of the prophet Isaias<sup>1</sup> will be fulfilled upon them, where he says : I will give you up to the sword, and ye shall all fall by slaughter; because I called you, and ye listened not to my words, but disobeyed and did evil before me ».

On account of these troubles and sorrows which have been mentioned, the father patriarch was unable to write a synodical letter to his partner in the ministry and in the faith, the patriarch of Antioch. This omission caused Abba Joseph more anxiety than the trials which befell him. For indeed he did not find rest for a single day after he was enthroned, so that he could address to the see of Antioch a letter containing assurances of union in charity and unswerving orthodoxy. Nevertheless the Lover of

1. Is., LXX. 12.



ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية الى مصر ويشاهد<sup>1</sup> بعضهما بعضا حسب ما تذكر فيما بعد ولما نظر الامير الافشين<sup>2</sup> تمادي البشموريين على شرهم<sup>3</sup> وانهم<sup>4</sup> لا يعودون عن فعلهم كتب الى الخليفة عبد<sup>5</sup> الله المأمون<sup>6</sup> يعلمه بما<sup>7</sup> جرى فاسمعوا الآن ايضا كان اسقف على كرسي تيس<sup>8</sup> اسمه اسحق وكان شعبه قد سعى به دفعات بكلام ردّي وقالوا للاب يوساب اذا لم تقطع هذا الاسقف وتزلنا عنا والا خرجنا من دين الارثوذكسية وكان ايضا بمصر اسقف آخر اسمه تادروس قد ذكر شعبه عنه مثل هذا وكتبوا<sup>9</sup> الى البطرك المصريون<sup>10</sup> يقولون له ان<sup>11</sup> لم تقطعه وتبعده<sup>12</sup> عنا والا رجمناد وقتلناده فلما نظر البطرك القديس قيام الشعب<sup>13</sup> حزن جدا وقلق وقال<sup>14</sup> ما الذي<sup>15</sup> اصنع في هذا<sup>16</sup> البلاء وكان يدعو ويقول يا رب ثبت شعبك لرعاتهم ولا تدع في ايتامى بغضا ولم يفتقر

1. F وشاهد. — 2. E om. — 3. F add. ونشأفهم. — 4. E om. to فعلهم. — 5. AEG pref. — 6. E om. with f. wd. — 7. ABEG om. — 8. E بذلكت BG بما جرى. — 9. G بلبيس. — 10. E om. to رجمناد. — 11. BG om. — 12. B اذا G ان. — 13. BG ونخرجده. — 14. F add. على اساقفتهم. — 15. E om. to بعضا. — 16. DF ذا. — 17. D هذه.

mankind did not leave him thus in his sadness, for the sake of the union of the two sees, Alexandria and Antioch: for he ordained a wonderful thing, namely that the father Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, should come to Egypt, and that the two patriarchs should behold one another, as we will relate hereafter.

The commander Al-Afshin, seeing that the Bashmurites continued long in their hostility, and would not change their conduct, wrote a letter to the caliph, Abd Allah al-Ma'mun, to inform him of the events that had taken place.

Listen now to this also. There was on the episcopal throne of Tinnis a bishop, named Isaac, against whom his people had repeatedly brought serious accusations. They said to the father Joseph: « If thou wilt not remove this bishop, and take him away from us, we will forsake the religion of orthodoxy ». There was also at Misr another bishop, named Theodore, and his flock spoke of him in a similar manner. For the inhabitants of Misr wrote to the patriarch, saying: « If thou wilt not remove him and take him away from us, we will stone him to death ». The holy patriarch, seeing this rising of the people, was much grieved and troubled, saying: « What shall I do in this distress? » And he prayed, saying: « O Lord, confirm thy people in loyalty to their pastors, and let there be no disaffection in my days! » Moreover he continued to send letters to the people at the two

من مكاتبة<sup>1</sup> الشعب الى تَنيس<sup>2</sup> ومصر<sup>3</sup> المدينتين<sup>4</sup> ويقول من<sup>5</sup> قول بولس ما تفرحون انتم اذا اعتلنا نحن وتكونون انتم اقوياء هذا<sup>6</sup> الذي ادعوه من اجلكم لتخلصوا واكتبكم به ولا احضر عندكم كأنتي حاضر عندكم ولا اصنع حرماً ومنعاً<sup>7</sup> كما امرني الرب ان ابني ولا اهدم وبقي<sup>8</sup> الشعب متمادين على فعلهم يقولون بقول<sup>9</sup> واحد<sup>10</sup> ولا يتغيرون عنه انه ان<sup>11</sup> لم ينقطع<sup>12</sup> هذان<sup>13</sup> الاسقفان<sup>14</sup> والا فما بقي منا انسان<sup>15</sup> واحد في الامانة<sup>16</sup> الارثوذكسية بل<sup>17</sup> نعود الى المخالفين وانت المطالب عنا فلما سمع هذا اسرع الى تَنيس<sup>18</sup> وسألهم ان يعودوا عن غضبهم<sup>19</sup> فلم يفعلوا<sup>20</sup> بل<sup>21</sup> زادوا<sup>22</sup> في<sup>23</sup> غضبهم<sup>24</sup> وكذلك مدينة<sup>25</sup> مصر ايضاً<sup>26</sup> مع اسقفهم فلما رأى ذلك اتقد<sup>27</sup> واجمع<sup>28</sup> الاساقفة من<sup>29</sup> كل موضع وعرفهم الخبر وقال

- 1. G مكاتبتة E مكاتبتين بالشعب بالمدينتين. — 2. G بلبيس. — 3. DF مصر. — 4. F om. — 5. D مثل E om. to بولس F لهم مثل قول بولس الرسول. — 6. E om. to اهدم. — 7. BG منعا. — 8. E فبقي. — 9. E om. to انه F قولاً. — 10. F واحداً. — 11. BE اذا G اذ. — 12. DFG ينقطع. — 13. ADE هذين BEG هولا. — 14. Mss. الاسقفين. — 15. DF om. — 16. AG امانة الارثوذكسية BE امانة ارثوذكسية. — 17. E om. with 3 f. wds. — 18. G بلبيس. — 19. ABG add. التي زاد عليهم. — 20. E يرجعوا. — 21. E om. to غضبهم. — 22. B زاد. — 23. B om. — 24. ABG add. الذي زاد عليهم. — 25. E اهل. — 26. BG om. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 27. DF om. — 28. BEG الى جميع DF جمع. — 29. E بكل.

cities of Tinnîs and Miṣr, saying, from the words of Paul<sup>1</sup> : « Why are you glad when we are sick and you are strong? This is what I pray for on your behalf, that you may be saved. And I write this to you, being absent from you, as if I were present with you. I will not pronounce a sentence of excommunication nor suspension, since the Lord commands me to build up and not to pull down ». But the people persisted in their conduct, saying with one voice which they never altered : « If these two bishops are not removed, not one of us will remain in the orthodox faith, but we will join the dissident party; and thou art responsible for our action ».

When Abba Joseph heard this, he hastened to Tinnîs, and begged the people to cease from their wrath; but they refused, and grew still more furious. So also did the city of Miṣr with its bishop. When the patriarch saw this, he sent and gathered together the bishops from every place, and made the matter known to them. And he said to them : « I and you are innocent of this offence at last. Let us therefore write and suspend the two bishops, Isaac, bishop of Tinnîs, and Theodore, bishop of Miṣr ». Accor-

1. II Cor., xiii, 9, 10.

لهم انا برئ من هذا واتم<sup>١</sup> اخيرا نكتب<sup>٢</sup> ونمنع الاسقفين<sup>٣</sup> اسحق اسقف تيس<sup>٤</sup> وتادرس اسقف مصر وحطوهما عن كرامتهما وابعدوهما عن الاسقفية ولم يتخل ابونا الرحوم من دوام الصلاة وسكب الدموع الغزيرة والتنهّد على قطع هذين الاسقفين وكان<sup>٥</sup> الافشين بمصر ينتظر جواب ما كتب به الى المأمون بسبب اهل<sup>٦</sup> البشمور وكان المأمون رجلاً حكيماً في فعله<sup>٧</sup> ويبحث عن مذهبنا ويجلس عنده قوم حكماء يفسرون<sup>٨</sup> له كتبنا وبهذا<sup>٩</sup> الحكم كان محباً للنصارى<sup>١٠</sup> فاجاء الى مصر وجمع<sup>١١</sup> جيشه واستصحب معه البطريرك<sup>١٢</sup> ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية فلما علم الاب البطريرك انبا يوساب بوصول المأمون وصحبته بطرك انطاكية جمع الاساقفة وسار الى فسطاط<sup>١٣</sup> مصر ليسلم<sup>١٤</sup> عليه كما يجب للملوك فلما نظر الاب<sup>١٥</sup> ديونوسيوس الاب انبا يوساب فرح فرحاً عظيماً روحانياً<sup>١٦</sup> وكان هذا تدبيراً من الله كما<sup>١٧</sup> بدأت<sup>١٨</sup> وقلت انه ما قدر ان<sup>١٩</sup> ينفذ السنوديقا الى ديونوسيوس

١. E om. to — 2. DF om. with f. wd., add. — 3. Mss. — 4. G بليس. — 5. G ركأت. — 6. BEG om. — 7. BE علمه. — 8. G — 9. B — 10. B النصارى. — 11. BE om. with f. wd. — 12. E الاب. — 13. E om. — 14. F يسلم. — 15. E om. — 16. E om. — 17. E om. to المأمون. — 18. FD — 19. Mss. om.

dingly they deposed those two men from their dignity, and removed them from the rank of bishop. Yet our charitable father did not cease to pray continually, nor to shed profuse tears, nor to give vent to sighs over the cutting off of these two bishops.

Now Al-Afshin at Misr was awaiting the answer to the letter which he had adressed to Al-Ma'mûn concerning the Bashmurites. Al-Ma'mûn was a wise man in his conduct, and used to make enquiries into our religion. And wise men used to sit with him, explaining our scriptures for him. In this way he began to love the Christians. So he came to Egypt, and assembled his army. And he invited the patriarch Dionysius of Antioch to accompany him

When the father patriarch, Abba Joseph, learnt that Al-Ma'mûn had arrived, and in his company the patriarch of Antioch, he gathered the bishops together and journeyed to Fustât Misr, to salute the caliph according to the respect which is due to princes. And when the father Dionysius saw the father, Abba Joseph, he rejoiced with great spiritual joy. And this was a dispensation from God, as I said at first, because Abba Joseph had not been able to send the synodical letter to Dionysius. And Abba Joseph was honoured according to his rank at the court of Abd Allah Al-Ma'mûn,



وكان له منزلة عند<sup>1</sup> عبد الله المأمون<sup>2</sup> فلما عرّفوه<sup>3</sup> بوصول<sup>4</sup> ابنا يوساب تقدم<sup>5</sup> بدخوله<sup>6</sup> اليه فلما حضر عنده قبله بفرح بنعمة<sup>7</sup> الله الحالة عليه ثم عرّفه ابنا ديونوسيوس ان ابانا لم يتأخر عن مكاتبته البشموريين<sup>8</sup> واردعهم ان لا يقاوموا امرك<sup>9</sup> ففرح المأمون بهذا<sup>10</sup> الامر<sup>11</sup> ثم قال للبطررك ابنا يوساب هو ذا آمرك انت ورفيقتك البطررك ديونوسيوس ان تسخيا الى هؤلاء القوم وتردعاهم<sup>12</sup> كما يجب في ناموسكما ليرجعوا عن خلافهم ويطيعوا امرى<sup>13</sup> فان اجابوا فانا افعل معهم الخير في كلما يطلبونه منى وان تعادوا<sup>14</sup> على الخلاف فنحن<sup>15</sup> برئون<sup>16</sup> من دمائهم

ففعل<sup>17</sup> ابوانا<sup>18</sup> البطرركان وسارا<sup>19</sup> الى البشموريين وسالاهم<sup>20</sup> ثم نصحاهم<sup>21</sup> ووبّخاهم<sup>22</sup> ليتخلّوا عن افعالهم فلم يجيبوا ولا<sup>23</sup> قبلوا سؤالهما<sup>24</sup> فعادا<sup>25</sup> واعلما<sup>26</sup> المأمون<sup>27</sup> بذلك فامر<sup>28</sup>

1. ADF عند الله وعند المأمون. — 2. B والمأمون. — 3. E. — 4. EG. — 5. E. — 6. BE. — 7. E om. to. — 8. E. — 9. E om. to. — 10. B. — 11. E om. — 12. ABEG وتردعهم. — 13. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 14. G. — 15. BE. — 16. Mss. — 17. E. — 18. ADF. — 19. ABDEF. — 20. ABEG. — 21. BEG. — 22. E om. to. — 23. E om. to. — 24. ABDFG. — 25. ABDEFG. — 26. EG. — 27. E. — 28. E om. to.

who, being informed of his arrival, commanded that he should be brought before him, and when he came into his presence received him with joy, through the divine grace which descended upon the patriarch. Then Abba Dionysius made known to the prince that our father had not delayed to write to the Bashmurites, and to dissuade them from resisting the commands of their sovereign; and this information was gratifying to Al-Ma'mûn. Upon hearing it, he said to the father, Abba Joseph : « Behold, I command thee and thy colleague, the patriarch Dionysius, to pay a visit to those people, and to lay your prohibition upon them, as you are bound to do according to your law, in order that they may return from their disobedience and may submit to my rule. Then if they consent, I will confer upon them all the benefits that they shall ask of me. But if they persist in their rebellion, then we shall be innocent of their blood ».

Therefore our fathers, the two patriarchs, obeyed his command, and journeyed to the Bashmurites, and besought them, and admonished them, and reprimanded them, that they might cease from their deeds. But the insurgents refused to listen, and would not accept the entreaties of the pre-

حينئذ المأمون<sup>1</sup> الافشين<sup>2</sup> الأمير<sup>3</sup> بأن<sup>4</sup> يسير اليهم بعسكره وان يقاتل البشموريين<sup>5</sup> فلم يقدر عليهم لتحصين مواضعهم بالسيار ومواضعهم تسمى التنفير<sup>6</sup> بل كانوا يقتلون من عسكر الافشين كل يوم جماعة فلما اتصل الخبر بالمأمون سار بجيشه وانحدر<sup>7</sup> الى هناك وامر ان يحشدوا جميع من يعرف طريق<sup>8</sup> البشموريين من اهل المدن والقرى المجاورة<sup>9</sup> لهم ومن<sup>10</sup> كل الاماكن ومن<sup>11</sup> اهل تندا<sup>12</sup> وشبرا<sup>13</sup> سنبوط الذين يعرفون طريق<sup>14</sup> تلك الاماكن وكانت العساكر تتبعهم الى ان سلسوا<sup>15</sup> لهم البشموريين فهاكؤهم<sup>16</sup> وقتلؤهم بالسيف بغير اهمال ونهبؤهم واخربؤا<sup>17</sup> مساكنهم واحرقؤها<sup>18</sup> بالنار وهدمؤا بيعة<sup>19</sup> عليهم قول داؤود النبي في المزمور 53<sup>20</sup> اسلم قوتهم للسبي ومالهم لاعدائهم واسلم شعبه للسيف ولم يشفق

1. G om. — 2. F om. — 3. G ان. — 4. DF add. فترجد اليهم. — 5. D التنفير F التنفير. — 6. DF om. — 7. DF طريق. — 8. DF المجاورين. — 9. DF om. to سنبوط. — 10. B من. — 11. B تندا. — 12. B وشبرا سنبوط G وشبرا سنبوط. — 13. DF طريق. — 14. F اسلموا. — 15. DF om. E فهاكؤهم. — 16. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 17. DF om. with f. wd. — 18. DF واحرقوا مساكنهم. — 19. E om. to ميرة. — 20. F الخامس والخمسون.

lates. So the patriarchs returned, and informed Al-Ma'mûn of this state of affairs. Then the caliph commanded the amir Al-Afshîn to march against the Bashmurites with his army, and to fight them. But he could do nothing against them, because their districts, which are named At-Tanfîr, were fortified by the waters. The Bashmurites, on the other hand, slew every day many of the soldiers of Al-Afshîn. Therefore as soon as this was reported to Al-Ma'mûn, he started with his troops, and went down to that region. And he gave orders to collect from the cities and neighbouring villages and all places all the men who knew the roads of the Bashmurites, and from among the natives of Tandâ and Shubra Sunbût those who were acquainted with the ways through those places. And the troops followed those guides until they betrayed the Bashmurites to them. Then the soldiers destroyed the insurgents and slew them with the sword without sparing any, and plundered them and wrecked and burnt their dwellings, and demolished their churches. Thus the words of the prophet David in the 77th. Psalm<sup>1</sup> were fulfilled upon them : « He delivered their strength into captivity and their wealth to their enemies, and gave his people over to the sword, and had no pity on his inheritance ». But when Al-Ma'mûn saw the multitude of the slain, he bad his soldiers hold their swords; and those of the Bash-

1. Ps. LXXVII, 61. Sept. LXXVII).



على ميراثه ولمّا<sup>1</sup> نظر المأمون<sup>2</sup> كثرة القتلى<sup>3</sup> أمر العسكر ان ترفع<sup>4</sup> السيوف والذى بقى منهم اسره<sup>5</sup> الى مدينة<sup>6</sup> بغداد من الرجال والنساء

فسأل الاب<sup>7</sup> البطرك ابنا ديونوسىوس اى شىء كان السبب فى تفاق هؤلاء<sup>8</sup> القوم<sup>9</sup> فعرفوه انه بسبب ظلم متولى<sup>10</sup> الخراج لهم<sup>11</sup> اولاً فتوجّع قلبه على هلاكهم وتقدّم<sup>12</sup> الى المأمون وقال له<sup>13</sup> لمنزله عنده وكان<sup>14</sup> مع المأمون اخو السيسى ابراهيم<sup>15</sup> الذى ملك بعده وقال له السبب فى تفاقم ظلم متولى<sup>16</sup> الخراج لهم<sup>17</sup> وعنتهما<sup>18</sup> واعتابهما<sup>19</sup> فلما سمع منه هذا قال له اعف نفسك ولا تقم<sup>20</sup> بمصر بعد<sup>21</sup> هذه الساعة ان<sup>22</sup> سمع<sup>23</sup> اخى ابراهيم<sup>24</sup> فهو يقتلك لان جباة الخراج كانوا من عنده فلما سمع الاب ديونوسىوس هذا خرج وهو قلق وودّع الاب ابنا يوساب وقال<sup>25</sup> له ما يمكن ان<sup>26</sup> اقيم ساعة واحدة بمصر واستعلم منه الخبر فاعاده

1. ABDEFG add. ان. — 2. E الملك. — 3. BEG القتلى F القتلة. — 4. Mss. يرفع. — 5. DF add. معد. — 6. FG مدينه. — 7. E om. — 8. D هذا. — 9. E om. — 10. Mss. متولى. — 11. B بهم E om. to هلاكهم. — 12. E تقدم. — 13. E add. عن ذلك. — 14. E om. to. — 15. G ابراهيم. — 16. ADF المتولين BG المتولين. — 17. BDEFG om. — 18. A واعتابهم B وعنتهم D وعنتهم لهم F وعنتهم لهم G وعنتهم لهم. — 19. A واعتابهم B واعتابهم B واعتابهم B واعتابهم B. — 20. Mss. تقيم ABG add. بعد. — 21. ABG om. — 22. EF فان. — 23. A اسمع. — 24. BDEF ابراهيم and so below. — 25. E om. to وودع. — 26. ABD om.

murites who remained he carried as prisoners to the city of Baghdad, both men and women.

When the father patriarch, Abba Dionysius, asked what was the cause of the rebellion of these people, he was told that it was because of the extortions of the two overseers of taxes from which they had formerly suffered. Therefore his heart was grieved for their destruction, and he approached Al-Ma'mûn, and told him this, relying on the position which he held at court. And there was in the suite of Al-Ma'mûn his brother Ibrâhîm, who reigned after him. And Dionysius said to the caliph : « These men were disaffected against the government because they suffered from the tyranny of the two overseers of taxes, who also taunted and insulted them ». On hearing these words, the caliph answered : « Take care of thyself, and remain no longer in Egypt; for if this saying be reported to my brother Ibrâhîm, he will put thee to death, because the tax-collectors came from among his followers ». So when the father Dionysius received this reply, he went forth sadly troubled, and took leave of the father, Abba Joseph, saying to him : « I cannot stay in Egypt an hour longer ». Then he enquired what the reason might be, and the patriarch Dionysius told him what



عليه وودّعه<sup>1</sup> وهو باك<sup>2</sup> فلمّا سمع ابراهيم هذا الخبر طلب البطرك ديونوسيوس وارسل اليه فاعلم<sup>3</sup> بمسيره الى بلده فغضب جدّا وتمكّن<sup>4</sup> الغضب منه ايتاما كثيرة ولمّا توفّي المأمون وجلس ابراهيم اخوه هرب البطرك ديونوسيوس ولم يقيم<sup>5</sup> بانطاكية ولا باعمالها حتّى عاهده أنّه لا يقتله فلمّا عاد الملك ابراهيم ايضا الى مصر وخرج<sup>6</sup> البطرك ودّعه كما يجب عليه للسلوك ووصل اليها واقام بها<sup>7</sup>

وكان الاب البطرك ابنا يوساب بمصر فنظر الى ذلك الارخن اسحق الذى كان طلب البطركيّة وهو متقدّ نارا بسبب<sup>8</sup> سخرة<sup>9</sup> الاسكندرانيّين به والاساقفة وعند اجتساعه<sup>10</sup> به وتلقائه<sup>11</sup> بشر<sup>12</sup> كعادته مع كل احد يكلمه<sup>13</sup> بكلام ليّن ليؤنسه<sup>14</sup> من افكاره المقلقة<sup>15</sup> ثم<sup>16</sup> دبر<sup>17</sup> امر الحكمة لطيب<sup>18</sup> نفسه فقال له يا سيدى اسحق انا مشتاق اليك

1. ABC add. عليه. — 2. E add. بالخصية. — 3. DEF فاعلمه. — 4. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 5. Mss. يقيم. — 6. DE om. to اليها add. العادة. — 7. E om. to واقام بها. — 8. DF بمصر. — 9. E om. to الاساقفة. — 10. DF سخريّة. — 11. E اجتساع. — 12. AG بشر. — 13. A يكلمه DE يكلمه. — 14. B ليوسيد G ليوسيد E om. to له add. قابلا. — 15. F القلقة ABC add. ليطلت AB. — 16. DF om. to نفسه. — 17. B add. افكاره. — 18. AB ليطلت.

had happened. And he bade him farewell weeping. And when Ibrâhîm was informed of this matter, he sought the patriarch Dionysius, and sent after him, but learnt that he had departed to his own city. Thereupon he was greatly enraged, and his wrath overpowered him for many days. And after the death of Al-Ma'mûn and the enthronement of his brother Ibrâhîm, the patriarch Dionysius fled, and would not remain in Antioch or its province, until the caliph promised him that he would not slay him. And when Ibrâhîm, the prince, returned again to Miṣr, and the patriarch went out, he took leave of him according to the respect due from him to princes. And he came to Miṣr, and remained there.

When the patriarch, Abba Joseph, was at Miṣr, he saw that official, Isaac, who had solicited the patriarchal dignity, burning with inward fire because he and the bishops were mocked by the Alexandrians. But the patriarch, meeting and accosting him, addressed him pleasantly, as was his wont with all men, speaking soft words to him, in order to calm his troubled thoughts. Next he contrived a wise plan, that he might thereby appease him, for he said to him: « O my Lord Isaac, I have been longing after thee, and I have a strong affection for thee. I desire that thou be equal to myself, I wish thee to be my deputy in all my affairs, and hold the

واودك جدّا<sup>1</sup> واريد<sup>2</sup> ان<sup>3</sup> تكون عديل نفسي واحب ان تكون تنوب عني في<sup>4</sup> جميع  
اشيائي<sup>5</sup> ويكون معك خاتم البطركية ليعلم<sup>6</sup> كل احد انك المدبر لي في جميع الامور  
البيعية والسلطانية فلما سمع منه هذا فرح جدّا وطاب قلبه فقال لابينا البطرك انا عبدك  
وبين يديك<sup>7</sup> في كلما تأمرني به ولما<sup>8</sup> حضروا في بيعة السيّدة بمصر<sup>9</sup> في قصر الشمع<sup>10</sup>  
يوم عيد الشعانين<sup>11</sup> وسم<sup>12</sup> الارخن اسحق شماساً وكان<sup>13</sup> في البيعة جمع كثير<sup>14</sup> في ذلك  
اليوم لا<sup>15</sup> يحصى عدده

فحضر المبعوض للخير الشيطان واثار بلاء عظيمًا ودخل في الاستقنين<sup>16</sup> المقطوعين  
وجعلهما<sup>17</sup> له وعاءين<sup>18</sup> فمضيا الى الافشين الامير من<sup>19</sup> قبل الملك وقال له قد اسلم الله  
اليك اعداءك واعداء الملك وافيتهم ويجب ان لا تبقى<sup>20</sup> احداً<sup>21</sup> ممن كان سبب<sup>22</sup> نفاقهم

1. DF om. — 2. E واريدك. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 5. DF  
اسبابى. — 6. E om. to والسلطانية. — 7. ABEG امرى. — 8. E om. with f. wd. add.  
وبعد مضى الملك الى بغداد حضر الاب البطرك. — 9. E om. — 10. BEG الجمع. —  
11. E add. وكان جمع عظيم. — 12. BG قسم E وقسم. — 13. E om. to كثير. — 14. Mss. كبير.  
— 15. F om. with 2 f. wds. — 16. Mss. الاستقنان المقطوعان. — 17. E om. with 2 f. wds.  
— 18. Mss. وعا. — 19. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 20. A يبقى. — 21. F احد. — 22. BEG  
السبب في نفاقهم.

patriarchal signet-ring, so that all men may know that thou art my administrator in all my business, both ecclesiastical and civil ». When Isaac heard this, he rejoiced greatly, and was consoled, and said to our father, the patriarch : « I am thy servant, and under thy orders in whatsoever thou shalt command me to do ». And when the people attended the church of our Lady at Miṣr, in the Fort of Ash-Shama', on the Feast of Palms, the patriarch ordained the official Isaac deacon. And there was a great congregation in the church on that day, so that the number of those who were present could not be counted.

But Satan the hater of good was there, and stirred up great trouble. For he entered into the two deposed bishops, and made them his vessels. Accordingly they visited Al-Afshîn, who was military commander under the caliph, and said to him : « God has delivered up to thee thine enemies and those of the prince, and thou hast exterminated them. Now it is binding on thee not to leave one surviving of those who were the cause of their rebellion. » He answered : « Who was it then that drove them to conspire against the prince? » And they replied : « It was the patriarch Joseph who did this, and he desired thereby even to slay the prince. And behold,

فقال لهما<sup>1</sup> ومن هو الذى احوجهم للنفاق على<sup>2</sup> السلك فقالا له البطرك يوساب فعل<sup>3</sup> ذلك واراد<sup>4</sup> بذلك حتى ان<sup>5</sup> يقتله وهو ذا هو مجتمع فى البيعة ومعه جمع كثير<sup>6</sup> ما<sup>7</sup> يخالفونه وكلما فعل بامر<sup>8</sup> حتى لحق السلك ولحق الامير حفظه<sup>9</sup> الله التعب العظيم ووقت<sup>9</sup> دخول الاسقفين<sup>10</sup> الى الافشين<sup>11</sup> كان سكران فامتلاً غيظاً<sup>12</sup> وانفذ<sup>13</sup> اخاه الى البيعة ومعه جمعا كثيرا<sup>14</sup> ليحضر اليه الاب<sup>15</sup> البطرك ليقتله وكان يمشى<sup>16</sup> امامهم اسحق الذى كان اسقف تيمس<sup>17</sup> مثل يهودا الاسخريوطى<sup>18</sup> الذى اسلم السيد المسيح لليهود فدخل الى الهيكل واوماً<sup>19</sup> باصبغه الى البطرك لكى<sup>20</sup> يعرفهم به ليأخذه فيجرد اخو الافشين<sup>21</sup> سيفه ليأخذ رأس البطرك فعند<sup>22</sup> ذلك مالت<sup>23</sup> يده فوق السيف فى عمود رخام وانكسر فازداد غضبا وكان فى وسطه سكين<sup>24</sup> فاخذها من<sup>25</sup> وسطه واوماً بها الى جنب البطرك ليقتله فيا لعظم

1. BEG om. ADF لهم. — 2. E om. with f. wd. BG للملك. — 3. ABEG pref. الذى. — 4. DEF om. to يقتله. — 5. Mss. om. — 6. Mss. كبير. — 7. E om. with f. wd. — 8. E om. with f. wd. — 9. Mss. وكان وقت. — 10. Mss. الاسقفان. — 11. E امير. — 12. ABDE الاب G الاسقف البطرك. — 13. BEG وارسل. — 14. Mss. كبير. — 15. B. — 16. E om. — 17. G بليس. — 18. AD الاسخريوطا. — 19. BG واوماً. — 20. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 21. E امير. — 22. E om. with f. wd. — 23. E مالت. — 24. F سكين. — 25. E om. with f. wd.

Joseph is now present at the church, accompanied by a large body of men who never disobey him. All that has been done was done by his orders; and thus this great calamity befell the prince and the amir, may God preserve him ». Now when the two bishops entered into the presence of Al-Afshîn, he was drunk. So he was filled with wrath, and sent his brother to the church, and many men with him, that he might bring the patriarch to him, in order that he might put him to death. And Isaac, who had been bishop of Timis, acted as their guide, like Judas Iscariot, who betrayed the Lord Christ to the Jews. For he entered into the sanctuary and pointed with his finger at the patriarch, that he might make known to his companions which he was, so that they might seize him. Thereupon the brother of Al-Afshîn drew his sword to cut off the patriarch's head. But when he was in the act, his hand slipped; and so the sword struck against a marble column, and was broken. At this he grew still more angry. And he had at his waist a knife, which he took and aimed at the patriarch's side, intending to kill him. But ah the greatness of the miracle that was worked at that moment in the presence of all, and which God manifested among his saints! When that man struck the patriarch



تلك<sup>١</sup> الإعجوبة في<sup>٢</sup> تلك الساعة عند<sup>٣</sup> كل احد التي<sup>٤</sup> اظهرها الله في قديسيه لما ضربه بالسكين قطعت الثياب<sup>٥</sup> التي<sup>٦</sup> عليه وانتهت الى المنطقة التي<sup>٧</sup> في وسطه فقطعتها ولم<sup>٨</sup> نل<sup>٩</sup> جسده شيء<sup>١٠</sup> بالجملة<sup>١١</sup> فتلبل<sup>١٢</sup> جميع الشعب الذي في البيعة وكثر صياحهم<sup>١٣</sup> وظنوا انه قد مات فلما نظر<sup>١٤</sup> ذلك المشتمل<sup>١٥</sup> بالاعمال الصالحة ورأى قلق<sup>١٦</sup> الشعب واضطرابه<sup>١٧</sup> اوما<sup>١٨</sup> بيده اليهم وقال لهم لا تقلقوا فلما علموا انه حي فرحوا فرحاً<sup>١٩</sup> عظيماً ومجدوا الله وعدوا<sup>٢٠</sup> اليه لينظروا<sup>٢١</sup> ما لحقه فوجدوه سالماً ولم ينقطع غير الثياب والمنطقة فسبحوا الله وصرخوا<sup>٢٢</sup> قائلين كقول داود النبي الرب يحفظ اصفياه الرب يحفظ الابرار وينجيهم من يد الخطاة وشكروا الله على خلاصه وقالوا لولا ان الرب نجانا كانت نفسى تكون في الجحيم وان قلت ان رجلى زلت فرحمتك يا رب اعانتنى ولكثرة اوجاع قلبى افرحنى عزائك<sup>٢٣</sup>

1. E om. — 2. E om. to قديسيه add. وهو ان. — 3. DF om. with 2 f. wds. — 4. ABDG الذى. — 5. DF om. — 6. Mss. الذى. — 7. BG الذى. — 8. G وما. — 9. Mss. ينال. — 10. Mss. شيا. — 11. E om. to البيعة. — 12. B فبلبل. — 13. E صياح الشعب. — 14. E add. الاب. — 15. E om. to ورأى. — 16. E وقلق. — 17. E om. — 18. BG اوما F وما. — 19. E om. with f. wd. — 20. E om. to عزائك. — 21. ABDG ينظروا. — 22. BG om. — 23. Mss. عزاك.

with the knife, it cut the vestments which he was wearing, and penetrated as far as the girdle which was around his waist, and cut that; but his body was not wounded at all. Then all the congregation in the church were thrown into disorder and shouted loudly, thinking that he was dead. But when he who was clothed in good works saw the confusion, and perceived the anxiety and excitement of the people, he made a sign to them with his hand, and exclaimed : « Be not troubled! ». And when they understood that Abba Joseph was alive, they rejoiced greatly, and glorified God, and moved over towards him, to see what had happened to him; and they found him safe and sound, for nothing had been cut save the vestments and the girdle. Therefore they praised God, and cried aloud in the words of the prophet David<sup>1</sup> : « The Lord preserves his chosen ones; the Lord preserves the righteous, and will deliver them from the hand of sinners ». And they thanked God for the patriarch's safety, and said<sup>2</sup> : « If the Lord had not delivered us, my soul would have been in Hell; and if I said \* that my foot had slipped, thy mercy, O Lord, assisted me. And on account of the multitude of the griefs of my heart thy consolation rejoiced me ».

1. Ps. xcvi. 10 (Sept. xcvi). — 2. Ps. xciv. 17, 18, 19 (Sept. xciv).

فلما نظر اخو الافشين<sup>1</sup> هذه الاعجوبة وعلم ان الرب معه اخذد ليمضي به الى اخيه  
كما امره وفيما<sup>2</sup> هم يجذبونه ليخرجوه والشعب متعلق به<sup>3</sup> فقال لهم لا تسكوني فما نحن  
مقاومون<sup>4</sup> للسلطان<sup>5</sup> فخرج والشعب يتبعونه باكين<sup>6</sup> يسجدون<sup>7</sup> على رجليه ويديه ويظنون  
انه يقتل فلما نظرهم اخو الامير<sup>8</sup> يسكونه<sup>9</sup> غضب جدا ورفع يده وضربه بسقرعة على  
رأسه فانجرحت عيناه<sup>10</sup> ودخل<sup>11</sup> الى الافشين<sup>12</sup> فخاطبه بما ينبغي<sup>13</sup> وبما قالود عنه الاساقفة  
وسعوا<sup>14</sup> به فقال له<sup>15</sup> بنعمة<sup>16</sup> الله امر الاسقفين<sup>17</sup> امر عجيب وذلك اني قطعتهما<sup>18</sup> عن  
استقيتهما<sup>19</sup> والسبب<sup>20</sup> في ذلك فيعلم<sup>21</sup> الافشين الخبر وبطلان قولهما عليه ولم يصح شيء<sup>22</sup>  
مما ذكروه<sup>23</sup> عنه ثم اعلمه سبب<sup>24</sup> قطعهما لقيام شعبهما<sup>25</sup> عليهما فعلم الافشين<sup>26</sup> الحق  
وبطلان قولهما<sup>27</sup> عنه وبدأ ان<sup>28</sup> يقول<sup>29</sup> البلايا عليهما وقال<sup>30</sup> للحاضرين لقد اراد هذان<sup>31</sup>

1. E الامير — 2. E om. to عيناه. — 3. D بهم. — 4. Mss. مقاومين. — 5. G السلطان. — 6. B  
عيند. — 7. F سجدوا. — 8. D الافشين. — 9. D om. to الى الافشين. — 10. F عينا  
وينبعرا. — 11. E فلما دخل. — 12. E الامير. — 13. E om. with f. wd. — 14. G  
ان الاسقفان مقطوعان. — 15. ADF لهم. — 16. E om. to قطعتهما add. — 17. Mss.  
وسبب قطعتهما. — 18. Mss. استقيتهما. — 19. Mss. قطعتهما. — 20. DF يعلم. — 21. ABG  
قالود. — 22. Mss. شيئا. — 23. BG. — 24. BG بسبب. — 25. B سعيهما. — 26. EF الامر. — 27. G om. to اراد. — 28. Mss.  
om. — 29. F ينزل. — 30. B وبدأ يقول. — 31. ABDEFG هذين الرجلين.

The brother of Al-Afshin, seeing this miracle, and perceiving that the Lord was with the patriarch, took him that he might conduct him to his brother, as he had commanded. And while he was being drawn along, that he might be brought outside, while the people hung upon him, he said to them : « Keep me not back, for we do not resist the government ». So he went out, while the people followed him weeping, and kissed his feet and hands, thinking that he would be put to death. And when the brother of the amir saw them holding him, he was greatly enraged, and, lifting up his hand, struck him with a rod on the head with such violence that his eyes were injured.

So the patriarch entered into the presence of Al-Afshin, who addressed him as it was necessary, and told him what the bishops said of him, and of what they accused him. Thereupon the patriarch said to those present, by the grace of God : « The affair of the two bishops is a strange matter. For the fact is that I deposed them from their episcopal rank. And the cause of that was — ». And he proceeded to make the events known to Al-Afshin, and showed him the falsity of their charges. For nothing that they had said of him was true. Then he told the amir the reason of his



الرجال ان<sup>1</sup> يكسباني خطيئة عظيمة واقتل ابا<sup>2</sup> النصارى جميعا فلما نظر القديس ان الانتقام يحل بهما بسببه<sup>3</sup> قال<sup>4</sup> له مذهبي يأمرني بفعل الخير مع من يعمل معي الشر<sup>5</sup> والذي<sup>6</sup> سعي<sup>7</sup> به هذان<sup>8</sup> قد طرح الله في قلبك الصحيح فاسئلك<sup>9</sup> ان تفعل معهما خيرا برئاستك<sup>10</sup> واتركهما كرامة لله فلما نظر فعله تعجب واطلق الاسقفين<sup>11</sup> فمجد<sup>12</sup> الشعب الله وشكروه وقالوا<sup>13</sup> انه مستحق المجد لاقامته هذا الاب القديس العامل بوصاياه علينا مقدما<sup>14</sup> ولما علم المأمون<sup>15</sup> الخبر من الواردين عليه<sup>16</sup> امر ان يكتب له سجل بكرامته ودعايته ان<sup>17</sup> لا يعترضه احد<sup>18</sup> في احكامه ولا في من يوسمه او يقطعه ثم بعد ذلك امر المأمون<sup>19</sup> ان يطلب من بقى من البشموريين بكورة مصر وان يسيروا الى بغداد فسيروا<sup>20</sup> واقاموا

1. Mss. om. — 2. Mss. اب. — 3. E om. — 4. E فقال. — 5. F الشرور. — 6. E om. to الصحيح. — 7. Mss. سعيا. — 8. Mss. هولا. — 9. BFG فاسالك. — 10. B لرياستك. — 11. Mss. الاسقفان. — 12. BEG فمجدوا. — 13. E om. to فقال له الامير ايضا ان تفعل معهما خيرا لرياستك واتركهما كرامة لله فلما. — 14. G add. مقدما. — 15. E الملك. — 16. E اليه. — 17. E om. to احد add. وعدم. — 18. ABG احدا. — 19. E الملك. — 20. FG فساروا. — المعارضة.

removing those two bishops because their people rose up against them. And Al-Afshin perceived the truth, and saw that the bishops' words concerning the patriarch were lies; and he began to think that those two were responsible for the trouble. And he observed to those that were present : « These two men intended to make me share in a great crime, and put the father of all the Christians to death ». Then when the holy man saw that vengeance was descending upon those two for his sake, he said to the amir : « My religion bids me do good to those that do harm to me. God has now shown thee the truth with regard to the accusations that these two men brought; and therefore I pray thee to treat them generously, as thou hast authority to do. Leave them alone then in honour of God ». And when Al-Afshin saw what the patriarch did, he marvelled; and he set the two bishops free. So the people glorified God and gave thanks to him, declaring that he was worthy of praise, because he had raised up as their leader this holy father, who acted according to the divine commandments.

And when Al-Ma'mun learnt the news from those who visited him, he commanded that a decree should be written, directing that the patriarch should be honoured and respected, and that none should oppose him in his judgments or with regard to those whom he should appoint or depose. Afterwards Al-Ma'mun gave orders that search should be made for the



في الحبوس مدة كبيرة حتى اراد الله خلاصهم من<sup>1</sup> يد ابراهيم<sup>2</sup> الملك بعد اخيه فمضهم<sup>3</sup> من رجع الى بلده ومنهم من بقى هناك ببغداد وانشؤوا بساتين واقاموا هناك الى اليوم وهم الى اليوم يسمون اهل البشرودين

ثم بعد ذلك اراد الاب يوساب ان<sup>4</sup> يوسم اسقفين<sup>5</sup> بمصر وتئيس عوضا<sup>6</sup> من<sup>7</sup> المقطوعين ليتم<sup>8</sup> قول السليح بولس واعظم ما على الاهتمام بالبيع فاما<sup>9</sup> اسحق الارخن الذي حيرة شماسا ونائبا عنه اوسمه اسقفا على وسيم واوسم انسانا اسمه ديمتريوس على تئيس وبقى فسطاط مصر بغير اسقف وبقى اسقف وسيم مدبر كرسى مصر وجعل<sup>10</sup> سلطانه عليه ولم<sup>11</sup> يكن احد يقدر ان<sup>12</sup> يقاومه بقوة<sup>13</sup> كلامه عند الولاة وعند<sup>14</sup> اخوته وجماعته وبقى على الكرسيين الى يوم وفاته

1. E om. to احيى. — 2. BDEG ابراهيم. — 3. B مضعهم. — 4. EG om. B om. with f. wd. — 5. Mss. اسقفا. — 6. BDF عوض. — 7. BDF om. — 8. E om. to بالبيع. — 9. E فارسم اسحق الارخن اسقفا على وسيم مدبر كرسى مصر واوسم انسانا اسمه ديمتريوس على. — 10. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 11. BE ولم يكن احد يقدر. — 12. DF om. — 13. F لفرته. — 14. DF om. to وجماعته. — 15. DF ولم يقدر.

Bashmurites still remaining in Egypt, and that they should be deported to Baghdad. So they were removed, and remained in the prisons for a long period, until it was God's will to save them from the hand of Ibrâhim, who reigned after his brother. Then some of them returned to their native towns while others remained there at Baghdad, and laid out gardens there, and continued in those parts until the present day, still bearing the name of Bashrūdites.

After this the father Joseph desired to appoint two bishops at Tinnis and at Miṣr, in the place of those who had been deposed, that the words of the apostle Paul<sup>1</sup> might be fulfilled : « The greatest of my duties is the care of the churches ». Therefore he consecrated as bishop over Wasīm Isaac, the official, whom he had made a deacon and his own deputy. And he appointed a person named Demetrius over Tinnis. But Fustât Miṣr was left without a bishop; and the bishop of Wasīm continued to be administrator of the diocese of Miṣr, and exercised authority over it; and none could resist him because of the influence which his words had with the governors and his brethren and his community, and he remained over the two sees until his death.

1. II Cor., xi, 28.

فلما افاق البطرك قليلا اعتم بامر الحبشة والنوبة<sup>1</sup> وانفذ اليهم كتباً وتفقد<sup>2</sup> وتفقد<sup>3</sup> بينهم ولم يتسكن لخلف الملوك مع ولاية مصر المسلمين وكان يطلب الى<sup>4</sup> الله ان تكون السلامة بينهم<sup>5</sup> ليلبع<sup>6</sup> غرضه في عمارة المواضع التي<sup>7</sup> للاب<sup>8</sup> البشير<sup>9</sup> ماري مرقس<sup>10</sup> فسمع<sup>11</sup> الله دعاءه واجاب<sup>12</sup> طلبته وكان<sup>13</sup> الحرب قد اقام اربع<sup>14</sup> عشرة<sup>15</sup> سنة بينهم الى ان<sup>16</sup> ملك ابراهيم<sup>17</sup> اخو<sup>18</sup> السامون وجعل حفظة على طريق الحبشة والنوبة وكان الملك على النوبة زكريا فانفذ<sup>19</sup> يقول له ان<sup>20</sup> كنت<sup>21</sup> تفعل كما كان<sup>22</sup> يفعل<sup>23</sup> غيرك من الملوك فانفذ خراج اربع<sup>24</sup> عشرة سنة سلفت والا نحن نحاربك وكان كاتب الوالى في الصعيد انسان شماس<sup>25</sup> اسمه جرجة فكتب<sup>26</sup> الى البطرك<sup>27</sup> يعرفه ما صدرت به كتب الملك ابراهيم<sup>28</sup> فلما سمع هذا البطرك مجد الله

1. E om. to المسلمين. — 2. B وافقدهم F ويفتقدهم. — 3. BF ويفتقد. — 4. BEG من. — 5. E add. المسلمين. — 6. E وذلك. — 7. Mss. الذى. — 8. DF om. — 9. E om. DF للبشير. — 10. E add. البشير. — 11. E استجاب طلبته. — 12. BG واستجاب. — 13. E om. to الى add. وهو. — 14. ABG اربعة. — 15. Mss. عشر. — 16. E add. بعد اربعة عشر سنة والحرب بينهم. — 17. BEFG ابراهيم. — 18. E om. to والنوبة add. لما. — 19. ABDEFG انفذ E add. الملك ابراهيم. — 20. BG om. — 21. E om. to كان add. فانفذ. — 22. BFG om. — 23. G فعل. — 24. Mss. اربعة عشر. — 25. G اسمه جرجة. — 26. BEG انفذ. — 27. E الاب. — 28. BFG ابراهيم E om.

When the patriarch had recovered his strength a little, he took thought for the affairs of Abyssinia and Nubia, and \* sent a letter to the people of those countries, and enquired after them and their churches. But he did not succeed in communicating with them on account of hostility between their kings and the Muslim governors of Egypt. And he prayed to God that there might be peace between them, so that he might attain his object, which was to restore the buildings under the jurisdiction of the Father, Saint Mark the Evangelist. And God heard his prayer, and answered his petition. Now this war had lasted fourteen years between them, until Ibrâhim, brother of Al-Ma'mûn, began to reign. He set guards on the road to Abyssinia and Nubia. Now the king over the Nubians was Zacharias. So Ibrâhim sent, and said to him : « If thou wilt do what other kings have done before thee, then send the tribute for the past fourteen years. Otherwise we will make war upon thee. » Now a deacon, named George, was the secretary of the governor of Upper Egypt. So he wrote to the patriarch to make known to him what was contained in the letter of Ibrâhim, the prince. And the patriarch, on hearing it, glorified God, and rejoiced, saying : « This is an opportunity for me also to write to the kings of what

وفرح وقال هذا الوسيلة لاكتب ايضا بما يتعلق بالبيعة الى الملوك فكتب كتابا متضمنة ما يجب من نعمة روح<sup>١</sup> القدس يسلم<sup>٢</sup> عليهم ويفخهم<sup>٣</sup> ويوجدهم<sup>٤</sup> ما بفعلوه معه ملوك المسلمين من الجميل لما<sup>٥</sup> اجلسه الرب على الكرسي الجليل<sup>٦</sup> المقدس ويقول وانا غير مستحق لذلك وكنت<sup>٧</sup> مشتاقا الى اخباركم وكانت خطيئتي تسعني<sup>٨</sup> الا<sup>٩</sup> اكتبكم<sup>١٠</sup> لاجل الحروب التي كانت بارض مصر ومخالفة<sup>١١</sup> اهل البشروديين<sup>١٢</sup> لاوامر الملوك الى ان قتلهم واخرب مواضعهم وهدم<sup>١٣</sup> بيعهم فوجدنا الوسيلة بهذا السكاتبة ان<sup>١٤</sup> نعلمكم ما جرى ويجب الآن يا احبائي ان تتفموا ما يجب عليكم لاولاء الملوك وان<sup>١٥</sup> كان لا يجب ان نأمركم بشيء من هذا فقد قاسيت عذابا من اخوتي كما قاسى يوسف بن<sup>١٦</sup> يعقوب من اخوته ويجب الآن ان تطلبوا ان<sup>١٧</sup> السلامة<sup>١٨</sup> تكون<sup>١٩</sup> بينكم يا محبي الله وتسير السلامة في البيعة

1. B دس. — 2. E بعد. — 3. EG الروح. — 4. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 5. F رشحهم. — 6. E om. to المقدس. — 7. F om. — 8. E om. to لذلك. — 9. E كنت. — 10. Mss. ان. — 11. BG اخطاكم. — 12. E om. to ما جرى. — 13. B السمرودين D السمرودين EG السمرودين. — 14. F وهدم. — 15. BG om. — 16. E om. to ليخذها. — 17. ABD ابن. — 18. Mss. om. — 19. F om. to مصر. — 20. D لاجل.

concerns the Church. So he wrote a letter, full of the grace of the Holy Ghost, as it behoved him; and he saluted and praised the kings, and informed them of the kindly treatment that he had received from the princes of the Muslims, since the Lord had seated him upon the glorious and holy throne. And he added : « I am unworthy of this post, but I was desirous of obtaining news of you. Only my sin prevented my communicating with you, on account of the wars which have been waged in the land of Egypt, and the rebellion of the Bashrūdites against the commands of the prince, until he slew them, and laid their dwellings waste, and demolished their churches. But now we have found an opportunity by this correspondence of making known to you what has happened. And now, my friends, you are bound to accomplish your duty to these princes. And if it were wrong that we should bid you do any of these things, then I have undergone punishment from my brethren, as Joseph, the son of Jacob, suffered from his brethren. And now you are bound to pray that there may be peace between you, O you that love God, and that peace may appear in the Church for your sake ».

This epistle Abba Joseph despatched to the governor of the mines near Uswan, that he might forward it. And when this letter reached king Zacharias, and was read to him, he said : « What shall I do concerning the



من اجلكم وهذه الرسالة انفذها الى الوالى الذى فى المعدن باسوان لينفذها فلما وصلت  
الكتب الى زكرياء الملك وقُرئت<sup>1</sup> عليه قال ما الذى اصنع فى<sup>2</sup> ما الشمس منى الملك من<sup>3</sup>  
يجمع<sup>4</sup> لى بقط اربع<sup>5</sup> عشرة<sup>6</sup> سنة انفسا<sup>7</sup> انفذهم اليه<sup>8</sup> ولا اتمكن<sup>9</sup> من مفارقة كرسيّ لئلا  
يسلكوا<sup>10</sup> البربر المخالفون<sup>11</sup> لى ويجب ان انفذ ابنى اليه فاحضر<sup>12</sup> ولدد الاكبر وكان اسمه  
جرجة وضرب بالبوق<sup>13</sup> وجعل منادياً ينادى ان الملك له بعدى ثم انفذ الى مصر صحبة  
الرسل الواصلين من مصر مع هدايا اعدّها

ولما وصل الى مصر اجتمع به الاب المغبوط<sup>14</sup> ابنا يوساب فلما نظر اليه جرجة بن<sup>15</sup>  
زكرياء الملك فرح فرحاً عظيماً وسجد بين يديه فبارك عليه البطرك<sup>16</sup> واعاد<sup>17</sup> عليه بعض<sup>18</sup>  
ما جرى عليه<sup>19</sup> ليقيم عذره<sup>20</sup> فى تاخر<sup>21</sup> كتبه عن<sup>22</sup> مملكته<sup>23</sup> فقال له جرجة مبارك  
الرب الذى لم يفعل معنا مثل<sup>24</sup> خطايانا لكن<sup>25</sup> خطيئتنا منعتك الى الان وقدسك الذى

1. E om. with f. wd. — 2. E om. to الملك. — 3. DF منى E ومن. — 4. ABDEFG  
يجمع. — 5. Mss. اربعة. — 6. Mss. عشر. — 7. E om. — 8. E الى الملك. — 9. E يمكن.  
البوق. — 10. DF يهلكوا. — 11. Mss. المخالفين. — 12. E ثم احضر. — 13. E ثم احضر.  
— 14. E om. — 15. ABDE ابن. — 16. B om. — 17. Mss. رعاد. — 18. D بعد. — 19. BFG  
om. E om. to مملكته. — 20. DF add. عند ابني زكريا. — 21. G تاخره B add. عذره. —  
22. DF عنهم. — 23. DF om. — 24. BEG كخطايانا. — 25. E om. to بغداد.

prince's demand upon me? Who will collect for me the tribute of fourteen years in human souls, that I may send them to him? For I cannot leave my capital, lest the savages who are in rebellion against me should take possession of it. Now must I despatch my son to the prince. » So the king sent for his eldest son, whose name was George. And he had the trumpet blown, and appointed a herald who proclaimed that George should reign after him. Then he sent him to Misr, in company with the envoys who had come thence, together with gifts which he had prepared.

And when George arrived at Misr, he was met by the blessed father Abba Joseph. On seeing the patriarch, George, son of king Zacharias, rejoiced greatly, and prostrated himself before him. Then the patriarch gave him his benediction, and informed him of some of the events that had taken place, in order to excuse himself for the delay in sending a letter to the kingdom of the Nubians. But George replied : « Blessed is the Lord, who deals not with us after our sins! But it was our fault that hindered thee till this time; and it is thy holiness ' that has made me worthy to kiss

علمني مستحقاً ان اقبل يديك المقدستين<sup>1</sup> ايها السراج السخىء لجميع المسكونة وللارثوذكسيين<sup>2</sup> وبدأ ان<sup>3</sup> يمشى فى الطريق الى بغداد وسأله ان<sup>4</sup> يدعو له ان يعيده الله اليه بسلام فوصل الى بغداد مدينة<sup>5</sup> الملك<sup>6</sup> فقبله الملك بفرح وقال له قد وهب<sup>7</sup> الله لك بقط جميع<sup>8</sup> ما مضى من السنين لاجل حضورك<sup>10</sup> الى<sup>11</sup> عندى وطاعتك اى واقام عنده ايّاما كثيرة مكرماً<sup>12</sup> ثم سرحه بكرامات كثير<sup>13</sup> ذهب<sup>14</sup> وفضة وملبوس وانفذ صحته عسكرياً لكي يوصلوه الى بلاده بسلام<sup>15</sup>

فلما وصل الى مصر ومن معه بمجد عظيم وتبجيل وصاب ذهب بيده يقبله<sup>16</sup> كل احد لموضع اكرام الملك له<sup>17</sup> وسأل<sup>18</sup> ابا<sup>19</sup>نا البطرك ان يحمل هيكلًا مكرزاً<sup>20</sup> معمولاً من خشب يتفصل<sup>21</sup> ويتركب<sup>22</sup> الى داخل قصر<sup>23</sup> الملك حيث<sup>24</sup> كان نازلاً فيه وكانوا معه اساقفة من

1. ABDG المقدسة F المقدسين. — 2. DF om. BG add. فى جميع الدنيا. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. E om. to فوصل add. الدعاء له وبدأ فى المسير الى ان وصل. — 5. E om. with f. wd. — 6. F om. — 7. DF رحمتك. — 8. DF om. with f. wd. — 9. E om. — 10. F حضورتك. — 11. E om. with f. wd. — 12. E om. — 13. Mss. كثيرة. — 14. ADF ذهباً E om. with 2 f. wds. — 15. E om. — 16. E om. to الملك. — 17. ABG om. — 18. ADF سأل. — 19. Mss. ابرنا. — 20. F مكرزاً. — 21. B يتفصل D يفصل. — 22. BG يتركب. — 23. F القصر الذى للملك. — 24. E om. to فيه.

thy holy hands, O thou Lamp, that enlightenest the orthodox throughout the world! »

Then George started upon the road to Baghddad. And he begged the patriarch to pray for him that God might bring him back in safety. On his arrival at Baghddad, the capital of the empire, the prince received him with joy and said to him : « God gives thee the tribute of all the past years, in return for thy coming to my court and thy obedience to me ». And George remained with him many days in honour. Afterwards the prince dismissed him with many gifts of gold and silver and garments, and despatched a troop of soldiers with him, that they might conduct him to his own country in safety.

So he returned to Miṣr with great glory and ceremony, holding a golden cross in his hand, while all the people welcomed him, according to the honour which the caliph had paid him. And George requested leave of the patriarch that he might transport into the governor's palace, where he was lodging, a consecrated sanctuary, made of wood, that could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there were with him bishops from his own country,

بلاده يقتدسون له فيقترب ابن<sup>1</sup> الملك وكل من معه وأمر بضرب الناقوس فوق السطوح<sup>2</sup> التي<sup>3</sup> للقصير في وقت القداس كما يفعل في البيع فتعجب كل أحد من هذا وفرح جميع النصارى بهذا ومجدوا<sup>4</sup> الله على ما أظهره بصلاة هذا<sup>5</sup> القديس الأب بطرك<sup>6</sup> وفي<sup>7</sup> أيامه سافر ابن<sup>8</sup> الملك المذكور<sup>9</sup> وأخذ<sup>10</sup> في هيئة<sup>11</sup> المسير فمشى<sup>12</sup> معه أبونا بطرك<sup>13</sup> الى موضع يعرف ببولاك بمجد<sup>14</sup> عظيم وتعزى بذلك<sup>15</sup> الأب<sup>16</sup> عما جرى عليه من التجارب ومن لا يتعجب<sup>17</sup> اذا سمع هذه<sup>18</sup> العجائب وهو ان كل بطرك يجلس على هذا الكرسي المقدس يصرف اهتمامه الى ثلاثة اقسام<sup>19</sup> الاهتمام<sup>20</sup> بسنوديقا الى بطرك انطاكية والثاني<sup>21</sup> امرنا<sup>22</sup> الذي<sup>23</sup> يتعلق بالحبشة والنوبة والثالث<sup>24</sup> تنجز<sup>25</sup> سجلات من ملك<sup>26</sup> مصر<sup>27</sup> له وللاساقفة ليستقيم امر البيع الارثوذكسية<sup>28</sup> فجمع الله لابينا<sup>29</sup> البطرك ابنا يوساب هذه الثلاثة

1. FG بن. — 2. E السطح. — 3. Mss. الذي. — 4. E om. to ايامه add. ثم. — 5. DF om. with f. wd. — 6. DF add. ابنا يوساب. — 7. DF ولما سافر. — 8. FG بن. — 9. DF الى بولاك. — 10. E om. to المسير. — 11. BG اهيئة. — 12. D مشى F ومشى. — 13. E الى بولاك. — 14. E om. with f. wd. — 15. DF لذلك. — 16. DF add. البطرك. — 17. AB عجب. — 18. AB هذا DF بهذه. — 19. E add. الاول. — 20. E om. — 21. Mss. الثانية. — 22. BDEFG امر. — 23. Mss. om. BDEFG ما. — 24. Mss. والثالثة. — 25. E تنجز. — 26. E الملك. — 27. E om. to الارثوذكسية. — 28. Mss. الارثوذكسيين. — 29. AD لابونا B لهذا الاب E لابانا.

who celebrated the Liturgy for him, so that the king's son and all his companions made their communion there. And he gave orders that the wooden gong should be struck on the roof of the palace at the time of the Liturgy, as it is done at the churches. And all men marvelled thereat; and all the Christians rejoiced and glorified God for what he had shown forth through the prayers of this holy man, the patriarch. And in his days the said king's son set out and started upon his homeward journey. Therefore our father, the patriarch, proceeded with him, as far as a place called Bûlâk, with great state. And the father was thereby consoled for the trials which he had passed through.

Now who will not marvel when he hears these wonders, namely that every patriarch who sits upon this holy throne directs his care towards three departments of business : the care for the synodical letter to the patriarch of Antioch; secondly our relations with the Abyssinians and the Nubians; and thirdly the carrying out of decrees issued by the governor of Egypt to the patriarch and bishops, that the affairs of the orthodox churches may be kept in good order? And God brought these three



اقسام بالمشاهدة<sup>1</sup> ووصول الملك المأمون من بلاده ووصول اخيه<sup>2</sup> ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية ومشاهدته له ووصول ابن<sup>3</sup> ملك النوبة كما ذكرنا واستقامة<sup>4</sup> الامور ونظر<sup>5</sup> السجد العظيم بالحقيقة كما قال داؤود النبي ان تسجد<sup>6</sup> له كل الامم وفعل له عجباً<sup>7</sup> اخر حتى<sup>8</sup> كمل الله له جميع ما طلبه حتى بتسجد<sup>9</sup> كرسي الاب الجليل ماري مرقس البشير<sup>10</sup> بركات<sup>11</sup> صلواته تحفظنا<sup>12</sup> كان في ذلك الزمان اسقف<sup>13</sup> اسمه يوحنا وكان الاب ابنا يعقوب قد وسمه لبلاد الحبشة وكان ملك الحبشة قد خرج في حرب فعمدوا اهل البلاد فاخرجوا الاسقف واقاموا اسقفاً باختيارهم بخلاف القانون فعاد المذكور الى مصر ونزل في دير برموس بوادي عيب لانه كان ترهب فيه اولاً<sup>14</sup> والرب محب البشر الذي يريد خلاصهم<sup>15</sup> ويردّهم الى معرفة الحق لم يجعل تلك الكسوة ومن

1. E om. to الامم. — 2. ABDG اخيه. — 3. FG ابن. — 4. Mss. واستقامت. — 5. F نظر. — 6. ABG تسجد. — 7. F pref. فعلا. — 8. E om. to طلبه. — 9. B تسجد G تسجد. — 10. E om. to تحفظنا add. وهو ان. — 11. DF om. to تحفظنا. — 12. BG add. امين. — 13. Mss. اسقف. — 14. E om. — 15. E خلاص الكل.

departments together for our father, the patriarch Abba Joseph, by the coming of the caliph Al-Ma'mûn from his country and the patriarch's interviews with him, and the arrival of his brother Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, with whom he held intercourse, and the coming of the son of the king of the Nubians, as we have related, and the prosperity of affairs, and his seeing the great glory in truth, as the prophet David says<sup>1</sup> : « All nations shall worship before him ».

And God worked for him another wonder, so that he performed for him all that he had prayed for, in order that the see of the illustrious father, Saint Mark the Evangelist, might be glorified. May the blessings of his prayers preserve us! There was at that time a bishop named John, whom the father, Abba James, had ordained for the land of the Abyssinians. Now the king of the Abyssinians had gone forth to war. Then the people became disaffected, and drove away that bishop, and appointed another of their own free choice, thus breaking the canon. And the aforesaid bishop returned to Egypt and took up his abode at the Monastery of Baramus in Wadi Habib, because he had first become a monk there. But the Lord, who loves mankind, and desires to save them and restore them to the knowledge of

1. Ps. lxxii, 11 [Sept. lxxi].

فيها ان<sup>1</sup> يقيموا<sup>2</sup> على الخلاف الذي فعلوه لكن<sup>3</sup> اثار عليهم الكرسي<sup>4</sup> الانجيلي دفعة  
اخرى ليظهر الرب عجائبه هكذا فانزل عليهم وباء وفناء عظيم<sup>5</sup> وعام<sup>6</sup> بهائم وجعل ملكهم  
مغلوبا من<sup>7</sup> كل من يقاومه ويقتل<sup>8</sup> اصحابه فلما عاد من الحرب احقه حزن عظيم ولم يعلم  
بما جرى على الاسقف ولا كيف انفوه من بلدهم وكانت الملكة التي<sup>9</sup> فعلت هذا كما  
فعلت اوضوكسية ذلك<sup>10</sup> الزمان مع يوحنا فم الذهب فلما علم الملك بذلك اسرع وكتب  
الى الراعي<sup>11</sup> الصالح ابنا يوساب يقول له انا اسجد للكرسي الانجيلي الذي استحققت ابوتك  
الجلوس عليه وبنعمته ثبت ملكي والان فان قوماً من كورتى ضلوا<sup>12</sup> عن نور الكرسي  
المقدس وجعلوا ارجلهم في الطريق<sup>13</sup> المسلوقة شوكاً لما اخرجوا خليفتك فانزل الرب مجازاة  
ذلك على رؤوسنا فاذاقنا<sup>14</sup> عنه الانتقام<sup>15</sup> بموت الناس والبهائم بالوباء<sup>16</sup> ومنع السماء من

1. Mss. om. — 2. DF يقيمون. — 3. E om. to هكذا. — 4. DF om. to هكذا add.  
— 5. DF om. — 6. E om. with f. wd. — 7. B مع. — 8. E om. with f. wd.  
— 9. BEF الذي. — 10. DF pref. في. — 11. E om. to يوساب add. الاب. — 12. E ظمرا.  
— 13. BEG الطريق. — 14. BG فاذاقنا F فاذاقنا — 15. BG الانتقام — 16. ABG والوباء DF om.

the truth, did not allow that country and its inhabitants to remain in their disobedience, but he raised up against them the evangelical throne once more, that the Lord might show forth wonders in the following manner. For he sent down upon them and upon their cattle a plague with great mortality, and caused their king to be defeated by all who fought against him; and his followers were slain. So, when he came back from the war, great sadness fell upon him. And he did not know what had been done to the bishop, nor how he had been banished from their city. For it was the queen who had caused this mischief, acting as Eudoxia did in her time against John the Golden Mouth. As soon therefore as the king learnt this, he hastened and wrote a letter to the good shepherd, Abba Joseph, saying to him : « I prostrate myself before the evangelical throne, upon which thy Paternity has been counted worthy to sit, and by the grace of which my royal authority is confirmed. Now the people of my country have strayed away from the light of the holy see, and have set their feet in a path full of thorns by driving away thy vicar. Therefore the Lord has sent down the punishment of that deed upon our heads, and has given us a taste of his vengeance through the death of men and cattle by the plague. Moreover he has forbidden heaven to rain upon us. But now, our holy father, overlook

المطر علينا والآن يا ابا<sup>1</sup> القديس فاغفل عن جهلنا وانفذ<sup>2</sup> إلينا من يدعو إلى<sup>3</sup> الله فينا  
ويصلّي<sup>4</sup> عنا لنخلص<sup>5</sup> بصلواتك المسموعة لسا وقف الاب على الكتب فرح بامانته<sup>6</sup>  
وانفذ سرعة واحضر ذلك الاسقف من دير برموس وعزّاد وثبّته وسيّر<sup>8</sup> إليهم وانفذ<sup>9</sup> معه  
قوما مأمونين لاجل الطريق ودفع له ما يتسفر به وما يكفيه وشيّعهم وهو يبارك عليهم  
ليسهل الله طريقهم فسمع الله له ووصلوا إلى الملك المحبّ ففرح بهم وكلّمن في كورته<sup>10</sup>  
فرمى الشيطان عدوّ السلامة في قلب قوم<sup>11</sup> من أهل تلك الكورة إلى ان وقفوا للملك  
وقالوا له نحن نطلب من امرك ان تأمر هذا الاسقف ان<sup>12</sup> يختن لان كلّمن في كورتنا  
مختنون<sup>13</sup> سواه<sup>14</sup> ومن قوّة فعل الشيطان طاب قلب الملك بهذا ان يوحّد ذلك الشيخ  
الاسقف ويختن<sup>15</sup> وآلا فيعود إلى المكان الذي جاء منه فلما ذكر صعوبة الطريق التي<sup>16</sup>

1. Mss. ابونا. — 2. BEG وارسل. — 3. DEF om. — 4. D يصلي. — 5. DF علينا. —  
6. BEG om. — 7. Mss. بامانهم. — 8. E وارسله. — 9. E om. to ووصلوا add. فرح. —  
10. F له. — 11. ABDE قوما. — 12. BEG om. — 13. ABE مختنين D مختنين. — 14. E om. — 15. E يختن. — 16. E om. to والسحر add. فيها عليه ذلكت.

our folly, and send us someone who will pray to God for us, and intercede for us, that we may be saved by thy acceptable prayers ».

When the father had read this letter, he rejoiced over the king's faith and quickly sent and summoned that bishop from the monastery of Baramus, and having encouraged and consoled him sent him back to the Abyssinians. And he despatched an escort of trustworthy men with him on account of the dangers of the road, and gave him sufficient provision for the journey. And he dismissed the party, giving them his blessing that God might make their path easy. And God heard him; for they safely reached the friendly king, who rejoiced over them with all the natives of the land.

After this, Satan, the enemy of peace, suggested an idea to some of the people of that country. Accordingly, they waited upon the king, and said to him : « We request thy majesty to command this bishop to be circumcised. For all the inhabitants of our country are circumcised except him ». And the working of Satan was so powerful that the king approved this proposal, namely that the aged bishop should be taken and circumcised, or else that he should return to the place whence he had come. And when the bishop recollected the hardships of his journeys, both when he departed and when he returned, and then of what he would experience again, he dreaded the difficulties of the road both by land and water. So he said : « I will submit



سلكها في مضيه وعودته ثم ما يلقاه ايضاً خاف<sup>1</sup> من صعوبة الطريق في البر والبحر فقال انا  
افعل هذا لخلص الانفس التي<sup>2</sup> اقامني الرب راعياً لهم بغير استحقاقى<sup>3</sup> والآن<sup>4</sup> فقد قال  
بولس الرسول ووصانا وقال اذا دعى احد بغير ختان فلا يختن فلما ساعدتهم على ذلك  
اظهر<sup>5</sup> الله فيه امراً عجيباً بما قد كتب به الى ابيينا<sup>6</sup> البطرك<sup>7</sup> انبا<sup>8</sup> يوساب وهو انه  
لما مسكوه ليختنوه<sup>9</sup> وكشفوا<sup>10</sup> عنه فوجدوا علامة الختان فيه كانه<sup>11</sup> مختون<sup>12</sup> من<sup>13</sup> ثامن<sup>14</sup>  
يوم من ولادته واقسم في كتابه انه لم يعرف هذا قط الا ذلك اليوم وطاب قلب الملك  
واهل الكورة وفرحوا فرحاً<sup>15</sup> عظيماً بهذه الاعجوبة وقبلوه بفرح  
ولما وصلت الكتب الى<sup>16</sup> البطرك<sup>17</sup> بذلك فرح كثيراً لعودة هؤلاء الضالين<sup>18</sup> الى<sup>19</sup> راعيهم<sup>20</sup>  
وبالاعجوبة التي ظهرت قائلاً مبارك الرب الذي رد سبي شعبه وانقذهم من يد العدو ولم  
يجعلهم في الضلالة الى الابد ومن كثرة اهتمام هذا الراعى الصالح وبذله<sup>21</sup> نفسه عن خرافه

1. Mss. وخاف. — 2. Mss. الذى. — 3. E استحقاق. — 4. E om. to ذلك. — 5. E فاطهر. —  
6. ABE ابونا D لا بونا F لا بينا. — 7. DF om. — 8. E om. with f. wd. — 9. BG ليختنوه. —  
10. E om. with f. wd. — 11. FG كان E om. to ولادته. — 12. BG مختون. — 13. DF  
من الناس من يوم ولادته. — 14. ABG الثامن. — 15. E om. with f. wd. — 16. E om. with  
f. wd. add. الاب. — 17. D pref. ابونا F pref. ابينا DF add. انبا يوساب. — 18. AB  
الضال DFG الضلال. — 19. E om. to الابد. — 20. G راعيها. — 21. Mss. وبذله.

to this, for the salvation of these souls, of which the Lord has appointed me shepherd without any merit of mine. Yet now Paul the apostle enjoins us, saying<sup>1</sup> : If any man is called without circumcision, let him not be circumcised ». So when he made this concession to them, God manifested a miracle in him, as he wrote to our father the patriarch, Abba Joseph; namely, that when they took him to circumcise him, and stripped him, they found the mark of circumcision in him, as if he had been circumcised on the eighth day after his birth. And he swore in his letter that he knew nothing of this before that day. Thus the king and the people of the country were satisfied, and rejoiced greatly over this wonder, and accepted the bishop with joy.

When the letter containing an account of this matter reached the patriarch, he rejoiced greatly over the return of those erring ones to their shepherd and over the miracle which had been manifested, saying : « Blessed is the Lord, who has turned the captivity of his people and saved them from the hand of the enemy, and has not left them in error for ever ». And

1. I Cor., vii. 18.

اصلاح اساقفة كثيراً وانفذهم الى كل موضع من كرسي ماري مرقس الانجيلي<sup>1</sup> وهي افريقية والخمس مدن والقيروان واطرابلس<sup>2</sup> وكورة مصر والحبشة والنوبة<sup>3</sup> لانه قال اذا لم يكن<sup>4</sup> الرعاية<sup>5</sup> كثيرا لحفظ الرعيّة والا هلكت فما<sup>6</sup> اغفل عنها لئلا يضيع منها شيء او يهلك ولو واحد كنت مطلوباً به<sup>8</sup> من<sup>9</sup> المسيح فلا شيء اقامني الا لحفظ قطيعه من السبع القائم بطلب<sup>10</sup> غفلة الراعي ليخطف<sup>11</sup> ويفترس ويهلك ثم اقول ايضاً امام الرب ان الذين<sup>12</sup> سلمتهم لي لم يهلك منهم ولا واحد وفيما هو في ذلك تحرك العدو المناصب ليقم عليه بلايا واحزاناً والرب كان مع هذا الانسان<sup>13</sup> الاب القديس<sup>14</sup> يخلصه<sup>15</sup> في كل حين ويريه ضعف اعدائه<sup>16</sup> واعداء البيعة يوماً<sup>17</sup> بعد يوم كقول الرب الذي<sup>18</sup> قال ابواب الجحيم لا تقهر بيعتي ولما<sup>19</sup> كان في ذلك الزمان انفذ الملك ابراهيم<sup>20</sup> الى مصر ان توحذ من البيع في كل

1. E om. DF add. الرسل. — 2. A واطرابلس B واطرابلس DF واطرابلس G — 3. E om. to مصر. — 4. AD اذا. — 5. ABDE يكون. — 6. B الرعاية. — 7. G ولا واحد. — 8. E om. to واحد. — 9. E om. بها. — 10. BDEFG يطلب. — 11. BG ليخطف. — 12. BD الذين. — 13. E om. — 14. E om. — 15. BG يخلصه. — 16. Mss. اعداء. — 17. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 18. E om. with f. wd. add. ان. — 19. E واما. — 20. BDEFG ابراهيم. — 21. BEG بكل.

because this good shepherd took so much care of his sheep and gave his life for them, he appointed many bishops, and sent them to all places under the see of Saint Mark the evangelist, which include Africa and the Five Cities and Al-Kairuwân and Tripoli and the land of Egypt and Abyssinia and Nubia. For he said : « If the shepherds be not many to guard the flock, the sheep will perish; therefore I do not neglect them, lest any of them be lost or destroyed, even one, for whom I should be held responsible by Christ. For with what purpose did he appoint me, unless it were to protect his flock from the lion which is always watching for negligence on the part of the shepherd, that it may seize and devour and destroy. Afterwards I shall say also in the presence of the Lord<sup>1</sup> : Not one of those whom thou gavest me has perished ». Yet while he was acting thus, the adversary who is ever fighting bestirred himself that he might raise up trials and sorrows for him. But the Lord was with this holy father, and delivered him at all times, and showed him the weakness of his enemies and of the enemies of the Church day after day, according to the words of the Lord, who said<sup>2</sup> : « The gates of Hell shall never prevail against my Church ».

At that period the prince Ibrâhîm sent men to Egypt with orders that

1. S. John, xviii, 9. — 2. S. Matth., xvi, 18.



مكان العمدة والرخام وكان الواصل في<sup>1</sup> هذا الطلب<sup>2</sup> انسانا مخالفا<sup>3</sup> مبغضا من النسطورية اسمه العازر<sup>4</sup> فلما وصل الى مصر اجتمع اليه اهل مذهبه النجس<sup>5</sup> الذين<sup>6</sup> هم الهراطقة الخلقدونسيون<sup>7</sup> المقيمون بالاسكندرية<sup>8</sup> ولم<sup>9</sup> يزالوا يسعون بالبيع ليلا ونهارا وحسنوا له ان يهدم بيع<sup>10</sup> مدينة الاسكندرية وكانوا يدلونه على المواضع التي<sup>11</sup> فيها العمدة<sup>12</sup> والبلاط<sup>13</sup> فيأخذهم غصبا يده فلما اخرجوه الى بيعة الشهيد ماري مينا بمريوط من كثرة حسدهم لها وقالوا<sup>14</sup> له ليس يشبهها شيء من البيع وان كلما توجهت لطلبه<sup>15</sup> تجده فيها فقام ذلك النسطوري مسرعا بمشورة السعاة<sup>16</sup> ودخل<sup>17</sup> الى<sup>18</sup> بيعة الشهيد ماري مينا بمريوط فلما نظر<sup>19</sup> اليها والى زينتها وحسن ما فيها من<sup>20</sup> العمدة<sup>21</sup> والرخام الملون تعجب وبهت<sup>22</sup> وقال هذا الذي يحتاج اليه الملك هذا<sup>23</sup> فلما سمع ابونا انبا يوسف البطارك ان<sup>24</sup> ذلك

1. D بهذا. — 2. BEG الامر. — 3. E om. — 4. E عازر. — 5. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 6. B الذى. — 7. BG والخلقدونسيين. — 8. F بمدينة الاسكندرية. — 9. BE om. to الاسكندرية. — 10. F بيعة. — 11. ABEG الذى. — 12. F الاعمدة. — 13. E om. DF والرخام. — 14. E om. to السعاة. — 15. B بسببه DF فى طلبه. — 16. DF pref. اولئك. — 17. E فدخل. — 18. E om. to اليها add. بمريوط. — 19. E نظرها ونظر حسن ما فيها. — 20. E om. to الملون. — 21. F الاعمدة. — 22. E om. — 23. B بعد DF om. E om. to به. — 24. E om. هذا من المبعض add. المخالفون to.

the columns and the marble should be taken from the churches in every place. He who came to search for these things was a malignant heretic of the Nestorian sect, named Lazarus. So when he arrived at Misr, the people of his foul sect gathered together to meet him; and they were the Chaldean heretics dwelling at Alexandria. They did not cease denouncing the churches by night and by day, and they persuaded Lazarus to demolish the churches of Alexandria. And they guided him to the places where there were columns and pavements; and so he carried them off by force and violence. Afterwards they led him out to the church of the martyr, Saint Mennas, at Maryût, in their great jealousy against it, and then they said to him : « None of the churches is like this one, for all that thou hast come to seek thou wilt find herein ». So that Nestorian hastily arose, by the advice of the informers, and entered the church of the martyr Saint Mennas. And when he looked at the building and its ornaments, and saw the beauty of the columns and coloured marbles which it contained, he marvelled and was amazed, and said : « This is what the prince needs. This is here, and I knew nothing of it! » Therefore our father, Abba Joseph the patriarch, hearing that this wicked person did not hold back his hand through the evil



الانسان السوء لم يمنع يده لما<sup>1</sup> في قلبه من السوء والبغضة<sup>2</sup> وما لقوه<sup>3</sup> المخالفون فقال له<sup>4</sup> هو ذا كل البيعة التي<sup>5</sup> بحكمي بين يديك فافعل فيها ما امرت به الملك وهذه البيعة فقط احب منك الا<sup>6</sup> تعترضها ومهما التمسته مني سلمته اليك فلم يقبل المخالف قوله ولا سؤاله بل<sup>7</sup> يجاوبه<sup>8</sup> مواجهة بما<sup>9</sup> لا يجب ثم بدأ<sup>10</sup> واخرج<sup>11</sup> من البيعة الرخام الملون والبلاط<sup>12</sup> المعدوم الذي هو<sup>13</sup> قائم من كل لون وليس<sup>14</sup> له نظير ولا يعرف له ثمن<sup>15</sup> فلما وصل الرخام الى<sup>16</sup> مدينة الاسكندرية لينفذه الى مدينة الملك فحزن الاب حزنا عظيما على البيعة وقال انا اعلم انك تقدر ايها الشهيد القديس ان<sup>17</sup> تأخذ حقتك من هذا المخالف الذي<sup>18</sup> لم يوقر بيتك الذي هو عزاء<sup>19</sup> لجميع المؤمنين ولم يفتر الليل والنهار من هذا الحزن للذي<sup>20</sup> حل بهذه البيعة المقدسة وكان مهتما بعمارتها سرعة وانفذ<sup>21</sup> احضر صفائح<sup>22</sup>

1. DF لهم. — 2. G والبعض. — 3. Mss. لقيوه. — 4. B om. G. — 5. Mss. التي. — 6. B لا. — 7. E om. to. — 8. BG مجاوبة. — 9. D om. — 10. DF om. — 11. DF اخرج. — 12. DF om. — 13. E om. to. — 14. E. — 15. E قيمة. — 16. G add. المدينة العظيمة. — 17. F om. to. — 18. E om. to. — 19. FG عز. — 20. ABC الذي DF om. with 2 f. wds., add. على هذه. — 21. BEG وارسل. — 22. DF صفائح.

and malice that was in his heart, and learning what the heretics had found, said to him : « Behold, all the churches under my jurisdiction are before thee. Do with them therefore as the prince commands thee. But this church alone I desire of thee that thou injure not. And whatever thou shalt ask of me I will deliver to thee ».

Yet the heretic would not listen to the patriarch's words nor to his request, but answered him face to face with unseemly language, and then set to work and robbed the church of its coloured marbles and its unequalled pavement, which was composed of all colours and had no match, nor was its value known. And when the marble arrived at the city of Alexandria, that it might be forwarded to the court, the father was greatly grieved for the church, and said : « I know that thou art able, O holy Martyr, to exact just punishment for the wrong done to thee by this heretic, who has not respected thy house, although it is a consolation for all the faithful ». And he did not cease to mourn thus night and day for the calamity that had befallen this holy church. And he took care to restore it quickly. For he sent for surface decoration from Misr and Alexandria, and began to repair with all beautiful ornament the places from which the pavements had

مزوقة<sup>1</sup> من مصر والاسكندرية<sup>2</sup> وبدأ<sup>3</sup> ان<sup>4</sup> يعمر المواضع التي<sup>5</sup> قلع منها البلاط<sup>6</sup> بكل<sup>7</sup> زينة حسنة حتى ان كل من يشاهدها ما يعلم ان قد مضى منها شيء.  
وفي تلك الايام والعاذر<sup>8</sup> المخالف بالاسكندرية تم عليه القول المكتوب من الذي قاوم الرب فخلص<sup>9</sup> فضربه<sup>10</sup> الرب عاجلاً بضربة هكذا وهو ان جسده تنفخ<sup>11</sup> واحشاؤه<sup>12</sup> بالسوس السسسى الاستسقاء وتغير لون وجهه وبقي مطروحاً لا يقدر ان<sup>13</sup> يرفع رأسه وكان قد ناله فقر عظيم حتى انه ما وجد من<sup>14</sup> يقوم<sup>15</sup> بقوت<sup>16</sup> نفسه<sup>17</sup> ودوابه<sup>18</sup> او<sup>19</sup> يتداوى<sup>20</sup> به فسأل الاب البطرك فيما ينفقه على نفسه وان<sup>21</sup> يصلى عليه ففعل الاب هذا كالمكتوب<sup>22</sup> الذي<sup>23</sup> هو<sup>24</sup> ان جاع عدوك فاطعمه وان عطش فاسقيه وكان الوجع يتزايد عليه كثيراً وهو مطروح وكل<sup>25</sup> من يشاهده يمجّد الله وشهيدته ماري مينا ويعطى<sup>26</sup> الطوبى<sup>27</sup> للراعى

1. Mss. مزوقين. — 2. G رمدينة الاسكندرية. — 3. E om. with 2 f. wds add. وجعلهم في. — 4. Mss. om. — 5. ABE التي. — 6. DF الرخام. — 7. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 8. E رعاذر. — 9. B لا يخص. — 10. E om. to السسسى add. فمرض بمرض. — 11. B تنفخ. — 12. Mss. واحشاه. — 13. Mss. om. — 14. BDFG om. E ما. — 15. DF om. — 16. BG om. DF قوت. — 17. BG بنفسه. — 18. BDEFG om. — 19. BDEFG om. DF add. دوا. — 20. BEG ويتداوا. — 21. Mss. om. — 22. E om. to فاستقيده. — 23. DF add. قال. — 24. DF om. — 25. ABG om. و. — 26. Mss. ويعطوا. — 27. ABDEF الطوبى.

been stripped, until no one who looked at them could perceive that anything was gone from them.

And in those days, while the heretic Lazarus was at Alexandria, the words that are<sup>1</sup> written were fulfilled concerning him : « Who is he that resists the Lord? For he shall be crushed. » For the Lord struck him speedily with a plague in the following manner. His body and his inward parts were swollen with the disease called the dropsy, and the colour of his face was changed, and he remained in a recumbent posture, unable to raise his head. He had also fallen into great poverty, so that he found none to supply nourishment for himself or his beasts, nor to treat him medically. Therefore he begged and implored the father patriarch to give him something to spend upon himself. And this father did what Lazarus asked, according to that which is written<sup>2</sup>, namely : « If thine enemy hunger feed him, and if he thirst give him to drink ». And the pains grew upon Lazarus greatly, as he lay prostrate, and all who beheld him glorified God and his martyr, Saint Mennas, and blessed the good shepherd, because he had done good

1. 1 Kings, ii. 10. — 2. Prov., xxv, 21; Rom., xii, 20.

الصالح لانه كان يعمل الخير مع كل من يسيء<sup>1</sup> اليه وصار اسان الاب كالسيف القاطع  
 فمن<sup>2</sup> لا يتعجب<sup>3</sup> من سماع<sup>4</sup> فضائل<sup>5</sup> هذا الاب القديس السعيد ابنا يوساب وايضا  
 عجبوا اخر اسمعوا يا<sup>6</sup> احبائي لهذا الاب كان بالاسكندرية<sup>7</sup> رجل مخالف من الخلقدونيين  
 غنى جدا وكان له سواق فلما خرج في بعض الايام ليتفرج<sup>8</sup> في بعض كرومه بظاهر<sup>9</sup>  
 الاسكندرية رأى ساقية مكسورة فالتمس نجارا وكان<sup>10</sup> شيخ قس نجار فقال له الخلقدونى  
 تقوم<sup>11</sup> تمضى معى لتعمل لى الساقية فقال له القس اليوم يوم الجمعة العظيم وما اعمل فيه  
 شيئا لانه يوم صلب فيه كلمة الله مخلص العالم فاجابه<sup>12</sup> الملعون الهرطقى وفتح فاه<sup>13</sup>  
 المخالف وجدف<sup>14</sup> على<sup>15</sup> الله الكلمة وقال ما لا يجب ذكره فوبخه الشيخ القس ومضى  
 وتركه وكان ابونا البطرك فى البرية بوادى حبيب يعيد<sup>16</sup> فى الدير<sup>17</sup> عيد الفصح ويكمل<sup>18</sup>  
 عيد قيامة المسيح ولما عاد الى الاسكندرية<sup>19</sup> حكى له الشيخ القس ما جرى من<sup>20</sup>

1. Mss. . يسيء. — 2. E om. to لهذا الاب add. وكان ايضا عجبا احمر وجهه. — 3. A  
 معجب B معجب D معجب. — 4. DFG om. — 5. F فضل. — 6. DF om. with f. wd. —  
 7. F بمدينة الاسكندرية. — 8. BG ليتفرج. — 9. BG خارج E om. with f. wd. — 10. DF ووجد.  
 11. F تقدم G نقول. — 12. E om. to المخالف. — 13. B add. وقال. — 14. E فجذث  
 add. ذلك الهرطقى. — 15. E om with 2 f. wds. — 16. E om. to المسيح. — 17. G البرية.  
 — 18. DF om. to المسيح. — 19. G pref. مدينة. — 20. B وعن E om. with 2 f. wds.

to all who did evil to him. And the father's tongue was like a sharp sword.

Who would not be filled with admiration on hearing of the virtues of this holy and blessed father, Abba Joseph? Listen now to yet another wonder, my friends, concerning this father. There was at Alexandria a man who was one of the Chalcædonian heretics; and he was very rich, and possessed water-wheels. So when he went out one day to take recreation in one of his vineyards outside Alexandria, he saw a broken water-wheel, and asked for a carpenter. Now there was an old man, a priest, who was also a carpenter. So the Chalcædonian said to him: « Wilt thou come now with me, that thou mayest mend the water-wheel for me? » But the priest replied: « To-day is the Great Friday; and I can do no work to-day, because it is the day on which the Word of God, the Saviour of the world, was crucified ». Then that cursed heretic opened his cavilling mouth in answer, and blasphemed God the Word, saying what must not be recorded. So the aged priest reproved him, and went away and left him. Now our father, the patriarch, was staying in the desert of Wâdi Habîb, in order to keep Easter in the monastery, and to finish the celebration of the Resurrection of Christ; but as soon as he returned to Alexandria, the aged priest reported



تجديف<sup>1</sup> المخالف فاجاب بصوت النبوة المشتمل<sup>2</sup> بروح القدس وقال تخرس الشفاه الناطقة بالتجديف على المسيح الالهى وقال<sup>3</sup> ايضاً كما قال داود عدو<sup>4</sup> افتري<sup>5</sup> على الرب وشعب جاهل اغضب اسمك يا<sup>6</sup> لهذه<sup>7</sup> الاعجوبة العظيمة عند ذلك صار المخالف اخرس لا يتكلم وانفلج الى يوم وفاته وكل من شاهد<sup>8</sup> هذا<sup>9</sup> من الاسكندرانيين المخالفين<sup>10</sup> صار في خوف عظيم حتى ان رئيسهم غير<sup>11</sup> البطارك<sup>12</sup> السيسى صفرهون صار له في ابينا<sup>13</sup> اعتقاد وامانة وكان يجيء اليه عدّة<sup>14</sup> دفوع فيتضع له ويسلم<sup>15</sup> عليه

وفي سابع<sup>16</sup> سنة من بعد تقدمته وهى سنة<sup>17</sup> خمس مائة واربع<sup>18</sup> وخمسين<sup>19</sup> للشهداء اظهر الله علامة عظيمة في السماء وظهر نجم عظيم في المشرق<sup>20</sup> وينتهى الى المغرب مثل السيف الذى يلمع واقام ايّاماً كثيرة وكانوا<sup>21</sup> الناس يقولون ما راينا مثل هذا قط فما عسى ان

1. DF om. — 2. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 3. E om. to اسمك. — 4. Mss. اعدوا. — 5. ABDG افتروا F افتروا. — 6. E فيا. — 7. B لهذا. — 8. D يشاهده F يشاهده. — 9. DF om. — 10. Mss. والمخالفين. — 11. Mss. الغير. — 12. Mss. بطركى. — 13. ABDE ابونا. — 14. E om. with f. wd. — 15. E om. with f. wd. — 16. D سبع. — 17. ABG om. — 18. BDEFG اربعة. — 19. D وخمسين. — 20. F المشرق. — 21. G وكانت.

to him the blasphemies that had been uttered by the heretic. Thereupon he who was overshadowed by the Holy Ghost answered with the voice of prophecy : « Let the lips which utter blasphemy against Christ my God be struck with dumbness ! » And he said also in the words of David<sup>1</sup> : « An enemy has invented lies against the Lord, and a foolish people has provoked thy name to anger ». Ah that great miracle ! At that very moment the heretic became dumb and could not speak ; and he remained paralysed to the day of his death. And a great dread fell upon all the Alexandrian heretics who beheld this, so that even their chief, the pseudo-patriarch, whose name was Sophronius, began to have faith and trust in our father, and paid several visits to him, and acted humbly towards him, and saluted him.

In the seventh year after Abba Joseph's appointment, namely the year 554 of the Martyrs, God showed a great sign in the sky. For a great star appeared in the east and reached to the west, like a gleaming sword ; and it remained many days. And men said : « We have never seen anything like this. What is likely to happen through this star ? » And after some days there came a terrible pestilence upon the cattle, and the beasts began

1. Ps. LXXIV, 18 (Sept. LXXIII).

يكون من هذا النجم وبعد ايام جاء وباء عظيم على البهائم وكانت الدواب تموت للوقت<sup>1</sup> في الغيطان وفي سائر المواضع الى ان لم يبق لاحد من اهل مصر دابة ولم يجدوا ما يعملون عليه اعمالهم ولا يقدر احد ان<sup>2</sup> يمشى في الازقة الا<sup>3</sup> بعد ان يسد انفه من كثرة جيف الدواب حتى ان الزرع انقطع وقلت<sup>4</sup> الثمرة وكانت ارض مصر في حزن عظيم ثم عاد الوباء<sup>5</sup> على الناس وفنوا مثل البهائم كما قال داود عن اهل مصر انه لم يوفّرهم<sup>6</sup> من الموت ولا دوابهم وكان ابونا لا يفتر من البكاء على<sup>7</sup> الناس والبهائم ويطلب من الله بدموع ويقول<sup>8</sup> يا رب لقد حولت وجهك عن شعبك لاجل<sup>9</sup> ذنوبي ولا تفعل معهم مثل آثامي وادركهم عاجلاً برحمتك وخلص شعبك وجدد وجه الارض اللهم مسح البشر فسمع الله صلاة عبده وتقل<sup>10</sup> غضبه<sup>11</sup> الى سلامة على الناس والبهائم وعرفهم انه القادر على كل شيء وكثرت<sup>12</sup> الناس في ارض مصر والبهائم ونسوا ما كان حتى البهائم كانت تلد زوجاً<sup>13</sup> زوجاً حتى صار<sup>14</sup> الناس والبهائم كأن لم يموت<sup>15</sup> احد ولا هلك شيء منهم<sup>16</sup>

1. BEG النجا. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. E om. to انشد. — 4. G رقت. — 5. BEG النجا. — 6. BG يوفّرهم. — 7. BG om. with f. wd. — 8. E om. to مسح البشر. — 9. DF لذنوبي. — 10. ABG ويتبل. — 11. B عبده. — 12. G وكثرة. — 13. F انشد اثنين. — 14. E صاروا F om. to بالجملة. — 15. ADE يموت. — 16. BD منها E om., add. بالجملة.

to fall down dead in the enclosures and in all places, until the people of Egypt had not a beast left, and lost the means of carrying on their work. And no one could walk through the streets without stopping his nose for the multitude of dead animals. Thus the cultivation of the land was interrupted, and there was little produce; and the land of Egypt was full of sadness. Afterwards the plague attacked men also, so that they perished like the cattle. As David says<sup>1</sup> of the people of Egypt: « He spared them not from death, nor their beasts ». Meanwhile our father did not cease to weep for the men and the beasts, nor to pray to God with tears, saying: « O Lord, thou hast turned thy face away from thy people on account of my sins. Yet deal not with them according to my transgressions; but let thy mercy reach them speedily, and save thy people, and renew the face of the earth, O God, Lover of mankind ». And God heard his servant's prayer, and changed his wrath into health for men and beasts, and taught them that He can do all things. For men and beasts multiplied in Egypt, and the people forgot what had taken place; and the beasts even began to bring forth two at a birth, until men and beasts became as if not one of them had died nor any of them perished.

1. Ps. LXXVIII, 50 [Sept. LXXVII].



أريد<sup>1</sup> أن<sup>2</sup> اذكر لكم شيئاً<sup>3</sup> من جهاد هذا الأب وتعبه<sup>4</sup> الذي<sup>5</sup> تعب له لكي تسمعوا  
وتمجدوا الله الذي صنع مع هذا الأب عجائبه وخلّصه من أحزانه وشدائده<sup>6</sup> فلما<sup>7</sup> تبيّح<sup>8</sup> أنبا  
إسحاق اسقف وسيم الذي كان تمسك<sup>9</sup> كرسي مصر وهو الذي كان يطلب<sup>10</sup> أولاً البطركية  
قدّم<sup>11</sup> عوضه بنت<sup>12</sup> الشّمس بسؤال رؤساء مصر وقدم على كرسي وسيم آخر من أولاده  
اسمه بقيرة وتبيّح بعد أيام قلائد وكان ولد لإسحاق المتبيّح اسمه تاودرس<sup>13</sup> وهو<sup>14</sup> الاسم  
المتفق لثلاثة اساقفة جلسوا على كرسي مصر وهذا كان يطلب كرسي وسيم وما يرضى به  
الشعب ولم<sup>15</sup> ير<sup>16</sup> الأب أن يوسمه بغير اختيار الشعب وكان في مصر في ذلك الزمان والي<sup>17</sup>  
اسمه على ابن يحيى الأرمني من قبل أبي إسحاق إبراهيم<sup>18</sup> المعتصم<sup>19</sup> ابن هرون<sup>20</sup> الرشيد<sup>21</sup>  
أخى<sup>22</sup> عبد الله المأمون فترك تاودرس<sup>23</sup> خوف الله ومضى إلى الوالي ووعد بمال لكي  
يقهر<sup>24</sup> البطرك على أن يقيمه اسقفاً فارسل الوالي يسأل عن<sup>25</sup> الأب البطرك ويسأله<sup>26</sup> فيه

1. E pref. وايضا. — 2. BEG om. — 3. E add. آخر. — 4. E om. to وشدائده add. وهو. — 5. D om. with f. wd. — 6. E لما. — 7. E om. to كان. — 8. E طلب. — 9. E قدم. — 10. Mss. يرحنا. — 11. DE تادرس. — 12. E om. to مصر. — 13. E om. to الشعب. — 14. Mss. يرى. — 15. Mss. والي. — 16. BDEG إبراهيم. — 17. Mss. المأمون. — 18. B إبراهيم. — 19. G الرشيد. — 20. E om. with 3 f. wds. — 21. ABEG تادرس D. — 22. E om. to اسقفاً add. يتردد. — 23. E om. to ابدأ add. المذكور. — 24. E om. to هذا. — 25. E om. to يسأل. — 26. E om. to فيه.

I wish to relate to you an incident which occurred during the struggles and labours of this father, that you may hear and glorify God, who worked wonders for him, and saved him from his sorrows and distress. Upon the death of Isaac, bishop of Wasim, who also ruled the see of Miṣr, and who had formerly solicited the patriarchate, Abba Joseph appointed in his place Banah the deacon, at the request of the chief men of Miṣr. But he promoted to the see of Wasim another of his sons, named Apacyrus, who died after a short time. Now Isaac the deceased had a son named Theodore, a name common to three bishops who sat in succession upon the episcopal throne of Miṣr. This man solicited the see of Wasim, but the people did not approve him; and the father did not think it right to appoint him against the will of the people. There was in Egypt at that time a governor named Ali, son of Yahya, the Armenian, acting on behalf of Abū Ishāk Ibrahim al-Mu'tasim, son of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and brother of Abd Allah al-Ma'mūn. So Theodore cast aside the fear of God, and paid a visit to the governor, and promised him money that he might compel the patriarch to raise him to the episcopate. Therefore the governor sent and enquired concerning the father



وكان يقول انه لا يصير اسقفنا ابدا وقاوم الوالى وقال ما اتسكن من هذا فيحقق عليه حقا عظيما لاجل ما وعد به وبدأ<sup>2</sup> ان يهدم بيع فسطاط مصر فاول<sup>3</sup> ما ابتدا<sup>4</sup> جاء الى البيعة التي<sup>5</sup> في قصر الشعب<sup>6</sup> التي<sup>7</sup> تسمى المعلقة<sup>8</sup> فهدموا<sup>9</sup> اعلاها<sup>10</sup> حتى<sup>11</sup> وصلوا الى الاسطوان وكان الاب بطرك<sup>12</sup> يحزن<sup>13</sup> حزنا عظيما ويقلق<sup>14</sup> وبكى بدموع مرة كما قال داود النبي ايها الرب الاله القوات حتى متى تغضب على صلاة عبدك المعتملى<sup>15</sup> خبزا بدموعي وستيتنى دموعا وجعائتى مقاتة لسماعنى وهزوه وطننا لاعدائى<sup>16</sup> يا رب الاله القوات ارجع يا رب واخنى وجهك علينا فخاص وكان يتهدد بتهدد<sup>17</sup> عظيم يحزن<sup>18</sup> قلب لاجل هدم البيعة وان قوما تقدموا الى الاب وقالوا له الى متى تملك ولا تصالح<sup>19</sup> هذا الانسان اسقنا حتى تهدم جميع البيع وقد نظر الله حركات واجتهادات على الحق فاجعل<sup>20</sup>

1. E om. to be. — 2. ADG يهدم. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. E فجا لولا الى البيعة. — 5. Mss. يهدم. — 6. BEG الذى. — 7. F الشعب. — 8. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 9. So D: ABG lacuna. — 10. A فاما هدموا D فاما هدموا E يهدم. — 11. G add. اولها. — 12. D الى. — 13. BDEG add. والسعب. — 14. DE يحزن عظم. — 15. E om. to المع. — 16. DE يملك. — 17. BG يهدم. — 18. BG يرجع. — 19. B يصالح. — 20. E فاجعل.

patriarch, and interceded with him for Theodore. But the patriarch answered that Theodore should never become bishop, and resisted the governor, saying : « I have no power in this matter ». Then the governor was greatly enraged for the sake of the money which Theodore had promised him, and began to pull down the churches of Fustât Mîsr. And he began by attacking first of all the church which is in the Fort of Ash-Shama', called the Hanging Church. So they demolished its upper part, until they reached the gallery. And the father patriarch and the people were lamenting sadly and in great grief, and were weeping bitter tears. As David the prophet says<sup>1</sup> : « O Lord God, God of Hosts, how long wilt thou be wrath against the prayer of thy servant? Thou feedest me with bread with my tears, and givest me tears to drink. Thou makest me a byword to my acquaintances and a sorrow and mockery to my enemies. O Lord God of Hosts, return, O Lord, and make thy face shine upon us, so that we shall be saved ». And Abba Joseph gave vent to deep sighs in sadness of heart for the demolition of the church.

But certain persons came to the father, and said to him : « How long wilt thou refuse to appoint this man bishop? Until all the churches are de-

1. Ps. LXXX. 5, 6, 7, 8. Sept. LXXIX.

مع هذا الذى جعل توكله على السلطان فيما<sup>1</sup> طلبه والله يفتحل به وظلمه<sup>2</sup> على رأسه فرضى بما قالوه<sup>3</sup> الشعب ولم يتخل<sup>4</sup> الوالى عن الغضب وطالب<sup>5</sup> الاب بصال وقال ما ارفع الهدم عن البيع الا بثلثة<sup>6</sup> الاف<sup>7</sup> دينار فقلق الشعب ولاساقفة الحاضرون معه وقالوا يا<sup>8</sup> ابانا<sup>9</sup> لا يضق<sup>10</sup> صدرك نحن نقوم بهذا<sup>11</sup> المال فقسطه علينا لتسلم البيع ولا يلحقها شيء فتقدموا الاراخنة الى الوالى وضمنوا له القيام بثلثة<sup>12</sup> الاف<sup>13</sup> دينار فهدأ<sup>14</sup> غضبه وامر بقسمة الاسقف فاقسمه<sup>15</sup> الاب وقال من عمق قلبه على الوالى كما قال داود النبى فى المزمور الخامس الانسان الظالم يرذله الرب وهو<sup>16</sup> يصنع<sup>17</sup> حكم الفقراء وقال ايضا الكلمة<sup>18</sup> التى فى ناموس موسى<sup>19</sup> فى<sup>20</sup> يوم النعمة اجازيهم فى يوم تنزل اقدامهم وقال ايضا فى يوم<sup>21</sup> هلاكهم

1. E يطلب. — 2. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 3. D قال. — 4. ABDE يتخل. — 5. E يطلب. — 6. G بثلاثة. — 7. BD الف. — 8. E om. with f. wd., add. للاب. — 9. Mss. ابونا. — 10. Mss. يضيق. — 11. B بهذه. — 12. G بثلاثة E om. with f. wd., add. بالبلغ. — 13. BD الف. — 14. Mss. فهدى. — 15. E قسمه. — 16. E om. to هذا الوالى add. كلامه. — 17. BD يصنع. — 18. BG om. to ايضا. — 19. D add. ان. — 20. D om. — 21. D om.

molished? God has seen thy solicitude and thy struggle for the truth. Deal with this man who relies upon worldly authority as he demands, and God will give him his portion, and his sin shall be on his own head ». Then the patriarch consented to that which the people proposed. Yet the governor did not cease from his fury, but required money of the father, saying : « I will not put a stop to the destruction of the churches unless thou give me three thousand dinars ». Thereupon the laymen and the bishops present with him were vexed and exclaimed : « O our father be not distressed, we will furnish this money. Therefore divide the debt equally among us, that thou mayest save the churches and no harm may befall them ». So the officials proceeded to visit the governor, and gave him sureties that they would pay three thousand dinars. Upon that his anger was appeased, and he commanded that the bishop should be ordained. Accordingly the father ordained him. And he said from the depth of his heart concerning the governor, as the prophet David says in the fifth Psalm<sup>1</sup> : « The Lord abhors the wicked man, but does justice to the poor ». He quoted also the word which is in the Law of Moses<sup>2</sup> : « On the day of vengeance I will reward them, on the day when their feet shall slip ». And he added : « On the day of their destruction I will reward them, and

1. Ps. v, 7; cxi, 13 (Sept. cxxxix). — 2. Deut., xxxii, 35.

انا اجازيهم وادين الاعداء والمبغضين<sup>1</sup> وكان كل احد يعلم ان كلامه كالنبوة وكانوا يقولون ما<sup>2</sup> ترى يكون<sup>3</sup> بعد هذه<sup>4</sup> النبوة ثم ان هذا الوالى بعد قليل ارسله السلطان الى بلاد الروم يغزو<sup>5</sup> فيهم فسبى منهم واخذ بلاداً ثم عاد فارسله ثانياً دفعة<sup>6</sup> فخرج<sup>7</sup> عليه قوم من الروم فقتلوه<sup>8</sup> اشر قتلة وجميع عسكره كما<sup>9</sup> كان الاب قال من اجله وعند زوال التعب<sup>10</sup> عن البيع وتجديد<sup>11</sup> ما قد هدم منها واهتمام<sup>12</sup> المؤمنين بها وعمازتها الى ان صارت خيراً ممّا كانت أولاً وايهج لان البيعة هي التي على الصخرة لا يقهرها شيء وهي تقهر وتهلك من يعاندها كان<sup>13</sup> الاب يقول كما قال داود النبي يا رب من يشبهك اريتنا<sup>14</sup> شدايد عظيمة ورجعت احييتنا ومن عسق الارض اصعدتنا وايضا نزع الرب مسحى والبسنى سرورا وجعل نوحى الى فرح

- جا سبب وقال ايضا. — 2. D add. ذا. — 3. B add. ايضا. — 4. BD. — 5. Mss. يغزى. — 6. BEG. مرة. — 7. G. فخرجت. — 8. E add. الروم. — 9. E om. to زوال. — 10. G om. with f. wd. — 11. E. وتجديد. — 12. E om. to فرح. — 13. AFG. وكان. — 14. Mss. اوريثنا.

will judge the enemies and the oppressors ». And all men knew that his words were like prophecy, and said : « What, thinkest thou, will come to pass after this prophecy? » A short time afterwards, indeed, the caliph sent this governor to the land of the Romans, to make a raid upon it; and he took some of them captive, and conquered territory. Then the caliph sent him a second time; and some of the Romans came out against him, and slew him and all his soldiers with cruelty, as the father had foretold with regard to him.

When the trouble ceased from the churches, and that which had been pulled down was restored, and the faithful provided for it and improved it, so that it became finer and more beautiful than it had been before, because the Church is founded upon the Rock, and nothing prevails against her, but she prevails ' over those who oppose her, and destroys them, then the father said, in the words of the prophet David<sup>1</sup> : « O Lord, who is like unto thee? Thou hast shown us great troubles, but thou hast returned and quickened us, and brought us up from the depth of the earth ». And again<sup>2</sup> : « The Lord has stripped off my sackcloth, and clothed me with gladness, and turned my lamentation into joy ».

1. Ps. lxxi, 19, 20 (Sept. lxx). — 2. Ps. xxx, 12 (Sept. xxix).



وكان استقف مصر يلتبس من الاب البطرك زيادة تقديمة وكان انسان قاض<sup>1</sup> بمصر اسمه محمد بن عبد الله وكان<sup>2</sup> ذلك الرجل في كلما يعاينه يرايه<sup>3</sup> فيه وكان مخوفاً لا يقدر احد ان<sup>4</sup> يقاوم كلامه لانه<sup>5</sup> كان عند جميع المسلمين مثل الفقيه والامام وعارفاً بمذاهبهم ويفعل<sup>6</sup> افعالاً مذمومة سراً وكان محباً لشراب النبيذ وسماع الغنى واقتنى<sup>7</sup> الجوارى الحسان واحب اللذة والزنا بلا خوف من الله ولا حياء من الناس كقول الانجيل عن مثله وكان الله يصبر عليه ويسهله ويزيده يوماً مقدار ألف سنة وهو مستمر على جهله وشتمه لاهل هذا المذهب الارثوذكسى وغيره من مذاهب المسيح ويحلف عليه ففاتيح<sup>8</sup> الاب البطرك عدّة دفعات ويخزى عليه فانزل الله فعله على هامته كقول داود في المزمور افض<sup>9</sup> غضبك على الامّة التى لا تعرفك فلما نظر بنة استقف مصر قوّة القاضي

1. Mss. قاضى. — 2. E om. to فيه وكان. — 3. Mss. يراى. — 4. BDG om. — 5. E om. to. — 6. E يفعل. — 7. E om. to تعرفك. — 8. D ففاتيح. — 9. Mss. افيش.

And the bishop of Miṣr began to request further promotion of the father patriarch. And there was a judge at Miṣr, named Muḥammad, son of Abd Allah, whom that man used to consult in all his business. And this judge was a man to be feared, and one whose words none could resist, for he was looked up to by all the Muslims as a lawyer and a leader, and was learned in their religion. But he secretly did deeds that were worthy of blame, and loved to drink wine and to hear singing, and he purchased beautiful slave-girls, and indulged in amusement<sup>1</sup> and debauchery without fear of God or shame before men, according to the words of the Gospel<sup>2</sup> concerning those like him. Nevertheless God endured him, and allowed him a respite, and added to his days one equal to a thousand years, while he persisted in his folly and insolence against the people of this orthodox religion and the other Christian communities, and swore against Christ. In accordance with this character, he brought lawsuits against the father patriarch several times, and mocked him. So God brought down his deeds upon his own pate, as David says in the Psalm<sup>3</sup>: « Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee ». Therefore when Banah, bishop of Miṣr, saw the power of this judge, and his influence over the governor and commanders of the Muslims, he made friends with him, in order that the judge might do what he desired, and that none might oppose him in his administration, just as

1. S. Luke, xviii, 2. — 2. Ps. vii, 17; LXXIX, 6 (Sept. LXXVIII).

ومكاته من الوالى وامراء<sup>1</sup> المسلمين صادق له كى يفعل بما يهود ولا يقاومه احد فى حكمه مثله فى المسلمين فيما يحكم به صحيحا كان او خطاء ام محالا والاب ابنا يوساب ما كان يفتر عن الجهاد فى الحق ويقول انا اتوكل على الله فلا يخاف<sup>2</sup> الا من الله الذى خلقه والبطرك<sup>3</sup> قد عرف ما صار بين الاسقف والقاضى فبدأ<sup>4</sup> القاضى ان<sup>5</sup> يتفكر ما ذا يفعل<sup>6</sup> بالبطرك من<sup>7</sup> سوء فامر القاضى فى بعض الايام<sup>8</sup> باحضار الاب البطرك وكان عنده اساقفة يومئذ وهم مساعدون لبنة<sup>9</sup> اسقف<sup>10</sup> مصر واسماؤهم<sup>11</sup> ابنا بخوم اسقف بسطة<sup>12</sup> وجرجة اسقف طحا وجرجة ايضا اسقف اهناس وزخارياء اسقف البحيرة ومينا<sup>13</sup> اسقف البهنسا وقوم اخرون فقال القاضى للبطرك عند حضوره اليه من جعل لك السلطان ان تكون رئيسا على جميع النصارى فقال له البطرك الله ثم التفت القاضى الى الاساقفة المذكورين واسقف مصر معهم وقال لهم لا تسمعوا من هذا البطرك من اليوم ولا تستود

ما ذا يفعل بى ذو جسد فعلم القاضى ان. — 1. Mss. واعر. — 2. BDEFG احنى DF add. — 3. E om. add. ابنا لا يهرل شيئا. — 4. ABDEFG فبدأ. — 5. Mss. om. — 6. BEG يصنع. — 7. G om. to الاب البطرك. — 8. B add. فامر. — 9. ABDEFG لبنة E om. — 10. DF اسقف مصر E الاسقف بمصر. — 11. E وهم. — 12. ABG بهنسى DEF البهنسا. — 13. DEF om. with 2 f. wds.

the judge acted among the Muslims in what he decreed, whether it were honest or perverse or deceitful.

But the father, Abba Joseph, did not cease to fight for the truth, and to declare his trust in God; and therefore he feared none but God, who created him. Now the patriarch knew what had taken place between the bishop and the judge. And the judge began to think what evil he should do to the patriarch. So one day he gave orders that the father patriarch should be summoned. And certain bishops were present at the judge's house that day, and were trying to conciliate Banah, bishop of Miṣr; and their names were Abba Pachomius, bishop of Bastah, and George, bishop of Ṭaḥa, and another George, bishop of Ahnās, and Zacharias, bishop of Al-Buḥairah, and Mennas, bishop of Al-Bahnasa, besides others. So when the patriarch appeared before the judge, the latter said to him: « Who gave thee authority to be chief over all the Christians? » The patriarch replied: « God gave me this authority ». Then the judge turned to the aforesaid bishops and to the bishop of Miṣr, who was with them, and said to them: « Obey this patriarch no longer from this day forth, and call him not father; but make this man your father (that is to say Banah, bishop of Miṣr), and let him be



أباً<sup>1</sup> بل اجعلوا لكم هذا أباً يعني بنة<sup>2</sup> اسقف مصر ويكون مقدّمكم فاجابوه الاساقفة هذا الجيد ما قلت ايها القاضي يكون<sup>3</sup> ما امرت به وكان ذلك بتقرير منهم مع القاضي ووعدوه بمال<sup>4</sup> يدفعونه اليه فقال زكريا<sup>5</sup> اسقف البحيرة لايينا<sup>6</sup> البطرك ما قد قلت لك بالامس لا تسع الاسقف<sup>7</sup> ابنا بنة<sup>8</sup> يعني اسقف مصر ان لا<sup>9</sup> يعمل جميع ما<sup>10</sup> يهواه بأمر<sup>11</sup> القاضي فاجابه<sup>12</sup> ابونا<sup>13</sup> القديس ابنا يوساب وقال<sup>14</sup> له<sup>15</sup> بصوت مملوء خوفاً بالقبطي يا غير فهمين كيف ضللتهم هذه<sup>16</sup> الضلالة كيف قبلتم<sup>17</sup> هذا الكلام الذي ليس له كمال لكن<sup>18</sup> حق ما تنبأ به عليكم بولس الرسول واطهر<sup>19</sup> جهلكم لما قال انا لم نفعل حق الله بفهم ان نتوب من ذاتنا ولم تطيعوا حق الله وكان قوم من الفقهاء جلوساً عند القاضي ومنهم من يفهم لغة القبطي وكانوا يميّزون قوّة كلام البطرك وما يخاطب به الاساقفة فاعادوا

1. B اباء. — 2. A مينة BDFG مينا E om. — 3. E om. to بد G om. to القاضي. — 4. ABDE بالمال. — 5. E om. to خوفاً add. لهم ابونا البطرك. — 6. ABD لايونا. — 7. DF om. to فامر. — 8. BG مينا. — 9. Mss. om. — 10. A om. — 11. AF فامر BG om. with f. wd. — 12. F باجابة. — 13. F ايينا. — 14. DF فقال. — 15. D لهم F om. — 16. E om. with f. wd. — 17. ABDE قبلتم G قبلتم. — 18. E om. — 19. E om. with 2 f. wds., add. اذ.

your leader ». And the bishops assented to his words, and said : « This that thou sayest is good, O judge, and what thou commandest shall be done ». Now this took place by a previous agreement made by them with the judge, and they had promised to give him money. Then Zacharias, bishop of Al-Buhairah, said to our father, the patriarch : « Did I not say to thee yesterday : Hinder not the bishop, Abba Banah, \* from doing all that he desires, as the judge commands? » Our holy father, Abba Joseph, answered him and said with an awful voice, in the Coptic language : « O you that have no understanding, how have you gone astray thus, how have you accepted these words that have no accomplishment? But true is that which Paul the Apostle prophesied<sup>1</sup> of you; and he showed your folly when he said : We did not do the truth of God with understanding, that we should be converted of ourselves. And you have not obeyed the truth of God ». And there were some of the lawyers sitting in the presence of the judge, and among them were some who understood the Coptic tongue, and they discerned the meaning of the patriarch's words, and how he was admonishing the bishops; and so they reported to the judge all that he had said. When the judge heard it, he was furious, and said to the father : « Thinkest

1. Gal., iii, 1.



على القاضي جميع<sup>1</sup> ما قاله البطرك فلما سمع غضب<sup>2</sup> وقال للاب انت تظن ان امرى لا يتم فقال له ابونا بصوت متضع هل لك ان تقدر ان<sup>3</sup> تجعل يداك على الشمس وتستر ضوءها<sup>4</sup> فان كنت تقدر ان<sup>5</sup> تفعل هذا فانت تستطيع ان<sup>6</sup> تفعل ما قلت او تقدر ان<sup>7</sup> تقاوم الله وامر مولاي الملك الذي انت من قبله وقد قلت انفسا<sup>8</sup> ان تقدمتى من الله ليس من انسان والآن معى سجل من الملك بتقوية يدي وانت هو ذا تقول هذا الكلام لهؤلاء<sup>9</sup> الاساقفة الذين<sup>10</sup> ليس لهم على سلطان بل سلطاني عليهم من الله والملك<sup>11</sup> وانفذ حكمى فى شعبى ورعييتى ولى ان اقطع كل من حاد عن الطريق المستقيمة<sup>12</sup> وانفيه فلما سمع القاضي هذا منه قال له<sup>13</sup> كان<sup>14</sup> بيدك سجل من الملك ان تفعل ما تريد فقال له ابونا نعم قال له القاضي احضره الى لاقراء وكان له<sup>15</sup> سجلات من الملوك من السامون عبد الله بن<sup>16</sup> هرون الرشيد<sup>17</sup> عند وصوله الى مصر ومن ابراهيم<sup>18</sup>

1. E om. to سمع add. الكلام. — 2. E فغضب. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. ABDE حيد. — 5. DEF om. — 6. EG om. — 7. DEF om. — 8. D ايضا. — 9. B ليهولاي. — 10. ABDE الذى. — 11. E om. to ورعييتى. — 12. FG المستقيم. — 13. BG add. ان. — 14. E om. to مع الاب ثلثة add. وخزى القاضي. — 15. E om. to ارينى سجل الملك add. لاقراء. — 16. ABD ابن DF add. الرشيد. — 17. G الرشيدى. — 18. BG ابراهيم.

thou that my commands will not be carried out? » Our father answered in a humble voice : « Hast thou power to lay thy hand upon the sun, and hide its brightness? For if thou canst do this, then thou wilt be able to do what thou sayest. Or canst thou resist God, or the commands of my lord the prince, whom thou servest? I said before that my primacy is of God, not of man. But now I also hold a decree from the prince which establishes my power. Yet behold, thou sayest these words to these bishops who have no authority over me: whereas my authority over them is from God and from the prince, and the execution of my sentence takes place among my people and my flock; and I have power to cut off and banish all those who err from the right path ». When the judge heard these words from the patriarch's mouth he said to him : « Holdest thou a decree from the prince, giving thee power to do what thou wilt? » Our father replied : « Yes, it is so ». The judge said to him : « Bring it to me that I may read it ». Now Abba Joseph had with him diplomas from the princes, from Al-Ma'mûn Abd Allah, son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, issued when he came to Egypt, and from Ibrahim, his brother. And when Hârûn al-

اخيه ولما ولى هرون الوثائق<sup>1</sup> ولد<sup>2</sup> ابراهيم سألوه في تجديد سجل لاينا<sup>3</sup> فكتب له وهرون الوثائق<sup>4</sup> هو<sup>5</sup> الذى ولى هذا القاضى مصر<sup>6</sup> فسلم اليه ابونا السجلات ووقف<sup>7</sup> عليهن<sup>8</sup> وعلم منهن<sup>9</sup> ثبات من يرشد<sup>10</sup> مسن يحيد عن الواجب والطريق<sup>11</sup> المستقيمة<sup>12</sup> وخزى القاضى وامتنح وامر ابانا بالانصراف مكرماً فعجب كل الحاضرين وكان جماعة من الاساقفة لا يرضون بهذا<sup>13</sup> وهم مطيعون له واسماؤهم مينا اسقف طانة<sup>14</sup> وشنودة اسقف صا وبقية الاساقفة وكان يدفع لهم ثمرة شفثيه فيدعو<sup>15</sup> لهم ويباركهم وكان الاب البطرك يقول عن الاساقفة الذين<sup>16</sup> خالفوه يا رب لا تحسب عليهم خطيئة

ثم ان الشيطان جاب عليه تجربة اخرى وهى<sup>17</sup> ان الاب ابنا يوساب كان رحوماً لا يريد<sup>18</sup> هلاك احد من الناس فجعل الشيطان فى قلب القاضى الظالم الذى قد صار له وعاء

1. ABDF الرشيد G الرشيدى. — 2. DF ولده. — 3. ABD لابنا. — 4. ABDF الرشيد. — 5. A وهو DF om. — 6. B بمصر. — 7. BG om. with f. wd., G add. — 8. ADF عليهم. — 9. ABDEG منهم. — 10. Mss. يريد DF add. وقطع. — 11. G. — 12. F المستقيم. — 13. E om. to شفثيه add. — 14. ABG بفعل اوليك وكان الاب. — 15. E يدعو. — 16. AB الذين E المخالفين. — 17. Mss. وهو. — 18. DF يهري. — طابة.

Wâthik, son of Ibrahim, began to reign, he was asked to issue a new decree for our father, and accordingly it was written for him. And it was Hârûn al-Wâthik who appointed this judge over Egypt. Therefore our father handed him the decrees; and he read them, and learnt from them the superior strength of those that walk straight over those that deviate from duty and from the right path. And the judge was ashamed and confounded, and bade our father depart with honour, so that all that were present were amazed. Now there were many of the bishops who had disapproved of these transactions, and had remained loyal to the patriarch, namely, Men-nas, bishop of Tânah, and Sinuthius, bishop of Sâ, and the rest of the bishops. So he gave them the fruit of his lips<sup>1</sup>, praying for them and blessing them. The father patriarch also used to say concerning the bishops who rebelled: « O Lord, lay not this sin to their charge<sup>2</sup> ».

After this Satan brought upon Abba Joseph another trial. For this father was merciful, and desired not the perdition of any man. So Satan put it into the heart of the unjust judge, who had become his instrument, that he should seize the Roman and Abyssinian pages of the patriarch, who were

1. Osee, xiv, 3 (Sept.); Hebr., xiii, 15. — 2. Acts, vii, 60 (59).





البطرك لا يجوز لك ان تقاوم امر الملوك<sup>1</sup> وتدوس اوامرهم ولا يجوز ان تستعبد هؤلاء الصبيان وتنصرهم فقال له البطرك انا ما اقاوم امر الملك ولا اقاوم كلمة سالحة بل كان من كلام الظلم قال له القاضي فاننا ظالم كما<sup>2</sup> تقول فقال له انت عارف بار كل<sup>3</sup> من تقدمك ما كان يلزم مثل هؤلاء الذين هم نصارى اولاد نصارى باسلام<sup>4</sup> لا يقدمونهم للبيع هدايا وهؤلاء<sup>5</sup> فمن عند ملك الحبشة والنوبة والروم جاؤوني<sup>6</sup> هدايا اهديت الى وكان القاضي ممنا<sup>7</sup> ملكه الشيطان لا يسمع كقول داود مثل الافع الصماء<sup>8</sup> التي تسد اذنيها لا تسمع صوت الراقي فامر القاضي باحضار الصبيان قدام البطرك وخوفهم حتى اسلموا قدامه وابونا<sup>9</sup> حاضر ينصرهم فقال وهو باك<sup>10</sup> الويل لى تجدد حز وحمى قلبي فى باطنى ونظرت انتقامى انفصلت منى اعضائى<sup>11</sup> الآن يا رب عرفنى تمام

1. BG الملك. — 2. E انا. — 3. E om. with f. wd. — 4. E om. — 5. B بكمين. — 6. BEG اسلم. — 7. E om. to الى F om. to هدية. — 8. ABG جاؤنى D السمي. — 9. E om. to فامر القاضي add. فامر ابينا بل امر. — 10. ABDG السمي. — 11. E om. to باطنى add. واحاطت بى. — 12. Mss. باكى. — 13. B اعداى.

ample upon their orders; and it is not lawful for thee to attempt to enslave these youths and make Christians of them ». The patriarch answered : « I do not resist the prince's command nor any good words, but only unjust orders ». The judge said to him : « Then am I unjust in thy opinion? » He replied : « Thou knowest that none of thy predecessors forced any one like these, who are Christians and the sons of Christians, to become Muslims. For they were presented to the churches as gifts, and came from the king of the Abyssinians, or from the Nubians or Romans; and they were sent to me as a present, and given to me ». But the judge, through Satan's power over him, would not listen; and, as David says<sup>1</sup>, he was like the deaf asp that stops her ears, and will not hear the voice of the charmer. Therefore he gave orders that the youths should be brought in, while the patriarch was there, and intimidated them so that they acknowledged themselves Muslims before him in the patriarch's presence, although he tried to hold them to the Christian faith. So he said, weeping : « Woe is me, my sadness is renewed, and my heart burns within me<sup>2</sup>; I have seen my punishment, my limbs are cut asunder from me. Now, O Lord, let me know my end, for the sorrows of Hell encompass me ». Then the judge said to the father : « There can be no further communication between

1. Ps. LVIII, 5, 6 (Sept. LVII). — 2. Ps. XXXIX, 4, 5 (Sept. XXXVIII).

لان احزان الجحيم احاطت بي فقال القاضي للاب ليس بقى بينك وبين هؤلاء معاملة<sup>1</sup> فقد<sup>2</sup> صاروا مسلمين خذ ثمنهم واتركهم اجاب الاب وقال له ان كان غرضك ان<sup>3</sup> تستعبد الاحرار فما لى انا فى هذا غرض لان هؤلاء احرار واعضاء من جسمى والله يدينك عنهم وتعطى<sup>4</sup> عنهم جوابا بين يدى الله الاله الكل فامر القاضي بقسمة الغلمان فاقسموهم المسلمون فلمّا رأى الاب الرحوم هذا تنهد وقال امام الرب طلبت<sup>5</sup> الدماء وذكرتهم لا تنس<sup>6</sup> صوت الفقراء وقال<sup>7</sup> اذلّوا شعبك وميراثك خسروا وقتلوا اليتامى<sup>8</sup> والغرباء وقالوا ان الله لا ينظر ولم يكن يفتر من البكاء والتنهد والنوح وكان يقول ان كل من يبعى<sup>9</sup> هؤلاء<sup>10</sup> الصبيان الرب يهلكه ويقول انا يا رب انسان خاطيء لكن يا رب تأتى على هذا القاضي الظالم بالانتقام عوضا من<sup>11</sup> فعله السوء وتتمّ عليه كلمة سليمان الحكيم ان يوم الانتقام يهلك المنافقون وصبر الاب على هذا الحزن ويصلى ليلا ونهارا ويقول يا رب ليس من اجل خطيئتي ترفض شعبك

1. B مقالة G مقالة. — 2. ABDEFG قد. — 3. BEG om. — 4. E om. to فامر add. عند ركان الاب فى حزن عظيم ويقول يا رب لا ترفض شعبك add. — 5. E om. to. ذاك امر. — 6. BC طلب. — 7. AD ينسى B ينسى F ينسى G ينسى. — 8. BG ينسى. — 9. Mss. اليتاما. — 10. BG يبعى DF يبعى. — 11. DF بهؤلاء. — 12. BG عن.

thee and these youths, for they are become Muslims. Take their price and leave them ». The father replied : « If it is thy desire to make slaves of the free, I have no such wish; for these are free and the limbs of my body; and God will judge thee for them, and thou wilt give an account of them before God, the God of all ». After that the judge gave orders that the pages should be separated, and accordingly the Muslims shared them among themselves. And when this compassionate father saw this transaction, he sighed, and said before the Lord : « Thou seekest out blood and rememberest them. Forget not the voice of the poor<sup>1</sup> ». He said also : « They have humbled thy people, and done harm to thy heritage, and slain the orphans and the strangers, and said : God doth not see<sup>2</sup> ». Thus he ceased not to weep and sigh and lament. And he said : « If any one outrage these youths, may God destroy him! » Further he said : « O Lord, I am a sinful man, but yet, O Lord, thou wilt take vengeance upon this unjust judge in return for his wicked conduct, and thou wilt fulfil upon him the words of wise Solomon : In the day of vengeance<sup>3</sup> the hypocrites shall perish ». Such grief did the father endure, while he prayed night and day,

1. Ps. ix, 13 — 2. Ps. xciv, 5, 6, 7 (Sept. xcm). — 3. Prov., vi, 34.



وكان في زمانه قوم مؤمنون رهبان قديسون يدعون له بان يرزق<sup>1</sup> الصبر على ما يناله من هذه<sup>2</sup> التجارب<sup>3</sup> وكان انسان سائح من جملتهم اسمه امونة في<sup>4</sup> دير ابي يحنس وابنا مينا السائح<sup>5</sup> في جبل ارمون اعطى<sup>6</sup> روح النبوة وكان يشفى جميع المرضى<sup>7</sup> وشهد له جماعة ان له سلطاناً على الارواح النجسة يخرجها من الناس وانا الحقير العاجز حضرت عنده وخاطبني بسبب البيعة<sup>8</sup> وكان خصياً من بطن امه طاهراً لله وكان راهباً من صباه<sup>9</sup> في دير ابي يحنس<sup>10</sup> وفي زمان خراب البرية في اخر سني<sup>11</sup> البطرك انا مرقس وقد ذكرناه انفاً فالتجى هذا الراهب الى بيعة على اسم التلاميذ في قرية وكان يظهر عجائب كثيراً من اشفاء الاعلاء واخراج الشياطين وحضرت انا الحقير عنده وكان يعلمني الكتابة وذلك في عاشر سنة من بطركية الاب انا يوساب كان هذا الشيخ القديس جالساً في يوم من الايام يقرأ<sup>12</sup> في سير البيع<sup>13</sup> القديمة<sup>14</sup> وما جرى على الابهاء في سابع عشر

1. BG يرزق DEF يرقد الله — 2. B هذا — 3. DF الشدايد — 4. E om. with 3 f. wds. — 5. E om. — 6. E om. to add. الذي شرحنا حاله بعد — 7. AG المرضي — 8. DF pref. سير — 9. BG add. اسمه — 10. ADF add. امرنة — 11. BD سنين F زمن — 12. BD يقرى — 13. BG القدم — 14. BG om. ADF القدم.

saying : « O Lord, thou wilt not forsake thy people on account of my sin ».

There were in his time faithful men, holy monks, who prayed for him that patience might be given to him under these trials that afflicted him. And there was a hermit among them whose name was Ammonius, at the monastery of Saint John. There was also Abba Mennas, the hermit, on Mount Armûn, who was endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and healed all the sick; many testified of him that he had power over unclean spirits and cast them out of men.

And I, the mean and feeble one, visited him, and he discoursed with me concerning the Church. He was a eunuch from birth, pure unto God, and had been a monk from his youth in the monastery of Saint John. But when the desert was ravaged in the last years of the patriarch, Abba Mark, as we related above, this monk took refuge in a church named after the Disciples, in a certain village. And he showed forth many miracles by healing the sick and casting out devils. And I, the mean one, was present with him, and he taught me writing; and that was in the tenth year of the patriarchate of the father, Abba Joseph.

This holy old man was sitting one day, reading in the history of the ancient churches and of what happened to the fathers, in the seventeenth part



سيرة للبيعة<sup>1</sup> فقلت له انا بسداجة ولا ادرى ما اقول ما هذا الذي يقول فقال لى بكلمة روح القدس يا ابني طوبى<sup>2</sup> لمن كتب واهتم بسيرة البطارقة وقال لى يا ابني صدقنى فيما اقله لك انه لا يتدىء احد بثمان<sup>3</sup> عشر سيرة للبيعة حتى يأتى الذى اسمه ثمنية عشر وانت الذى تهتم يكتبها لان الرب يدعوك فصرت كأننى<sup>4</sup> فى غفلة ولم اقدر ان<sup>5</sup> اسأله عن شيء اخر وكان هذا الشيخ قد اقام كل<sup>6</sup> زمانه سائحا وبارك على<sup>7</sup> دفعات وقد اختصرت فيما كتبت وتركت كثيرا خوفا ممن يقرأ فيما كتبه من خبر هذا القديس الشيخ السائح وتركت سيرة الالباء وامسكت عن اخبارهم<sup>8</sup> وقد شرح ابنا سويرس استقف سنو<sup>9</sup> فى بعض ميامرة خبر هذا السائح

فلنعد<sup>10</sup> الآن الى ما فعله الله على يد الاب البطرك ابنا يوساب فأذكر اعجوبة وهى ان<sup>11</sup> لما كان هذا الاب بمصر فى زمان قاضى الظلم الذى شرحنا حاله معه حضر عنده انسان نصرانى قال له انا يا ابى الروحانى تراءف<sup>12</sup> على فان لى ولدا<sup>13</sup> وقد اعتراه روح

— 1. من سير البيعة F البيعة D. — 2. ABD طوبى. — 3. Mss. بالثمان. — 4. B كأننى. — 5. Mss. om. — 6. DF زمانه كله. — 7. ABC على هذه. — 8. Mss. اخباره. — 9. AG سيرا. — 10. Mss. فلنعود. — 11. Mss. om. — 12. ABDE ترائف. — 13. DF ولد واحد.

of the history of the church, and I said to him in my simplicity, not knowing what I said : « What is this that he says? » And he answered me in the words of the Holy Ghost : « O my son, blessed is he who wrote and provided for the history of the patriarchs. Believe what I say to thee, my son, that none shall begin the eighteenth part of the history of the Church, before he comes, whose name is eighteen. And thou art he that shall take thought for the writing of it, for the Lord calls thee to it ». Thereupon I became as if I were absent-minded, and could not ask him anything further. Now this old man remained all his life a hermit. And he frequently gave me his blessing. But I have abridged what I have written, and have left much unwritten through fear of those who will read what I have written concerning this holy old hermit. Here I have left the history of the fathers, and ceased to relate their history. Severus, bishop of Sanabû, dilates in one of his homilies upon the history of this hermit.

But let us now return to that which God did by means of the father patriarch, Abba Joseph, and I will relate the following miracle. When this father was at Miṣr in the time of the unjust judge, whose dealing with him we have recounted, there came to him a Christian person who said to him : « O my spiritual father, take pity on me! For I have a son who has been

شيطان يعذّبه منذ ايام كثيرة ثم انه يصرخ ويقول ما ازول عنه حتى يأمرنى ابنا يوساب  
البطرك فارحم عبدك ولدى ايها الاب وكان الاب كثير التواضع قال للرجل بقلب تقى  
متواضع واى شىء عملى انا<sup>1</sup> يا ولدى مع<sup>2</sup> هؤلاء الذين<sup>3</sup> ذكرتهم لكن بامانتك يخلص  
ولدك فاخذ<sup>4</sup> الرجل قوله بقبول مثل ما اخذ قائد المائة قول الرب الذى قال انى لا  
استحق ان تدخل سقف بيتى بل قل<sup>5</sup> كلمة فقط فيبرأ فتاى كذلك هذا الانسان المؤمن  
لم يفتر من<sup>6</sup> السؤال اليه والتضرّع قائلاً تراءف<sup>7</sup> علىّ يا ابى فقال له الاب ما ذا  
تريد ان افعله معك فقال له ما استحق ان<sup>8</sup> تمشى معى ولا تدخل بيتى<sup>9</sup> بل تكتب لى  
بيدك خطاً باسمك لا غير يا<sup>10</sup> الشيطان بالخروج من ولدى فلما سمع ابونا هذا منه  
تعجّب منه ومن عظم امانته ولم<sup>11</sup> ير<sup>12</sup> ان يدعه ان<sup>13</sup> يمضى عنه الا بما طلبه فلما سمعت  
انا الخاطئ<sup>14</sup> كاتب هذه<sup>15</sup> السيرة هذا فصرت مثل الشّاس المحبّ لله تاوفسطس عند كونه

1. E om. — 2. E om. to ذكرتهم. — 3. A الذى. — 4. E om. to add. قائلاً. — 5. DF قيل. — 6. ABDE تراءف. — 7. ABDE تراءف. — 8. Mss. om. — 9. E pref. تحت سقف. — 10. E om. to ولدى. — 11. Mss. om. و. — 12. Mss. يرى. — 13. Mss. om. — 14. D om. with 2 f. wds. F om. with 3 f. wds. — 15. B هذا.

possessed many days by a diabolical spirit which torments him. And he cries aloud saying : I will not leave him until Abba Joseph, the patriarch, commands me. Therefore have mercy on my son, thy servant, O father ». Now the father was exceedingly humble, and he said to the man with a pure and humble heart : « What have I to do, my son, with these of whom thou speakest? Yet on account of thy faith, thy son shall be delivered ». Then the man accepted his words, as the centurion accepted the words of the Lord, exclaiming : \* « I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under the roof of my house, but speak the word only, and my lad shall be healed ». So this faithful person did not cease to beg and implore the patriarch, saying : « Have pity on me, O my father! » Again the father asked : « What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? » He answered : « I am not worthy that thou shouldest go with me nor enter my house; but wilt thou write for me with thine own hand a sentence in thine own name, and nothing more, commanding the devil to depart? For then he will depart from my son ». When our father heard him say this, he marvelled at him, and at the greatness of his faith, and thought that he ought not to allow him to go away without that which he asked of him. And I, the writer of this history, hearing this, became like the God-loving deacon Theopistus, while he

مع الاب القديس ديسقورس<sup>1</sup> في جزيرة غاغرا بسبب الرجل الاعسم الذي عوفي بدم<sup>2</sup> يد  
المعترف فأمنت ان الرب يفعل مع هذا الاب ما يبرى ولد هذا الانسان وفيما انا مفتكر  
في هذا اراد الرب ان يزيدني في هذا القديس امانا<sup>3</sup> فامرني ان آخذ ورقة ودواة واكتب  
فيها يقول يوساب الحقير اصغر البطارقة جميعهم ويأمر<sup>4</sup> ايها الروح النجس ان تخرج من  
عبد المسيح الالهنا ولا تعود اليه فيما بعد بقوة الاب والابن وروح<sup>5</sup> القدس الاله الواحد  
فاخذ ابو الصبى الكتاب ومضى مسرعا الى بيته وقراه على ولده وللوقت خرج منه الشيطان  
ولم يعد<sup>6</sup> اليه ومدة<sup>7</sup> مقامه بمصر كان يأتي الى ايننا<sup>8</sup> ويسجد له بامانة عظيمة ويقول  
انا اشكر الرب بصلواتك لان بكلامك عوفي ولدى وكان ابونا ينهيه ويجعل عليه قانونا  
للبية ان لا يقول لاحد هذا الكلام ولما الرجل فحلف لنا ان الشيطان لم يعد<sup>9</sup> الى ولده  
من ذلك اليوم

وفي تلك الايام تنجح الاب ديونوسيوس بطرك انطاكية فاهتم السطارنة والاساقفة

1. B. ديسقورس. — 2. D. بدم. — 3. DF. امانا. — 4. DF. om. ر. — 5. Mss. والروح. —  
6. Mss. يعيد. — 7. E. om. to. من ذلك اليوم. — 8. ABD. ايننا. — 9. Mss. يعيد.

was with the holy father Dioscorus in the island of Gangra, on account of the man with the withered arm who was cured by the blood from the confessor's hand. For I believed that the Lord would do by means of this father that which would cure this man's son. And while I was meditating on this, the Lord willed to increase my faith by this holy man. For he bade me take a sheet of paper and an inkstand, and write upon the sheet thus : « Joseph, the mean one, the least of all the patriarchs, speaks and bids thee, unclean spirit, depart from the servant of Christ our God, and forbids thee to return to him henceforth, through the power of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the one God ».

Thereupon the father of the youth took this letter, and departed quickly to his house, and read the writing over his son: and at once the devil went out of him, and did not return to him. And while our father remained at Misr, that man came to him and prostrated himself before him with great faith, saying : « I thank the Lord for thy prayers; for by thy words my son was healed ». But our father forbade him under pain of ecclesiastical penance to tell anyone of this matter. And the man swore to us that the devil had never returned to his son since that day.

In those days the father Dionysius, patriarch of Antioch, went to his rest. So the metropolitans and the bishops and the orthodox laity took thought



والشعب الارثوذكسى وقدّموا<sup>1</sup> عوضه انسانا كاملا فى الخصال اسمه يوحنا وكان فى السنة الخامسة عشر من بطركيته<sup>2</sup> اعنى الاب انبا يوساب وفى<sup>3</sup> سنة خمس مائة واثنين وستين للشهداء ولما<sup>4</sup> جلس على كرسى<sup>5</sup> انطاكية كتب الى ابينا<sup>6</sup> سنوديقا كالعادة بالاتحاد واتخذها مع مطرانين<sup>7</sup> وهما<sup>8</sup> اتناسيوس مطران افمية<sup>9</sup> وطيماتاوس مطران دمشق وكهنة معهما فلما سمع الاب انبا يوساب بوصولهم الى قريب مصر وصحبهم السنوديقا سار الى الاسكندرية لكيما يجتمعوا به هناك بمجد فلما قربوا من المدينة اتخذ يستقبلهم باساقفة وكهنة يقرءون<sup>10</sup> قدّامهم الى ان دخلوا بهم الى<sup>11</sup> القلاية البطركية بمجد وكرامة فلما اخذ ابونا السنوديقا امر بقراءتها على الشعب الارثوذكسى ففرحوا فرحاً عظيماً

فلما نظر العدو المناصب هذه النعمة بدا ان<sup>12</sup> يشير على ابينا<sup>13</sup> البطرك بلايا<sup>14</sup> من<sup>15</sup> جهة من هو له وعاء<sup>16</sup> كما<sup>17</sup> فعل فى قاضى الظلم بمصر وكان لذلك القاضى رجل ينوب عنه بالاسكندرية واعمالها وكان اشتر منه وكان اسمه محمد بن<sup>18</sup> بشير<sup>19</sup> فمضوا<sup>20</sup> اليه الذين<sup>21</sup>

و. — 4. ABDEFG om. للشهداء. — 5. E om. بطركية انبا يوساب. — 6. D. — 7. ABDEFG om. مطرانة. — 8. B. — 9. Mss. اوفيمية. — 10. ABDE FG يقرءوا. — 11. BG om. الى. — 12. BEG om. — 13. ABDE ابونا. — 14. BEG وبلايا. — 15. E om. to كان. — 16. D وعاء. — 17. D om. — 18. ABDEG ابن. — 19. A يسير BG. — 20. ABG فامضوا DF فانصبوا. — 21. E om. to اولاً add. المخالفين.

and appointed in his place a person, perfect in his qualities, named John. This was in the 15th. year of the patriarchate of Abba Joseph, and in the year 562 of the Martyrs. After John's enthronement at Antioch he wrote to our father a synodical letter according to custom, proclaiming the unity of the two sees, and sent it by two metropolitans, namely Athanasius, metropolitan of Apamea, and Timothy, metropolitan of Damascus, accompanied by others of the clergy. Therefore the father, Abba Joseph, having heard that they were approaching Egypt, with the synodical letter in their charge, travelled to Alexandria, in order that they might meet him there with honour. And as they drew near to the city, he sent to welcome them a body of bishops and clergy, who chanted before them, and conducted them as far as the patriarchal cell with glory and reverence. And when our father had received \* the synodical letter, he commanded that it should be read aloud to the orthodox people; and they rejoiced exceedingly.

But the perpetual enemy saw this grace, and immediately began to stir up troubles against our father the patriarch by means of one who was his instrument, as he had done with the unjust judge. Now that judge em-

احرم اَوَّلًا وأشاروا عليه ان يهينه<sup>1</sup> قَدَّام المطرانين<sup>2</sup> وكانوا مهتسين<sup>3</sup> بهذا اولاد النار ويظنون ان هذا الامر يثقل عليه وهو<sup>4</sup> المشتعل بالانتضاع لا يبالي ولا يفكر فيما يفكرون فيه لانهم كانوا مفكرين في قلوبهم انهم اذا اهانوه قَدَّام المطرانين<sup>5</sup> ينقص<sup>6</sup> جاهه ولم<sup>7</sup> يعلموا ان مؤامرتهم مرذولة عند ما يظفر الظافر كل<sup>8</sup> حين وينال الاكليل على الجهاد وينال الطوبى<sup>9</sup> على صبره وينتهى به ذلك الى اقصى<sup>10</sup> المشرق وصورته<sup>11</sup> عند ما يشاهد<sup>12</sup> البران<sup>13</sup> المطرانان فيما<sup>14</sup> يجرى عليه حينئذ اغذ القاضى قاضى<sup>15</sup> الاسكندرية<sup>16</sup> ان<sup>17</sup> يحضر الاب القديس<sup>18</sup> ابنا يوساب البطرك ويحضر معه المطرانين<sup>19</sup> فقال له لسا<sup>20</sup> حضر عنده قد اعلموني ان لك غلمانا الذين<sup>21</sup> امرت القاضى صاحبى ان لا تقبلهم اليك دفعة<sup>22</sup> اخرى بعضهم عندك وقد اعدتهم الى دينك فاجاب<sup>23</sup> القديس وقال له ما عندى

1. D بهينه. — 2. Mss. المطارنة. — 3. E om. to ويظنون add. يطيرا. — 4. E om. to ما عليه. — 5. Mss. المطارنة. — 6. B نقص. — 7. D ولا. — 8. DF pref. فى. — 9. Mss. الطوبى. — 10. AF اقصى. — 11. DF om. — 12. Mss. يشاهد. — 13. ABG المطارنة DF الابرار المطارنة. — 14. ABG ما. — 15. E om. G om. add. الى مدينة. — 16. E الاسكندرية. — 17. DEF واحضر. — 18. E om. to ويحضر add. رومن. — 19. ABDFG المطارنة E من. — 20. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 21. Mss. الذى. — 22. E om. to دينك. — 23. D اجاب.

ployed a man worse than himself, who acted as his deputy at Alexandria and in the neighbouring province; and this man's name was Muhammad son of Bashir. So those whom the patriarch had formerly excommunicated went to this man, and advised him to put the patriarch to shame in the presence of the metropolitans. These children of fire contrived this plan, thinking that this action would weigh heavily upon him; whereas he, being clothed with humility, paid no heed, and did not think of what they were thinking. For they thought in their hearts that, if they disgraced him before the metropolitans, his dignity would be lessened, and knew not that their counsels were contemptible; while the ever victorious one conquered, and gained the crown after the contest, and received a blessing for his endurance. And by this his fame and the report of his patience reached the ends of the east, after those righteous metropolitans had witnessed that which was done to him.

At that time the judge of Alexandria sent and summoned the holy father, Abba Joseph the patriarch, and the metropolitans with him. And when he appeared in the judge's presence, he said to him: « I am informed that thou hast pages, whom the judge, my master, commanded thee not to take to thyself again. Some of them are in thy house, and thou hast con-



شيء مما ذكرته وائى<sup>1</sup> لم اشاهد وجه واحد منهم من ذلك اليوم فامر به<sup>2</sup> ان<sup>3</sup>  
يضرب<sup>4</sup> على رقبة غير رحمة ويلكمونه<sup>5</sup> لكما كثيرا ولم يتخلوا عن ضربه وقتا كثيرا  
وكانت رأسه مطاطة لا يشيلها<sup>6</sup> لاجل<sup>7</sup> ضعفه ولم يفتح فاه ينطق<sup>8</sup> بنفظة الا قوله هكذا  
اشكرك يا سيدى يسوع المسيح فبكينا<sup>9</sup> نحن اولاد بكاء مراً لمشاهدتنا ما جرى عليه  
من ذلك القاضى السوء ولم<sup>10</sup> يأس من الرحمة بل كان مشجعاً<sup>11</sup> فتعجب ذاك<sup>12</sup>  
المطرانان<sup>13</sup> وقال<sup>14</sup> تبارك الله الذى جعلنا مستحقين ان نشاهد جهاداً مؤمناً هكذا وكان  
ابونا المبارك يقول قول الرب لاجل قاضى الظلم ان الرب يظهر فيه الانتقام الذى<sup>15</sup>  
يحل به كما قال لوقا الله ينتقم لاصفيائه سريعاً الداعين<sup>16</sup> له ليلاً ونهاراً ويطول روحه  
عليهم وبعد ذلك كتب الى البطرك ابنا يوحنا كتب<sup>17</sup> السنوديقا وودعهم بمجد وكرامة

1. E om. to اليوم. — 2. F om. — 3. Mss. om. — 4. G بضرب F بضرب. — 5. E om.  
to يضرب. — 6. E يرفعها. — 7. E om. with f. wd. — 8. E om. — 9. E om. to  
ويعجبوا اوليك add. وكانوا اولاده يبكوا لمشاهدة add. لمشاهدتنا — 10. E om. to قول الرب add. اوليك. — 11. BFG  
المطارنة وباركوا الله على ما شاهدوا من جهاد هذا الاب وكان الاب يقول — 12. ABDF  
شجع. — 13. Mss. المطارنة. — 14. Mss. وقالوا. — 15. E  
om. to عليهم. — 16. Mss. الداعين. — 17. E جواب.

verted them to thy religion ». Then the holy man answered and said to him : « I have none of those of whom thou speakest, nor have I beheld the face of one of them since that day ». Thereupon the judge ordered that the patriarch should be beaten upon his neck without mercy; and they belaboured him soundly, and did not cease from beating him for a considerable time. In consequence of this his head was bowed, and he could not raise it for his weakness; and he did not open his mouth to utter a word, except when he said thus : « I thank thee, Lord Jesus Christ ». But we, his children, wept bitterly for witnessing what was done to him by this wicked judge. Yet the patriarch did not despair of mercy, but was filled with courage. And so those metropolitans marvelled, and said : « Blessed be God, who has counted us worthy to behold so faithful a champion ! » And our blessed father repeated the words of the Lord concerning the unjust judge, that the Lord would show forth vengeance in him, which should come upon him, as Luke says<sup>1</sup> : « God shall soon avenge his elect who pray to him day and night, though he is longsuffering concerning them ».

After this the patriarch Joseph wrote to the patriarch John an answer to his synodical letter, and dismissed the envoys with the glory and honour

1. S. Luke, xviii, 7.



تصلح لهم وهم<sup>1</sup> يعطون الطوبى<sup>2</sup> لابينا<sup>3</sup> يوساب وجعلوا يشرون بفعله في جميع بلادهم وكانت<sup>4</sup> في ايامه نعمة وسلامة وكان في زمانه اعجوبة ونظر الى الديارات في كل موضع تنمو<sup>5</sup> وتتزايد<sup>6</sup> كل<sup>7</sup> يوم بصلواته وصلوات القديسين الذين كانوا في ذلك الزمان وبخاصة الديارات بوادي هبيب كانت<sup>8</sup> مثل فردوس الله لا<sup>9</sup> سيما دير<sup>10</sup> ابي<sup>11</sup> مقار ومعونة الله مع جميعهم وبخاصة<sup>12</sup> الاقنوم<sup>13</sup> شنودة القس القديس الذي اظهر الله منه افعالا حسنة لا تحصى من اماته في القديس ابي<sup>14</sup> مقار وجعل له تذكارات كروما<sup>15</sup> وبساتين وبهائم وطواحين<sup>16</sup> ومعاصر وخيرات كثيرا لا تحصى ولما شاهد الشعب المؤمن فعله ابتهجوا<sup>17</sup> بذلك وكانوا يحسدونه على فعله ويساعدونه بحسن نياتهم وكان في الدير المقدس<sup>18</sup> خلائق لا تحصى ليس الارثوذكسيون فقط بل<sup>19</sup> وهراطقة لاجل العجائب التي<sup>20</sup> تظهر في هذا<sup>21</sup>

1. E om. to يوساب. — 2. ADEFG الطوبا. — 3. ABD لابينا. — 4. E om. to موضح add. — 5. ABDE تنمو FG تنمي. — 6. AB وتتزايد. — 7. E om. to الزمان. — 8. E om. to جميعهم. — 9. ABC om. — 10. DF add. ابرنا. — 11. Mss. ابر. — 12. ABDEFG بخاصة E وبخاصة. — 13. E الاب. — 14. Mss. ابر. — 15. E om. — 16. E om. to كثيرا add. وعشاريات. — 17. BG om. to فعله E om. to البعثة الكبيرة add. وكثرة. — 18. BG om. — 19. DF والهراطقة. — 20. B الذي. — 21. B هذا.

which befitted them. And they praised our father Joseph, and began to publish his deeds throughout their country.

And there were in his days grace and peace. A wonderful thing took place in his time; for he beheld the monasteries in every place grow and increase every day, through his prayers and the prayers of the holy men who lived at that time. Above all the monasteries of the Wâdi Habib were like the Paradise of God, especially that of Saint Macarius. And God's assistance was with all the monks, and more than any with that oeconomus Sinuthius, the holy priest, by whose means God manifested countless good works through his faith in Saint Macarius. For Sinuthius raised monuments in honour of Saint Macarius, vineyards and gardens and cattle and mills and oilpresses, and many useful things that cannot be numbered. And when the faithful people beheld what he did, they rejoiced thereat, and were zealous for his deeds, and helped him with good intentions.

And there were in the holy monastery innumerable persons, not only the orthodox, but also heretics, on account of the wonders that were manifested in that church. This was the doing of this oeconomus Sinuthius, who

البيعة وفعل هذا الاقنوم شنودة وكان يرجو المجازاة من الله كقول بولس الرسول نحن بالروح بالامانة<sup>1</sup> نتظر<sup>2</sup> رجاء حقيقيًا ولما رأى<sup>3</sup> الرهبان يتزايدون بنعمة الله التي تدعوهم بدا وبنى<sup>4</sup> بحرى البيعة الكبيرة بيعة باسم الابرء التلاميذ وكملمها وزينها بكل زينة ودعا ابانا<sup>5</sup> القديس ابا يوساب البطرك<sup>6</sup> الى هذه<sup>7</sup> البيعة فلما نظرها<sup>8</sup> امتلا قلبه سرورا وكبرزها في اول يوم من برمودة في السنة السابعة عشرة<sup>9</sup> من بطركيته ولم<sup>10</sup> يفتقر الاب من البركة على هذا<sup>11</sup> شنودة الاقنوم من عمق قلبه وينظر التذكارات التي<sup>12</sup> يعملها يوما بعد يوم وبخاصة<sup>13</sup> هذه البيعة المقدسة الجامعة<sup>14</sup> الحسنة وكان لنا نحن اولاد هذا الاب محبة عظيمة لهذا<sup>15</sup> الاقنوم لما نشاهد<sup>16</sup> من<sup>17</sup> محبة ابينا<sup>18</sup> له وكان الاب يقول لنا<sup>19</sup> بقوة روح<sup>20</sup> القدس الحال<sup>21</sup> فيه يا اولادى صدقونى ان لهذا الاخ تذكارات كثيرة يفعلها وبناء<sup>22</sup>

1. BG بامانة. — 2. BG نرجوا. — 3. BG راى. — 4. BG add. بيعة. — 5. Mss. ابريا. — 6. E om. with 3 f. wds., add. الى تكريزها. — 7. B هذا. — 8. BEG وصلها ونظرها. — 9. Mss. عشر. — 10. E om. to add. يا اولادى. — 11. B هذه. — 12. ABG الذى. — 13. ADF وبخاص. — 14. DF om. with f. wd. — 15. لهذه. — 16. B شاهد. — 17. BG لمحبة. — 18. Mss. ابونا. — 19. DF له. — 20. B الروح. — 21. DFG الحالة. — 22. E om. to سونى. — 23. B نذكره.

hoped for a reward from God, as Paul, the Apostle, says<sup>1</sup>: « We in the spirit in faith wait for a true hope ». And when Sinuthius saw the monks increasing in numbers through the grace of God which called them, he began and built a church to the north of the Great Church, and named it after the Fathers and Disciples. And he completed it, and adorned it with every kind of ornament. And he invited our holy father, Abba Joseph the patriarch, to visit this church; and when he saw it, his heart was filled with joy; and he consecrated it on the first day of Barmudah in the seventeenth year of his patriarchate. And the father did not cease to bless this oeconomus Sinuthius from the depths of his heart, and looked upon the monuments which Sinuthius made day after day, and especially this holy church, which was capacious in size, and beautiful in structure. And we, the sons of this father, had a great affection for this oeconomus Sinuthius, on account of our father's love for him which we beheld. And the father said to us by the power of the Holy Ghost, who descended upon him: « My sons, believe me, this brother has many monuments which he will make, and there is building of churches and chapels for him ». When we heard him say this, we

1. Gal., v, 5.

بيع وكنايس وكنا نسبع هذا<sup>1</sup> منه فنقول<sup>2</sup> ترى<sup>3</sup> انه<sup>4</sup> يبنى بيع اخر في هذا<sup>5</sup> الجبل وكان كلامه كالنبوة ونحن لا نعلم حتى ظهر لنا بعد ذلك ما سوف نذكره وكان في<sup>6</sup> يد ايننا<sup>7</sup> عكاز لطيف دفعه لشودة الاقنوم<sup>8</sup> وقال له خذ هذا يا ولدى تذكارا لك فلما رأينا<sup>9</sup> هذا قلنا ان هذا بسبب<sup>10</sup> امور تظهر لان<sup>11</sup> كل افعاله بنعمة روح<sup>12</sup> القدس ولما كان في السنة الثامنة عشرة<sup>13</sup> من بطركيته ولي<sup>14</sup> على مدينة الاسكندرية امير اسمه مالك بن<sup>15</sup> ناصر الحدر وكان انسانا سوء ظالما فلما دخل المدينة بدا ان<sup>16</sup> يفعل سوء<sup>17</sup> بكثير<sup>18</sup> من الناس اكثر من<sup>19</sup> الوالى الذى كان قبله فاعترض اصحاب الصنائع والتجار<sup>20</sup> الكبار البزازين والباعة وتقدم الى<sup>21</sup> التجار الكبار والبزازين ان لا يبيعوا ويشتروا الا حدا<sup>22</sup> يحد<sup>23</sup> لهم وعمل<sup>24</sup> قياسا كبيرا<sup>25</sup> وجعل ينادى مناد ويقول من وجد عندد ثوب

1. B هذا. — 2. BG فيقول. — 3. B ترى. — 4. DF om. — 5. B هذا. — 6. E om. with f. wd., add. مع. — 7. ABDEF ايننا. — 8. E om. — 9. E رأوا اولاده. — 10. Mss. بسبب. — 11. E om. to القدس. — 12. ABDE الروح. — 13. Mss. عشر. — 14. E نولا. — 15. BDE ابن. — 16. Mss. om. — 17. E السر. — 18. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 19. E كان قبله. — 20. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 21. E om. with 3 f. wds., add. لهم. — 22. E يحددا. — 23. E لهم. — 24. E om. to اعتدل add. يحددا هذا. — 25. E يحددا.

said to him : « Thinkest thou that he will build other churches on this mountain? » And his words were like a prophecy, but we did not know it until there was manifested to us after that a thing that we will record.

Our father had in his hand an elegant pastoral staff, which he gave to Sinuthius, the oeconomus, saying to him : « Take this, my son, as a memorial for thyself ». On seeing this, we said : « Verily this refers to something that will appear; for all his actions are done by the grace of the Holy Ghost ».

In the eighteenth year of Abba Joseph's patriarchate there was made governor of Alexandria an amir, named Mâlik, son of Nâsir al Ḥadar, who was a wicked man and unjust. So when he entered the city he began to do harm to many people, more than the governor who preceded him. For he interfered with the artisans and the great merchants and dealers in woven stuffs and shopkeepers, ordering them not to sell or buy except within certain limits which he laid down for them. And he made a great measure; and a crier began to proclaim thus : « If anyone is found having a garment less than this measure, I will imprison him and put him to shame and slay him ». So when the people of Alexandria saw this, they were sad and



ناقص عن هذا القياس انا اعتقله<sup>1</sup> واهينته<sup>2</sup> فلمّا شاهدوا اهل الاسكندرية هذا حزنوا وقالوا قد علمنا الآن ان الله قد اذلّ هذه<sup>3</sup> المدينة وسكانها بيده<sup>4</sup> هذا الرجل الظالم فلمّا الضعفاء الحاكّة<sup>5</sup> والقراريون فكانوا يسبحون<sup>6</sup> من قطع معاشهم وبطلوا<sup>7</sup> اولادهم حتّى عديموا قوتهم وعوّلوا على الغربة<sup>8</sup> والخروج الى البلدان ليعيشوا وكانوا يصرخون ليلاً ونهاراً بان ينقذهم الله من هذا الظالم فلم يغفل الله عن دعائهم لكن سمعهم سريعاً لانه قال على لسان داود النبي في مزمور ص اصرخ<sup>9</sup> التي وانا اجيبك<sup>10</sup> واخلصك<sup>11</sup> وقال ايضاً الرب قريب من الذين يدعونه فلمّا كان بعض<sup>12</sup> الايام ركب ذلك الامير وجاء الى قلّاية البطرك ومعه<sup>13</sup> سراري فاكل<sup>14</sup> وشرب معهم<sup>15</sup> ثم<sup>16</sup> انه قام وطاف جميع مساكن البطرك حتّى انتهى<sup>17</sup> الى المخدع الذي ينام فيه البطارقة كلّ زمان فطرد الاب منه وادخل سراريّه اليه واكل معهم<sup>18</sup> وشرب هناك<sup>19</sup> ونام معهم<sup>20</sup> فيه وهو<sup>21</sup>

1. E اهينه. — 2. DF om. — 3. B هذا. — 4. E om. to يدعونه add. — 5. B يطلوا. — 6. BG يصيحوا. — 7. B يطلوا. — 8. BG يطلوا. — 9. BG اصرخوا. — 10. B انجيكم. — 11. B واخلصكم. — 12. BG في بعض. — 13. E om. to انتهى add. — 14. B ياكل ويشرب. — 15. Mss. معهم. — 16. D om. — 17. BG اتى. — 18. Mss. معهم. — 19. DEF om. — 20. Mss. معهم. — 21. E om. to البطارقة.

said : « We know now that God has abased this city and its inhabitants by the hand of this unjust man ». But the poor people, the weavers and the tailors, were left without employment because their means of livelihood were cut off, and their children were forced to be idle, so that they were without food, and were inclined to emigrate and depart to other countries, that they might earn a living. And they were crying out night and day that God would save them from this tyrant.

And God did not neglect their supplication, but heard them speedily. For he said by the prophet David's tongue in the ninetieth Psalm<sup>1</sup> : « Cry unto me, and I will answer thee and deliver thee ». And again : « The Lord is near those that call upon him<sup>2</sup> ». So on a certain day that amir mounted his horse and came to the patriarch's Cell, accompanied by certain female slaves; and he ate and drank with them. Then he arose and walked round all the patriarch's chambers, until he reached the closet in which the patriarchs always slept. Thereupon he drove the father out of it, and brought in his slaves and ate and drank with them there, and reposed in that cham-

1. Ps. xci. 15 (Sept. xc). — 2. Ps. cxlv, 18 (Sept. cxliv).

الموضع الممتلئ بخورا وطيبا من صلوات القديسين البطارقة فلما شاهد هذا الاب  
القديس حزن وبكى جَدًّا وقال قول داود النبي في <sup>1</sup> المزمور <sup>2</sup> طه يا الله دخلت <sup>3</sup>  
الامم الى ميراثك ونجسوا هيكل قدسك فلما فعل <sup>4</sup> هذا <sup>5</sup> الافعال الطمثة بغير <sup>6</sup> خوف  
خرج <sup>7</sup> وعاد الى موضعه والله <sup>8</sup> صانع العجائب في <sup>9</sup> كل حين انتقم <sup>10</sup> منه لحقه <sup>11</sup> في <sup>12</sup> ذلك  
اليوم <sup>13</sup> ضربان في احشائه وقارب الموت عاجلا <sup>14</sup> ولم يتخل <sup>15</sup> عن ظلمه وفعله السوء <sup>16</sup> ثم  
مضوا اولاد <sup>17</sup> النار وسعوا بالاب قائلين هذا <sup>18</sup> يكتب ملوك الروم وينفذون اليه مالا كثيرا  
فانفذ سرعة واحضر ابانا <sup>19</sup> وامر باعتقاله في موضع ضيق ووكل <sup>20</sup> به حفظة يحفظونه وعقل  
على عقوبته الى ان يدفع له الف دينار وهو صابر ولم يزل يهدده الى ان استقر الحال  
على اربع مائة دينار وفي <sup>21</sup> جميع هذا الضربان <sup>22</sup> يتزايد عليه والدم يجري من تحته ولا

1. E om. with 2 f. wds. — 2. BG المزمور. — 3. E دخلا. — 4. E add. الالى. —  
5. EFG هذه. — 6. D pref. و. — 7. E om. — 8. BG om. و E om. to حين. — 9. DF  
om. with 2 f. wds. — 10. E انتقم الله. — 11. EF pref. و. — 12. BG om. — 13. DF  
om. — 14. DF om. — 15. ABDE يتخلا. — 16. E om. — 17. E om. to قائلين add. اليد  
المخالفين وقالوا له. — 18. E add. البطرك. — 19. Mss. ابونا. — 20. E om. to عقوبته  
وحضروا اليد add. دخلنا اليد E om. to الاربعة مائة دينار B om. و D om. —  
21. — تلاميذه فقال لهم ان من اليوم هذا الذي يدفع فيد الدراهم لهذا الظالم الى سابع يوم  
22. D pref. و.

ber, which was full of the savour of incense and sweet perfume from the prayers of the holy patriarchs. Therefore the holy father, seeing this, was grieved and wept much, repeating the words of David, the prophet<sup>1</sup>, in the 78th. Psalm : « O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, and have defiled thy holy temple ». After this man had done these foul deeds without fear, he departed and returned to his own house. And God, the worker of miracles at all times, took revenge upon him; for that very day he was attacked by a pain in the inward parts, and quickly drew near to death. Yet he did not cease from his injustice and wicked deeds. At that time the children of fire went and laid information against the father, saying : « This man writes letters to the princes of the Romans, and they send him much money ». So the amir sent speedily, and summoned our father, and commanded that he should be imprisoned in a narrow dungeon, and entrusted him to the charge of certain guards, who were to watch over him. And he desired to torment the patriarch until he should give him a thousand dinars, while the patriarch patiently endured; and the amir did not cease to threaten him, and finally insisted on the sum of four hundred dinars. But during

1. Ps. LXXIX, 1 (Sept. LXXVIII).

ينام ليلاً ولا نهاراً ولم يقدر له<sup>1</sup> على طبيب يداويه ولم ينفع فيه دواء وكان الأب معتقاً على الأربع مائة دينار ويدعو لله<sup>2</sup> ليلاً ونهاراً قائلاً ليدخل اليك يا رب ابتهاًلي وتنبه السعلولين الأسرى واقام تحت الضيق اياماً وهو يهدده ويخوفه بسبب احضار المال وكان تلاميذه واصحابه تحت<sup>3</sup> حزن عظيم وقلق فاشاروا عليه بدفع<sup>4</sup> المال فقال لهم الذي عليه روح النبوة ان كان ما نخرج من هذا الموضع حتى ندفع ما طلبه هذا الظالم ففعل اليوم السابع من دخولنا اليه يظهر ما يتعجب كل احد منه من<sup>5</sup> احكام الله التي<sup>6</sup> تظ<sup>7</sup> سريعاً ثم دفع<sup>7</sup> الأربع مائة دينار واطلقوه<sup>8</sup> هو ومن كان معه في الحبس وانا كاتبة هذه<sup>9</sup> السيرة الحقير كنت معه في السجن والرب الشاهد لقد<sup>10</sup> اتم كلام هذا القديس اليوم السابع من وزنه الدنانير ونحن عنده حتى دخلوا<sup>11</sup> اليه قوم اعلموه بوفاة الوالى و

1. DF om. with f. wd. — 2. BDEFG om. — 3. BG يجب يحزن. — 4. BG بجمع. — 5. E om. to سريعاً. — 6. B الذى DF om. with 2 f. wds. — 7. E add. له. — 8. E om. وطلع من السجن وتم كلام هذا الاب على الوالى ومات فى اليوم السابع add. مع قديس. — 9. B هذا. — 10. BG om. with f. wd., B add. القايم G add. القديم. — 11. DF دخل.

And this the pains were increasing upon him; and the blood ran from his body, and he could not sleep by night or by day. And he could not find a physician who could treat him, nor did medicine benefit him. Meanwhile the father remained in prison for the sake of the four hundred dinars, and prayed to God night and day, saying: « Let my supplication come before thee, O Lord, and the sighing of the sick and the captives ' ». And he remained in prison many days, while the governor threatened and intimidated him, in order that he might bring the money. And the patriarch's disciples and friends were in great grief and trouble, and counselled him to pay the money. So he, upon whom the spirit of prophecy rested, said to them, that if he were not to quit that place until he had paid what that tyrant demanded of him, then on the seventh day after they had entered therein, one of God's sudden judgments would be manifested, at which all men could marvel. Then Abba Joseph paid the four hundred dinars, and he and his companions were released from the prison. And I, the mean writer of this history, was with him in the dungeon. And the Lord, who beholds all things, accomplished the words of this holy man; for on the seventh day after he paid the money, while we were with him, certain men entered to him and informed him that the governor was dead, and that the crier was calling in

1. Ps. LXXIX, 11 (Sept. LXXVIII).



مناديا ينادى فى الاسواق للناس<sup>1</sup> قوموا ادفنوا الوالى فمجد كل احد الله صانع العجائب مع قديسيه وصاروا اهل البلد يبجلون الاب ويكرمونه لما<sup>2</sup> صبر عليه من الشدائد والاحزان والضيق وان الله قد خلاصه من جميعها ويظهر على يديه العجائب ولما ناله من الضيق والحزن والشدّة اراد الله ان<sup>3</sup> يريجه<sup>4</sup> من هذا العالم ويدعوه الى المساكن النيرة<sup>5</sup> ليكون<sup>6</sup> فى الحياة الابدية كما وعد القديس وقال تسنعم<sup>7</sup> الى الابد وتحتى<sup>8</sup> الى الدهر فاعتل بعد ذلك البطرك بحمى<sup>9</sup> وفى اليوم السابع من مرضه افتقده الرب واخذته اليه وتنيح فى اليوم الثالث والعشرين من بابة سنة خمس مائة وست وستين للشهداء وكان<sup>11</sup> يوم احد<sup>12</sup> وقت تناول السرائر المقدسة وكان<sup>13</sup> مدّة مقامه على الكرسي الانجيلي<sup>14</sup> الرسولي ثمانى عشرة سنة واحد عشر شهرا وحملوا جسده الى مدينة الاسكندرية وجعلوه عند ابائه القديسين بسجد وكرامة وبكى الشعب عليه بدموع<sup>15</sup>

1. BDEFG om. — 2. E om. to والشدّة add. ثم ان. — 3. E om. — 4. B يخرج E يريج. — 5. E om. with f. wd., add. المعابد. — 6. E النورانية. — 7. E om. to الدهر. — 8. B تحتيا G يحيى. — 9. AD وتحتيا BG وتسنعم. — 10. E بحمة E وحمى. — 11. B om. with f. wd. — 12. B احد. — 13. BG وكانت. — 14. BDEFG om. — 15. E om. to الاسكندرية.

\* the streets to the people : « Rise up and bury the governor! » And all men praised God, the worker of wonders among his saints. And the people of the city began to respect and honour the father for the troubles and sorrows and straits which he had endured, and because God had saved him from them all, manifesting wonders by his means.

Then on account of the straits and the sorrow and distress that had afflicted Abba Joseph, it was God's will to give him rest from this world, and to call him to the mansions of light, that he might enjoy eternal life. For so God had promised to that saint, saying to him : « Thou shalt be happy for ever, and shalt live eternally ». Accordingly after these events the patriarch fell sick of a fever. And on the seventh day of his sickness the Lord visited him, and took him to himself. So he went to his rest on the twenty-third day of Bâbah, in the year 566 of the Martyrs, at the time of the communion of the Holy Mysteries, the day being Sunday. Thus he had remained upon the evangelic and apostolic throne eighteen years and eleven months.

And they carried his body to the city of Alexandria and laid him with his holy fathers, with glory and honour. And the people of Alexandria, both men and women, wept copious tears over him, because they had lost a

كثيرة من أهل الاسكندرية رجال ونساء لعدمهم<sup>١</sup> رجلاً ثباتاً مجاهداً ونال اكليل الغلبة وهذا ما شاهدته بعيني واقتصر<sup>٢</sup> على<sup>٣</sup> ما شرحته من<sup>٤</sup> كثرة عجائبه ونحن ندعو الرب ان يجعل صلواته معنا

ويجب عليكم يا ساداتي القديسين ويجب على ايضاً ان اعلمكم تمام نبوة ممتا<sup>٥</sup> كما قاله لى وهو فى الحياة وتتمه الرب بعد وفاته ليتعجب من يسمع ويمجد الله الممجّد بمختاريه<sup>٦</sup> وقد بدأت وقلت ان فى الزمان الذى انزل قاضى الظلم على الاب البلايا بمصر قال ان<sup>٧</sup> كنت انا خاطئاً فان<sup>٨</sup> الله<sup>٩</sup> ينزل على هذا الرجل<sup>١٠</sup> الظالم انتقاماً لاجل فعله ولكم ليس فى ايام حياتى بل بعد وفاتى ولما تبيح كان فى ذلك الزمان ملك للمسلمين اسمه جعفر بن ابراهيم فانفذ الى مصر رجلاً اسمه يعقوب بن<sup>١١</sup> ابراهيم ليكشف احوال مصر ويعرفه بها فلما وصل اليها عرفوه بأمر من الله حال القاضى الظالم وافعاله الرديّة التى<sup>١٢</sup> فعل

وتم ما قاله هذا الاب على قاضى الظلم الذى بمصر وهو ان  
 1. E om. to add. فانفذ بمصر وهو ان — 2. A بما BDEFG ننيا. — 3. BG واختصرت. — 4. DF فيما. — 5. BG لكثرة. — 6. BG ما. — 7. DF لمختاريه. — 8. BG انى. — 9. DF om. — 10. DF الذميّة E om. to الذى. — 11. BG om. with f. wd. — 12. ABDE ابن. — 13. BG الذى.

man who was constant in his fight against evil. And he obtained the crown of victory.

Such were the events which I witnessed with my own eyes; but I have abridged my narrative on account of the multitude of its wonders. We pray the Lord to allow the prayers of that saint to be with us.

Now it is right for you, my holy lords, and my duty also that I should make known to you and you should listen to the fulfilment of a prophecy which he uttered to me, while he was living, and which the Lord accomplished after his death, that those who hear may marvel and glorify God who is glorified in his elect. I related before that, at the time when the unjust judge brought troubles upon Egypt, the patriarch said: « As I am a sinner, God will send down vengeance upon this tyrant for his deeds, yet not in my lifetime, but after my death ». And when Abba Joseph went to his rest, there was a prince of the Muslims, named Ja'far, son of Ibrahim; and he sent to Egypt a man named Ya'kûb, son of Ibrahim, to enquire into the state of Egypt, and make it known to him. So when Ya'kûb came hither, he was informed, by God's decree, of the conduct of the unjust judge, and of his evil deeds which he committed secretly and openly. Thereupon Ya'kûb suddenly arrested the Superintendent of Public

سرًا وجهرا فعند<sup>1</sup> ذلك اخذ متولّى الترتيب بغتة<sup>2</sup> ولم يعلم فظهرت جميع اعماله<sup>3</sup> المرائية التي يرائي بها الناس وافعاله الباطنة النجسة الذميمة<sup>4</sup> فاخذوا واشهدوا في جميع شوارع مصر وحلق لحيته ونظف<sup>5</sup> رأسه وكل احد يشاهده ورماه الحبس ونهب ماله وكل<sup>6</sup> من كان ينطوى عليه<sup>7</sup> من اصحابه تبدّدوا في كل موضع حتى اولاده ثم تفرّوا الى<sup>8</sup> مدينة الملك ومات هناك<sup>9</sup> بموتة<sup>10</sup> سوء والقاضي النائب عنه بالاسكندرية الذي<sup>11</sup> امر بضرب الاب ابنا يوساب عمل به مثل صاحبه واسر<sup>12</sup> وهرب بعد ذلك ولم يرجع احد يراه في المدينة ولم يعاينه احد الى الآن وكل من نظر هذا او سمع به<sup>13</sup> تعجّب<sup>14</sup> ومجّد الله بسبب<sup>15</sup> هذين الظالمين اللذين<sup>16</sup> تمّ عليهما<sup>17</sup> استحقاقهما<sup>18</sup> والانتقام<sup>19</sup> منهما<sup>20</sup> كما هو مكتوب جاهل وغير فهم يهلكان جميعا

ذكرنا لمحبتكم جهاد الاب القديس ابنا يوساب ونذكر لكم فعله طول زمانه ومدة مقامه

1. BG عند. — 2. D بعينته. — 3. BG افعاله. — 4. D om. — 5. E om. to يشاهده. — 6. E om. to الملك. — 7. DF اليد. — 8. BG om. with f. wd. — 9. E om. — 10. E موتة. — 11. E om. to يوساب. — 12. DF واشهر E om. to سمع بهذا add. — 13. DF — 14. D add. عند. — 15. E om. to بل add. من التجارب. — 16. Mss. الذين. — 17. B عليهم. — 18. DF om. — 19. DF om. و. — 20. DF om.

Order without his previous knowledge; and accordingly all the judge's hypocritical acts by which he deceived the people were brought to light, as well as his secret, foul, and reprehensible conduct. So Ya'kûb took him, and paraded him through all the streets of Miṣr, after shaving his beard and baring his head, while all gazed upon him; then he threw him into prison, and confiscated his goods. And all his companions who surrounded him, and even his children, were scattered in all directions. Afterwards he banished him to the capital city of the empire, and there he died a cruel death. Ya'kûb also dealt with the judge who was the other's deputy at Alexandria, and who commanded that the father Abba Joseph should be beaten, as he had dealt with his superior, and he was imprisoned; but he escaped subsequently \* and none ever saw him again in the city, nor has anyone set eyes upon him to this day. And all who saw these things or heard of them marvelled, and glorified God on account of these two unjust judges upon whom vengeance was executed as they deserved. As it is written: « The fool and he that is without understanding shall perish together ».

We have recorded, on account of your love, the combat of the holy father, Abba Joseph. We will now mention to you what he did during his



على الكرسي<sup>1</sup> لم يشغل قلبه ولا شغله<sup>2</sup> ما نزل عليه من الامور<sup>3</sup> الصعبة بل كان مداوم الصلوات<sup>4</sup> ليلاً ونهاراً وكان<sup>5</sup> يهتم قراءة المزامير في كل يوم خمسة وسبعين مزموراً بالنهار<sup>6</sup> وخمسة وسبعين مزموراً الى نصف الليل خارجاً عما كان يقول من التسايح بابتهاج للرب ومسكنة وخشوع وهذه التي كان عليها طول ايام حياته اعنى التواضع والرحمة والسكينة والعفاف وملازمة الصلوات واعطاء الصدقات حتى انه بعد هذه<sup>7</sup> السنين التي<sup>8</sup> اقامها بطريركا كان همّه وفكره وحواسه مثل من هو في ركن من<sup>9</sup> قلاية بوادي هبيب فقال<sup>10</sup> بذلك اكليل اعماله من الرب يسوع المسيح وصار مع القديسين في كورة الاحياء والمجد للاب والابن وروح<sup>11</sup> القدس الى الابد امين

تم<sup>12</sup> الجزء الثاني من سير البطارقة القديسين  
صلواتهم تكون معنا وطلباتهم تحرسنا امين

1. G add. الانجيلي الرسولي. — 2. — BD يشغله. — 3. DF الشدايد والامور. — 4. BEG. — 5. E om. to. وكان متواضع رحيم يعطي الصدقة add. الصدقات. — 6. BG om. to. من قلايته G في قلاية D بقلاية B. — 7. B هذا. — 8. BEG الذي. — 9. — 10. E om. to end, add. صلواته تكون معنا امين. — 11. Mss. الروح. — 12. These 2 lines form the conclusion in A only.

whole time. As long as he remained upon the patriarchal throne his heart was never preoccupied, nor was he distracted by the troubles that came upon him, but he continued in prayer night and day. And he completed the reading of the whole Psalter every day; seventy-five Psalms in the daytime, and seventy-five Psalms up to midnight. This was in addition to the hymns that he recited, in supplication to the Lord with devotion and humility. These were his qualities all the days of his life, I mean humility and charity and tranquillity and chastity and continuance in prayer and giving alms; so that, after all these years during which he remained patriarch, his cares and thoughts and feelings were like those of one who lives in the corner of a cell in the Wādī Habīb. By these means he gained the crown of his deeds from the Lord Jesus Christ, and entered with the saints into the land of the living. Glory belongs to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost for ever. Amen.

End of the second division of [the first part of] the Histories of the holy Patriarchs. May their prayers be with us and their supplications protect us! Amen.

# PROVISIONAL LIST OF ERRATA

t. = text, tr. = translation.

## FASCICULUS I

p. [8] t. l. 5 for خلفاء read خلفاء	p. [65] t. l. 5 for اب read ابير
p. [16] tr. l. 11 — ‘remembering his worshippers’ read ‘to whose name worship is due’	p. [74] tr. l. 17 after ‘Esther’ insert ‘the [book of Samuel’
p. [31] t. l. 1 for رسالوهم read رسالوهم	p. [87] t. l. 2 for وبراين read وامينين
— l. 9 — المسطر — المنظرة	p. [96] t. l. 3 — ريزرون — ريزرون
p. [34] t. l. 8 — المسطر — المنظرة	— tr. l. 3 — pipes — musical [instruments
p. [35] t. l. 4 — المسطر — المنظرة	— tr. l. 4 — cast at — sounded [in honour of
p. [46] tr. l. 6 — prophetised — prophesied	p. [96] t. l. 5 — يقرأها — يقرأها
p. [47] t. l. 7 — امتلأوا — امتلأوا	— tr. l. 5 — escort — escort
p. [48] tr. l. 4 — cattle-shed — cattle-yard	p. [101] t. l. 10 — لطن — لطن
p. [49] tr. l. 7 — cattle-shed — cattle-yard	t. l. 12 — انان نلشون — انان نلشون
	— tr. l. 18 — tunic — striped tunic

## FASCICULUS II

p. [120] t. l. 8 for عرونة read عرونة	p. [202] tr. l. 3 for Thodosius read Theodosius
p. [132] tr. l. 22 — relates — reports	p. [204] t. l. 1 — الشهداء — الشهداء
p. [140] t. l. 6 — سبع — سبع	p. [205] t. l. 3 — عشر — عشر
p. [146] tr. l. 20 — ‘acting with duplicity’ [read ‘plotting’]	p. [207] t. l. 8 — تابور — تابور
p. [154] tr. l. 5 — he — be	— tr. l. 14 — ‘Mount Tabor’ read [‘Tòn Pateròn’]
p. [161] tr. l. 9 after ‘God’ insert ‘and men’	p. [208] t. l. 7 — امونيوس — امونيوس
p. [170] t. l. 10 for واقرباءك read واقرباءك	— tr. l. 11 — Ammonius — Aphthonias
p. [178] tr. l. 10 — Eugolius — Eulogius	p. [209] t. l. 6 — طور تابور read طون باترون
p. [194] tr. l. 15 — among — amid	— tr. l. 8 — Mont Tabor — Tòn Pateròn [teròn]
p. [196] t. l. 9 — وامناء — امناؤه	p. [210] t. l. 5 — طور تابور read طون باترون
p. [201] t. l. 4 — اذينة — اذينة	

- p. [210] tr. l. 3 for Mont Tabor read Tòn  
[Pateròn]
- p. [215] tr. l. 4 — at Rabwat Atharat — on  
[a mound of ruins]
- p. [215] tr. l. 5 after 'from' insert 'the  
[party of']
- p. [216] tr. l. 5 for 'dependances' read  
['dependencies']
- p. [217] tr. l. 5 — 'of his diocese' read  
['under his see']
- p. [219] t. l. 3 — بحرص — بحرص
- p. [221] tr. l. 20 after 'and' insert 'it'
- p. [223] tr. l. 15 before 'Paul' insert 'the  
[great one']
- p. [228] t. l. 8 for حمم read حمم
- p. [231] tr. l. 18 — ring — signet-ring
- p. [232] tr. l. 5 — clothed with — wearing
- p. [236] tr. l. 8 — priests — clergy  
— 10 — plane — teak  
— 22 — assist — the army of
- p. [249] tr. l. 4 — tranquilly — tranquillity

## FASCICULUS III

- p. [262] t. l. 11 for يسألون read يسألون
- p. [264] tr. l. 7 — 686 — 685
- p. [275] tr. l. 15 — 686-689 — 685-688
- p. [278] tr. l. 10 — ol — of
- p. [281] tr. l. 4 — 689-701 — 688-700
- p. [284] tr. l. 11 — preached, etc. — announ-  
[ced the name, etc.]
- p. [284] tr. l. 23 — one like — like one
- p. [302] tr. l. 4 — 705-730 — 704-729
- p. [305] t. l. 3 — لتقرأ — لتقرأ
- p. [307] tr. l. 7 — 'I have never' read 'Hast  
[thou not']
- p. [320] tr. l. 2 — on — an
- p. [322] t. l. 5 — المؤمنين — المؤمنين
- p. [327] t. l. 7 — مملوء — مملوء
- p. [329] tr. l. 6 — rushes — coarse grass
- p. [338] tr. l. 4 — 730-731 — 729-730
- p. [340] tr. l. 4 — 731-743 — 730-742
- p. [342] tr. l. 13 — 744-768 — 743-767
- p. [351] tr. l. 15 — dried up — blasted by  
[the scirocco]
- p. [352] tr. l. 2 — drought — scirocco
- p. [352] tr. l. 5 for drought read scirocco
- p. [358] tr. l. 9 — oldest — chief
- p. [359] t. l. 6 — جنس جيش  
— l. 13 — among — in the army  
[of]
- p. [361] tr. l. 18 after 'Bring' insert 'this'  
— l. 19 omit 'this'
- p. [373] t. l. 2 for يجذ read يجدد
- p. [381] t. l. 4 — قلوبكم — قلوبهم  
— t. l. 2 — نستطيعوا — نستطيعوا  
— tr. l. 1 — your — their  
— — — Think — They think  
— l. 2 — you — they
- p. [393] tr. l. 6 — snow — hoar-frost
- p. [407] t. l. 3 — يزدادوا — يزدادون
- p. [408] t. l. 2 — من يستل — نسلاً  
— tr. l. 2 — We will not, etc. — We  
[will leave them no offspring on earth]
- p. [457] tr. l. 21 — Fire-Temple — furnace  
[at the baths]
- p. [461] tr. l. 1 — was ended his ministry  
[read his ministry was ended]



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